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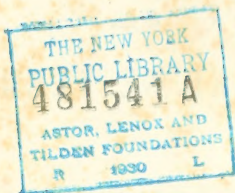
HISTORY
OF THE
PIONEER SETTLEMENT
OF
PHELPS & GORHAM'S PURCHASE,
AND
MORRIS' RESERVE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A
SUPPLEMENT OR CONTINUATION
OF THE PIONEER HISTORY OF
ONTARIO, WAYNE, LIVINGSTON, YATES AND ALLEGANY.

TOGETHER WITH
SKETCHES OF THE WAR OF 1812 UPON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER, AND EVENTS
CONNECTED WITH THE COMPLETION OF THE ERIE CANAL.
BY O. TURNER,
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF HOLLAND PURCHASE" AND "PHELPS AND GORHAM'S PURCHASE — MONROE."

ROCHESTER:
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Dedication.

TO THE
SURVIVING PIONEERS
AND THE
DESCENDANTS OF PIONEERS,
OF
PHELPS AND GORHAM'S PURCHASE,
AND
MORRIS' RESERVE,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED:—

To the first, — as a feeble tribute, a moiety of what is their due, for the physical and moral triumphs they have won through long early years of toil, privation and endurance. In view of the brief space allotted to man by an All Wise Providence, as an average existence — (no more than thirty fleeting years constituting a generation) — you live to be the witnesses of more than it is often given to man to see. The wilderness you entered in your youths — some of you in middle age — you have lived to see not only “blossom as the rose,” but to bear its matured and ripened fruits. Where you have followed the trails of your immediate predecessors — the Seneca Iroquois — or your own woods paths, are Canals, Rail Roads and Telegraphs. A long line of internal navigation — an artificial River — bearing upon its bosom the products of your own subdued, teeming soil, and continuous fleets, laden with the products of an Empire, that has sprung up around the borders of our Western Lakes — winds along through vallies that you have seen but the abodes of wild beasts; from whose depths you have heard in your log cabins, the terrific howl of the famishing wolf! Aqueducts, structures that the architects of the old world might take for models, span the streams you have often forded, and over which you have helped to throw primitive log bridges. And upon these Lakes, whose commerce you have seen to consist of a few batteaux, lazily coasting along near shore, putting into bays and inlets, whenever the elements were disturbed — are fleets of sail vessels, and “float-

ing palaces," propelled by a mighty agent whose powers were but little known when you began to wield the axe in the forests of the Genesee Country. A subtle agent was occasionally flashing in the dark forests, indicating its power by scathing and levelling its tall trees; then but partially subdued to man's use; now, tamed, harnessed, controlled; traversing those wires, and bringing the extremes of this extended Union to hold converse with each other with the "rapidity of thought," — more than realizing the boasts of the spirit of the poet's imagination, who would

— "Put a girdle 'round the Earth in thirty minutes!"

Villages, cities, institutions of religion and learning, are upon sites where you have seen the dark shades of the forest rest with a profound stillness, that you could hardly have expected to see disturbed by the hand of improvement. But more than all this, you have lived to see an extended region of wilderness converted into fruitful fields; a landscape every where interspersed with comfortable, often luxurious, farm buildings; surrounded by all the evidences of substantial, unsurpassed prosperity. Who else that have planted colonies, founded settlements, have lived to see such consummations? Peaceful bloodless, and yet glorious! The conquerors upon battle fields have been destroyers; you, creators; they, have made fields desolate; you, have clothed them with smiling promise and full fruition. They, have brought mourning; you, rejoicing. Theirs, was the physical courage of a day, perhaps of a fortunate hour; yours, was the higher and nobler attribute — the moral courage — the spirit of endurance and perseverance, that held out through long years of suffering and privation; that looked dangers and difficulties in the face, till they became familiar associates. In the retrospect of well-spent lives — in view of the consummation of the great work of civilization and improvement, you have helped to commence and carry on — now that the shades of evening are gathering around you — now that you are admonished that your work upon earth is done — well may you say; — "*Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.*"

To the second, as the inheritors of a rich legacy, the fruits of the achievements, of long years of enterprise, toil, fortitude and perseverance, of those Pioneer Fathers; the conservators of their memories. Honors, titles, stars and garters, such as kings may bestow, are baubles compared with what they have bequeathed! Far most of them breaking out from their quiet

New England homes, in youth, and strength, went first to the battle field, where it was the strong against the weak, the oppressor against the oppressed, and helped to win a glorious national inheritance; then, after a short respite, came to this primitive region, and won a local inheritance for you, fair and fertile, as rich in all the elements of prosperity and happiness, as any that the sun of Heaven shines upon! Guard the trust in a spirit of gratitude; cherish the memories of the Pioneers; imitate their stern virtues; preserve and carry on the work they have so well begun!

And both will accept this tribute, from the son of a Pioneer — one “who was to the manor born,” — who has essayed to snatch from fading memories, gather from imperfect records, and preserve these local Reminiscences; — and who most of all regrets, that in the execution of the task, he has not been able to recognize more of the names and the deeds of the FOUNDERS OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

THE AUTHOR.

ODE,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF WESTERN NEW-YORK.

BY WM. H. C. HOSMER, ESQ.

High was the Louage Senates paid
To the plumed Conquerors of old,
And freely, at their feet were laid,
Rich piles of flashing gems and gold.

Proud History exhausted thought,
Glad bards awoke their vocal reeds;
While Phidian hands the marble wrought
In honor of their wondrous deeds:

But our undaunted Pioneers
Have conquests more enduring won,
In scattering the mists of years,
And opening forests to the sun;

And victors are they nobler far
Than the helmed chiefs of other times,
Who rolled their chariots of war,
To foreign lands, and distant climes.

Earth groaned beneath their mail-clad men,
Bereft of greenness where they trod,
And wildly rose, from hill and glen,
Loud, agonizing shrieks to God.

Purveyors of the carrion bird,
Blood streamed from their uplifted hands;
And while the crash of States was heard,
Passed on their desolating bands.

Then tell me not of heroes fled —
Crime, renders foul their boasted fame,
While widowed ones and orphans bleed.
They earned the *phantom of a name*.

The sons of our New England Sires,
Armed with endurance, dared to roam
Far from the hospitable fires,
And the bright, hallowed bowers of Home.

The storm they met with bosoms bared,
And bloodless triumphs bought by toil;
The wild beast from his cavern scared,
And clothed in bloom the virgin soil.

Distemper leagued with famines wan,
Nerved to a high resolve, they bore;
And flocks, upon the thymy lawn,
Ranged where the panther yelled before.

Look now abroad ! the scene how changed,
Where fifty fleeting years ago
Clad in their savage costume ranged,
The belted lords of shaft and bow.

In praise of pomp let fawning Art
Carve rocks to triumph over years,
The grateful incense of the heart
Give to our living PIONEERS.

Almighty ! may thine out-stretched arm
Guard through long ages yte to be,
From tread of slave and kingly harm,
OUR EDEN OF THE GINESEE.

PREFACE.

IN the month of September last, the author published "The Pioneer History of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase — Monroe" — announcing in the preface that he would follow it up with a similar volume for each of the counties of Ontario, Wayne, Yates, Livingston and Allegany. The plan contemplated the use, in each case, of the same main body of the work, and the addition of a Supplement having especial reference to the county for which it was designed. In other words, in addition to what was contained in the body of the work, an hundred pages of matter for each county. The volume now presented is a departure from that plan.

To justify a seeming infirmity of purpose, it needs only to be stated that the experiment made with one county has fully demonstrated that the plan of publishing announced would involve an amount of expense which no prospective sales would justify. Necessity, the guarding against a loss which seemed likely to accrue from carrying out a plan that promised greater success than the sale of the published volume would indicate, has not only dictated the change, but upon the score of prudence, made it imperative.

The volume now presented is the general History of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase and Morris' Reserve, to which is added, a Supplement of nearly an hundred pages, embracing an extension of Pioneer events in what is now the counties of ONTARIO, WAYNE, YATES, LIVINGSTON, ALLEGANY and some of the eastern towns of WYOMING; — local events and the influences of the war of 1812; and the crowning event of local prosperity, the completion of the Erie Canal.

The general plan of the volume as now presented will hardly be misunderstood by its readers. — It is a history of the Pioneer, or FIRST SETTLEMENT, of that portion of the Genesee Country embraced in the purchase of Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, of the State of Massachusetts and the Seneca Indians, and of that portion purchased by Robert Morris, which he reserved in his sale to the Holland Company. The boundaries of the region embraced are indicated in the title page, and are more clearly defined in the body of the work. It is the eastern, and nearly the one half of what constitutes, properly, Western New York; its eastern boundary being the Massachusetts line of pre-emption.

The work commences with the advent of the French upon the St. Lawrence, and traces their progress to this region, and along the shores of the Western Lakes to the Mississippi; briefly recognizing the prominent events that followed under English and French dominion.

Enough of colonial history has been embraced — that which tended in this direction — to make such an induction to the main design of the work, as would secure an unbroken chain, or chronology of events, commencing with the landing of the French upon the St. Lawrence, and continued through the period of French and English occupancy. As all this was but incidental, it has been, generally, briefly disposed of, for the author was admonished that his space would be required when he had entered upon a less beaten track. Yet he may venture to anticipate that even the student of

history, will find something of interest in this precedent portion of the work; for it is not wholly an explored field, and each new gleaner may bring something from it to add to the common stock of historical knowledge.

It was the original design of the author to incorporate in the work, something of the history of our immediate predecessors, the Senecas. It was mainly abandoned however, on learning that a local author, quite competent for the task, (as his now published work bears witness,) was preparing for the press, a work which would embrace much of interest in their history.* Much of them, however, will be found scattered throughout a large portion of the work, and a separate chapter is appropriated to them, from the pen of a native, and resident of the Genesee Valley — a scholar and a poet, whose fame has gone out far beyond his home, and conferred credit upon its literature.† See chapter II, Part I.

The colonial period passed, — the local events of the Revolution briefly disposed of; — Indian treaties, commencing under the administration of GEORGE CLINTON — the almost interminable difficulties in which the State and individual purchasers were involved in with the Lessees, — the slow advance of settlement in this direction — are subjects next in order. Much of all this has been drawn from authentic records, and did not previously exist in any connected printed form.

The main subject reached — settlement of the Genesee country commenced — a general plan of narrative, somewhat novel in its character, was adopted: — History, and brief personal Biography, have been in a great measure blended. This has vastly increased the labor of the work, but it is hoped it will be found to have added to its interest. It will readily be inferred that it involved the necessity of selecting the most prominent of the Pioneers in each locality — those with whom could be blended most of the Pioneer events. In almost every locality there has been regretted omissions; a failure to recognize all who should have been noticed. This has been partly the result of necessity, but oftener the neglect of those who had promised to furnish the required information. While the work contains more of names and sketches of personal history, than are to be found in any other local annals that have been published in our country, there are hundreds of Pioneer names reluctantly omitted.

In all that relates to early difficulties with the Indians: to threatened renewals of the Border Wars, after the settlement of the country commenced, the author has been fortunate in the possession of authentic records, heretofore neglected, which gives to the subjects a new and enhanced interest. The accounts of the treaties of Messrs. PICKERING and CHAPIN, with the Indians, are mostly derived from official correspondence; while most of what relates to the councils held with them to obtain land cessions, west of the Seneca Lake, are derived from the manuscripts of OLIVER PHIPPS and THOMAS MORRIS, the principal actors in the scenes.

The author cannot but conclude, that poorly as the task may have been executed, it has been undertaken at a fortunate period. More than one half of this volume is made up from the reminiscences, the fading memories, of the living actors in the scenes described and the events related. No less than eleven, who, within the last fifteen months, have rendered in this way, essential service, — without whose assistance the work must have been far more imperfect — are either in their graves, or their memories are wholly impaired.

The thanks of the author are especially due to HENRY O'BRIEN, for the use of val-

* "League of the Iroquois," by Lewis H. Morgan, Esq., of Rochester.

† W. H. C. Hosmer, Esq., of Avon.

uable papers collected with reference to continuing some historical researches, he had so well commenced; to JAMES H. WOODS, for the use of papers of CHAS. WILLIAMSON; to OLIVER PHELPS and JAMES S. WADSWORTH, for the use of papers in their possession, as the representatives of OLIVER PHELPS and JAMES WADSWORTH; to JOHN GREIG and JOSEPH FELLOWS, for access to papers in their respective land offices; and especially to the former, for the essential materials in his possession as the representative of ISRAEL CHAPIN, and his son and successor, ISRAEL CHAPIN; to PHILIP CHURCH, for the assistance which is indicated both in the body of the work and in the Appendix; to the managers of the Rochester Athenæum, for the free access to their valuable Library; to C. C. CLARKE, of Albany, and S. B. BUCKLEY, of Yates, for valuable contributions; to JOSEPH SIBLEY, of Rush, and SAMUEL DE VEAUX, of Niagara Falls, for their recollections of the War of 1812; to JOHN H. JONES, DONALD D. M'KENZIE, ROBERT M'KAY, ANGUS CAMERON, OLIVER BLACKMER, SAMUEL KING, GEORGE HOSMER, BYRAM GREEN WM. H. ADAMS, R. G. PARDEE, LEVI SMITH, ELIAS COST, DR. E. B. WOODWORTH, JAMES D. BEMIS, and others, most of whose assistance is recognized in the body of the work, for material aid.

The historical works which have been essential to the authors purposes, other than those duly credited, are:—Conquest of Canada, Mary Jemison, or the White Woman, History of Schoharie, or the Border Wars, History of Onondaga, O'Reilly's History of Rochester.

There are no illustrations; partly because they are not essential to History, but mainly because they enhance the cost beyond what the sales of any local work will warrant. The leading object has been to furnish a large amount of reading matter, in a plain, neat, and substantial dress, at a low price.

With some few exceptions, the county of Steuben is omitted. In an early stage of the preparation of the work the author was apprized that a history of that county was about to be published.

Errors in names, in dates, in reference to events, will undoubtedly be discovered. Depending upon memories often infirm one disagreeing with another, labor, research, for weeks and months, could not wholly guard against them.

The publication of this volume closes the labors of the author as a local historian. Three years have principally been devoted to the gathering up of the scattered fragments of the early history of Western New York. Imperfectly as the work may have been performed, few will be able to appreciate the amount of labor his now published works of over fourteen hundred octavo pages have involved. The asperities at least, of fault finding and criticism, would be softened if any just appreciation could be had of the crude and disjointed materials that have been gathered from a thousand sources. Any considerable degree of excellence or perfectness in history is a work of time, of remodeling and revision. The gleaner of the raw material, can only hope that he is aiding others who will succeed him in long after years. In this instance, while the Author would not claim that his will be the STANDARD history of Western New York, he may perhaps indulge in enough of self gratulation to assume that he has helped to preserve no small amount of materials which constitute such a work.

The entire history of no locality has been designed. The work has too wide a range to admit of it. The History of Pioneer Settlement in all prominent localities, is distinctly its main feature. The necessity of repeating this has grown out of the fact that a different impression, somewhat prejudicial to the work, has in some instances prevailed, leading to an anticipation of far more in reference to some localities than was ever designed; and more than the plan of the work would allow.

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ERRATA.

Page 131 — *arts* of peace, instead of "acts."

Page 151 — read *sister* instead of "daughter of Zachariah Seymour."

Page 174 — in note — Judge *Taylor*, should be in place of "Judge Wells."

Two references which belong to page 325 are carried over to page 326.

Page 314 — 8th line, "after," should precede "his appointment."

Page 416 — 9th line \$260 instead of " \$2.60."

Page 483 — Shay's Rebellion — "General order" — date should have been 1786.

PART FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

BRIEF NOTICES OF EARLY COLONIZATION.

It was one hundred and sixteen years after the discovery of America by Columbus, before the occupancy of our race was tending in this direction, and Europeans had made a permanent stand upon the St. Lawrence, under the auspices of France and Champlain. In all that time, there had been but occasional expeditions to our northern Atlantic coast, of discovery, exploration, and occasional brief occupancy; but no overt act of possession and dominion. The advent of Champlain, the founding of Quebec, from which events we date French colonization in America, was in 1608. One year previous, in 1607, an English expedition had entered the Chesapeake Bay and founded Jamestown, the oldest English settlement in America. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in the employ of the East India Company of Holland, entered the bay of the river that bears his name, and sailed up the river as far as Albany. In 1621, permanent Dutch colonization commenced at New-York and Albany. In 1620 the first English colonists commenced the permanent occupancy of New England at Plymouth.

In tracing the advent of our race to our local region, French colonization and occupancy, must necessarily, take precedence. Western New-York, from an early period after the arrival of Champlain upon the St. Lawrence, — until 1759, — for almost a century and a half, formed a portion of French Canada, or in a more extended geographical designation, of New France.

France, by priority of discovery, by navigators sailing under her flag, and commissioned by her King, in an early period of partition among the nations of Europe, claimed the St. Lawrence and its tributary waters and all contiguous territory, as her part of the New World. Setting at defiance, as did England the papal bull of Pope

Alexander VI., which conferred all of America, "its towns and cities" included, upon Spain and Portugal, her then King, Francis I. entered vigorously into the national competition for colonial possessions in America. While the English and Dutch were cruising upon our southern and eastern coasts, entering the bays, and mouths of their rivers, hesitating and vacillating in measures of permanent colonization; and the Spaniards were making mixed adventures of gold hunting and romance, upon our south-western coast; the French were coasting off the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and unappalled by a rigorous climate, and rough and forbidding landscapes, resolving upon colonization upon its banks. "Touch and take," was the order of the day; with but little knowledge of the value of the vast region that had been discovered, of its capabilities and resources, but such as had been gained by navigators in a distant view of the coasts, and an occasional entrance into bays and rivers; the splendid inheritance was parcelled out, or claimed by the nations of Europe, as lightly and inconsiderately as if it had been of little worth.

The subjects of France, as it would now seem, when such a vast field had been opened for possession; after they had seen and heard of more promising and congenial regions, made but a poor choice of her share in the New World. We are left principally to conjecture for the explanation: First, the broad stream of the St. Lawrence invited them to enter and explore it; no where were Europeans met by the natives with more friendly manifestations; and a lucrative trade soon added to the inducements. It was a mighty flood that they saw pouring into the ocean, with a uniformity that convinced them of the vast magnitude and extent of the region it drained. Though ice-bound for long and dreary months, when spring approached, its fetters gave way, and on rolled its rushing tide, a "swift witness" that it came from congenial regions embraced in their discovery. Beside, a "shorter route to the Indies," across this continent, was one of the prominent and early objects of European navigators, following the discovery of Columbus. It was in fact, a main object, allied perhaps with visions of precious metals;—for actual colonization, was at first but incidental to the leading objects.*

* Upon the shores of the Chesapeake, upon the Hudson and St. Lawrence, and in the bays of New England, the first information sought after by European adventurers, of the natives, through the medium of signs, had reference to the directions from which the rivers flowed, and the existence of precious metals.

It was but a natural deduction, that the broad and deep river they had entered from the ocean, and its tributaries, were stretched out in a long line toward the Pacific coast.*

The progress of colonization in all the northern portion of the continent, after discovery, was slow. What in our age, and especially where our own countrymen are engaged, would be but the work of a year, was then the work of a century. It was before the world had been stimulated by the example of a free government and a free people, unincumbered by royal grants and charters, and their odious and paralyzing monopolies. It was before governments had learned the simple truths that some of them are yet slow in appreciating, that the higher destinies of our own race are only to be worked out in the absence of shackles upon the mind and the physical energies of the governed. It was when the good of the few was made subservient to that of the many; and Kings and their favorites were central orbs around which all there was of human energy, enterprize and adventure, was made to revolve as satellites. It was when foreign wars and conquests, and civil wars, in which the higher interests of mankind were but little involved, were diverting the attention of Europe from the pursuits of peace, civilization, and their extended sphere. There was no prophet to awake the sleeping energies of the Old World to an adequate conception of the field of promise that was opening here:—no one to even foreshadow all that was hidden in the womb of time; and had there been, there would have been unfolded to Kings and Potentates, little for their encouragement; but how much to MAN, in all his noblest aspirations, his looking forward to a BETTER TIME!

When colonization, such as contemplated permanent occupation finally commenced, it was in a measure, simultaneous, upon our northern coasts. Two powerful competitors started in the race

* The intrepid La Salle, with a spirit of daring enterprize that was never excelled, had no sooner seen the "avalanche of waters" at Niagara, than he determined to follow them to their source. He had no sooner seen the upper waters of the Mississippi, than he had determined to see the great basin into which they flowed. Leaving behind him detachments of his followers to maintain the posts he established, and carry on lucrative trade, he was himself absorbed in the great objects of his mission, a new route to the Indies and the discovery of gold. The extent of his wanderings is supposed to have been Chihuahua, in New Mexico. He was almost upon the right track with reference to both objects. Others beside him, seem to have been prepossessed with the idea that there was gold in that direction. Shall we conclude that through some unknown medium, some indistinct idea had been promulgated of what in our day is actual discovery and acquisition?

for possession and dominion in America ; and a third was awakened and became a competitor. While as yet the Pilgrim Fathers were refugees in Germany, deliberating as to where should be their assylum, appalled by all the dangers of the ocean and an inhospitable clime, and at times half resolving to go back and brave the persecution from which they had fled : — while as yet there was but one feeble colony, upon all our southern coast, and the rambling De Soto and the romantic Ponce de Leon had been but disappointed adventurers in the south-west ; the adventurous Frenchmen had entered the St. Lawrence and planted a colony upon its banks ; had erected rude pallisades at Quebec and Montreal, and were making their way by slow stages in this direction. Halting at Kingston, (Frontenac) they struck off across Canada by river and inland lake navigation — carrying their bark canoes over portages — and reached Lake Huron : then on, amid hostile tribes, until they had explored and made missionary and trading stations upon Lakes Michigan and Superior, the upper waters of the Mississippi, and the Illinois rivers.

In all the French expeditions to the St. Lawrence, previous to that of Champlain, there is little interest save in those of Jaques Cartier. In his second one, in 1535, with three ships, and a large number of accompanying adventurers he entered the St. Lawrence and gave it its name ; giving also, as he proceeded up the river, names to other localities which they yet bear. Arrived at the Island of Orleans, he had a friendly interview with the natives. In a previous voyage he had seized and carried to France, two natives, who, returning with him somewhat instructed in the French language, now acted as his interpreters, and gave a favorable account to their people of those they had been with, and the country they had seen. Proceeding on, he anchored for the winter, at "Stadacona," afterwards called Quebec. Here he was met by an Indian chief, Domacoma, with a train of five hundred natives who welcomed his arrival. The Indians giving Cartier intimation that a larger village than theirs lay farther up the river. With a picked crew of thirty-five armed men he ascended the river, had friendly interviews with the natives upon its banks. Arriving at the present site of Montreal, he found an Indian village called Hochelaga, which "stood in the midst of a great field of Indian corn, was of a circular form, containing about fifty large huts, each fifty paces long and from

fourteen to fifteen wide, all built in the shape of tunnels, formed of wood, and covered with birch bark ; the dwellings were divided into several rooms, surrounding an open court in the centre, where the fires burned. Three rows of pallisades encircled the town, with only one entrance ; above the gate and over the whole length of the outer ring of defence, there was a gallery, approached by flights of steps, and plentifully provided with stones and other missiles to resist attack.* The strangers were entertained with fetes and dances, and in their turn, made presents. The sick and infirm came to Jaques Cartier, who in the simple minds of the natives, possessed some supernatural power over disease, which he disclaimed ; but the pious adventurer "read aloud part of the Gospel of St. John, and made the sign of the cross over the sufferers."

Jaques Cartier returned to his colony at St. Croix, after a friendly parting with his newly acquired acquaintances at Hochelaga. In his absence, the intense cold had come upon his people unprepared, the scurvy had attacked them, twenty-five were dead, and all were more or less affected. The kind natives gave him a remedy that checked the disease.† The expedition prepared to return to France. As if all of the first interviews of our race with the natives were to be signally marked by acts of wrong and outrage, as an earnest of the whole catalogue that was to follow, under pretence that he had seen some manifestations of hostilities, Cartier signalized his departure, and his ingratitude, by seizing the chief, Donacona, the former captives, and two others ; and conveying them on board his vessels, took them to France. The act was mitigated, it has been said, by a kind treatment that reconciled them to their fate.

The expedition had found no "gold nor silver" and for that reason disappointed their patron, the King, and the people of France ; added to which, were tales of suffering in a rigorous climate. Jaques Cartier, however, made favorable reports of all he had seen and heard ; and the Indian chief, Donacona, as soon as he had acquired enough of French to be intelligible, "confirmed all that had been said of the beauty, richness and salubrity of his native country." The chief, however, sickened and died.

The next commission to visit the new dominions of France, was

* Conquest of Canada.

† A decoction of the leaf and the bark of the fir tree.

granted to Jean Francois de la Roche, with Jaques Cartier as his second in command. It was formidable in its organization and equipment: after a series of disasters:—the arrival of Cartier, upon his old grounds; a reconciling of the Indians to his outrage, a winter of disease and death among his men; a failure of de la Roche to arrive in season: it returned to France to add to a war in which she had just then engaged, reasons for suspending colonial enterprises. Almost a half century succeeded for French advents to become but a tradition upon the banks of the St. Lawrence.

How like a vision, in all this time, must those advents have seemed with the simple natives! A strange people, with all that could excite their wonder:—their huge ships, their loud mouthed cannon, whose sounds had reverberated upon the summits of their mountains, in their vallies, and been re-echoed from the deep recesses of their forests; with their gay banners, and music, and all the imposing attendants of fleets sent out by the proud monarch of a showy and ostentatious nation of Europe; who had addressed them in an unknown tongue, and by signs and symbols awed them to a contemplation of a Great Spirit, other than the terrible Manitou of their simple creed; who had showed them a "book" in which were revelations they had neither "seen in the clouds nor heard in the winds;" whose advent had been a mixed one of conciliation and perfidy:—who had given them a taste of "strong water," that had steeped their senses in forgetfulness, or aroused their fiercest passions. All this had come and gone, began and ended, and left behind it a vacuum, of mingled wonder, amazement and curiosity: and of dark forebodings of evil, if there was some kind spirit, caring for their future destiny, to foreshadow to them the sequel of all they had witnessed. Would the pale faced strangers come again?—Would their lost ones be restored to reveal to them the mysteries of those wondrous advents: and tell them of all things they had seen in that far off land, the home of the strangers? These were the anxious enquiries, the themes around their council fires, in their wigwams, when they held communion with their pagan deities, or asked the moon and the stars to be the revelators of hidden things. One generation passed away and another succeeded, before the mysterious strangers came.

NOTE.—Toward the close of the period between the advents of Cartier and Champlain, small expeditions of French fishermen and traders, generally coasting off New Foundland, occasionally entered the St. Lawrence and traded with the natives.

first to conciliate their favor by offering themselves as allies ; then to wrest from them empire and dominion.

The first expedition of Champlain was in 1603 and '4. The accounts of them possess but little interest. In 1608, equipped by his patrons for an expedition, having principally in view the fur trade, he extended his own views to the addition of permanent colonization, and missionary enterprize. Arriving at Quebec, he erected the first European tenements upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. The Indians, with whom Cartier had cultivated an acquaintance, were reduced to a few in number, by removal, famine and disease. Remaining at Quebec through a severe winter, relieving the necessities of the Indians, his own people suffering under an attack of the scurvy, Champlain in 1609, accompanied by two Frenchmen and a war party of the natives, went up the St. Lawrence, and struck off to the Lake that still bears his name. The war party that accompanied him, were of the Algonquins and Hurons, of Canada, who were then at war with the Iroquois. Their object was invasion of the Iroquois country, and Champlain, from motives of policy had become their ally. Upon the shores of a lake to which he gave the name of St. Sacrament—afterwards called Lake George—the party met a war party of two hundred Iroquois ; a battle ensued, the tide of it was as unusual, turning in favor of the warlike and almost every where conquering Iroquois, when Champlain suddenly made his appearance, with his two Frenchmen, and the first fire from their arquebuses, killed two of the Iroquois chiefs, and wounded a third. The Iroquois, dismayed, as well by the report and terrible effect of new weapons of war, as by the appearance of those who bore them, held out but little longer ; fled in disorder ; were pursued, and many of them killed and taken prisoners. This was the first battle of which history gives us any account, in a region where armies have since often met.—And it marks another era, the introduction of fire arms in battle, to the natives, in all the northern portion of this continent. They had now been made acquainted with the two elements that were destined to work out principally their decline and gradual extermination. They had tasted French brandy upon the St. Lawrence, English rum upon the shores of the Chesapeake, and Dutch gin, upon the banks of the Hudson. They had seen the mighty engines, one of which was to conquer them in battle and the other was to conquer them in peace councils, where cessions of their domains were involved.

Champlain returned to France, leaving a small colony at Quebec : was invited to an audience, and had favor with the King, who bestowed upon all this region, the name of New France. * Champlain visited his infant colony again in 1610, and 1613, recruiting it, and upon each occasion going himself to battle with his neighbors and allies against the Iroquois. In 1615 a company of merchants in France, having procured a charter from the King, which embraced all of French interests in New France, gave to Champlain the principal direction of their affairs. Having attended to the temporal affairs of the colony, the conversion of the natives, by Catholic missionaries, engaged his attention. Four missionaries of the order of Recollets were enlisted. These were the first missionaries in Canada, and the first upon all our Atlantic coast, with the exception of some Jesuit missionaries that had before reached Nova Scotia. Leaving the large recruit of colonists he brought out at Quebec, where he found all things had gone well in his absence, the intrepid adventurer, and soldier as he had made himself, pushed on to Montreal, and joined again a war party of his Indian allies, against the Iroquois. The Iroquois were this time conquerors. Defeat had lessened the importance of Champlain in the eyes of his Indian allies, and they even refused him and his few followers, a guide back to Quebec, although he had been wounded. Remaining for the winter an unwilling guest of his Indian allies, he improved his time, as soon as his wounds would allow of it, in visiting more of the wild region of Canada. In the spring he returned to Quebec, and in July, to France.

For several succeeding years, Champlain visited and revisited the colony, extending and strengthening it : encountering vicissitudes in France consequent upon the breaking up and change of proprietorships ; his colony subjected to attacks from the Iroquois whom he

* Charlevoix.

NOTE.—It has remained for an ind-fatiguable researcher, in the history of the early French occupancy of this region — O. H. Marshall, Esq. of Buffalo — to ascertain where Champlain and his Indian allies invaded the territory of the Iroquois. They came across the lower end of Lake Ontario, and passing through what is now Jefferson and Oswego counties, crossed the Ontario Lake and attacked the Onondagas at their principal settlement and Fort on the banks of the Onondaga Lake, when a battle ensued which lasted three hours, the invaders gained no advantage ; and Champlain who expected a reinforcement endeavored in vain to induce his Indian allies to remain and continue the siege. He had received two severe wounds, and was carried in a basket of "wicker-work" to the shores of lake Ontario. He spent a dreary winter among the Hurons on the north shore of the Lake.

had injudiciously made his implacable enemies. Still, French colonization in New France slowly progressed, and trading establishments were multiplied. In 1623 a stone Fort was erected at Quebec to protect the colonists against the Iroquois, and a threatened end of amicable relations with the Hurons and Algonquins. In 1625, '6, the first Jesuit missionaries came out from France, among them were names with which we become familiar in tracing the first advents of our race in Western New York and the region of the Western Lakes.

In 1627 the colonization of New France was placed upon a new footing, by the organization of the "Company of One Hundred Associates." Their charter gave them a monopoly in New France, and attempted to promote christianization and colonization, both of which had been neglected by making the fur trade a principal object. The "Company" engaged to introduce 16,000 settlers before 1643.—Before the advent of this new association, the colony had become but a feeble one; the Indians had become hostile and kept the French confined to their small settlements, at times, to their fortifications.

Hostilities having commenced between France and England, the first vessel sent out by the Associates fell into the hands of the English. An English expedition after destroying the French trading establishment at Tadoussac, on the Saginay, sent a demand for the surrender of Quebec. Champlain replied in a manner so spirited and determined as to delay the attack, until the English force was increased. In July 1629 an English fleet appeared, and demanded a surrender which Champlain with his reduced and feeble means of resistance was obliged to obey. The terms of capitulation secured all private rights of the French colonists, and most of them remained. Champlain, however, returned to France. It was a siege and capitulation in miniature, that after the lapse of more than a century, was destined to be the work of concentrated armies and navies, and weeks of fierce contest.

English possession was surrendered by treaty in 1632. At the period of this small conquest:—"the Fort of Quebec, surrounded by a score of hastily built dwellings and barracks, some poor huts on the Island of Montreal, the like at Three Rivers and Tadoussac, and a few fishermen's log houses and huts on the St. Lawrence, were the only fruits of the discoveries of Verrazano, Jaques Cartier, Roberval and Champlain, and the great outlay of La Roche and

De Monts, and the toils and sufferings of their followers, for nearly a century."*

Champlain returned in 1633, having been re-appointed Governor of New France, bringing with him recruits of Missionary and other colonists, and gave a new impulse to colonial enterprise; settlements began to be extended, and a college, with rich endowments was formed at Quebec, for the "education of youth, and the conversion of the Indians." While all this was in progress, Champlain, the founder of French colonization in New France, to whose perseverance, courage, and fortitude, France was indebted for the foothold she had gained upon this continent, died, and was "buried in the city of which he was the founder."†

Montmagny succeeded Champlain. Deprived of much of the patronage from the Associates that he had reason to expect, the work of colonization progressed but slowly during his administration, which continued until 1647. Trade, advanced settlements, agriculture, made but little progress, but missionary and educational enterprises, had a powerful impetus. At Sillery, near Quebec, a college was founded. The Dutchesse de Arguillon founded the Hotel Dieu, and Madame de la Peltrie, the convent of the Ursulines. The last named liberal patron was young, high born; a devotee to her religious faith, and a zealous propagator of it. She came herself to the New World, with a vessel of her own, accompanied by Ursulines, who blended their names and services conspicuously with the history of Lower Canada. Such was the eclat that attended the advent of the noble patron and her followers, who had left all the refinements, gaities, and luxuries of France, to take up their abode upon the wild and inhospitable shores of the St. Lawrence, that their arrival was signalized by a public reception, with military and religious observances.

The other principal events under the administration of Montmagny, were the founding of Montreal, and the building of a Fort there and at the mouth of the Richlieu, as out-posts against the Iroquois, who since they had become exasperated by Champlain, made frequent attacks upon the French settlements. A threat reach-

* Conquest of Canada.

† He was one of the extraordinary men of his age and nation. History finds in him a marked character, and poetry and romance the model of an heroic adventurer.

ed the ears of Montmagny that they would "drive the white man into the sea," and becoming convinced of the powers of the wild warriors, whose strength he had no means of estimating, he sought the means of establishing a peace with them, in which he was encouraged by his neighbors the Hurons, who were worn out, and their numbers reduced, by long wars with their indefatigable adversaries. The governor and the Huron chiefs met deputies of the Iroquois at Three Rivers, and concluded a peace.

M. d' Ailleboust who had held a command at Three Rivers, was the successor of Montmagny, and continued as Governor until 1650. The peace with the Iroquois gave a spur to missionary enterprise and trade, both of which were extended.

During the administration of Montmagny, missionaries and traders had followed the water courses of Canada, and reached Lake Huron, where they had established a post. From that distant point, in 1640, came the first of our race that ever trod upon the soil of Western New York, and left behind them any record of their advent.* On the 2d day of November, 1640, two Jesuit Fathers, Brebeauf and Chaumonot, left their mission station at St. Marie, on the river Severn, near Lake Huron, and came upon the Niagara river, both sides of which were occupied by the Neuter Nation.† They found this nation to consist of 12,000 souls, having 4,000 warriors, and inhabiting forty villages, eighteen of which the missionaries visited. They were, say these Fathers:—"Larger, stronger, and better formed than our Hurons." "The men, like all savages, cover their naked flesh with skins, but are less particu-

* In a letter from Father L'Allemant to the Provincial of the Jesuits in France, it is mentioned that the Recollet Father Daillon passed the winter of 1626 among the Neuter Nation. If this is so, he was the first white man who saw Western New York. The period is earlier than we can well suppose there could have been any Frenchman so far away from the settlements upon the St. Lawrence, especially when we consider the then utter hostility of the Iroquois. Still, the Seneca branch of them may as early as this have tolerated a few missionaries and traders.

† This Neuter Nation, then, were occupants of all the region between the Niagara and the Genesee rivers, Lake Ontario and the foot of Lake Erie, and a wide strip on the west side of the Niagara river. It was NEUTRAL ground, while surrounding nations were at war, and they were neutrals. But three years only after the visit of Brebeauf and Chaumonot, they were dispossessed by the Iroquois. Thus the region became—as we found it—a part of the domains of the Seneca. Says Charlevoix:—"To avoid the fury of the Iroquois, they finally joined themselves against the Hurons, but gained nothing by the union. The Iroquois, that like lions that have tasted blood, can not be satiated, destroyed all that came in their way; and at this day there remains no trace of the Neuter Nation."

lar than the Hurons in concealing what should not appear." "The Squaws are ordinarily clothed, at least from the waist to the knees; but are more shameless in their immodesty than our Hurons." "They have Indian corn, beans, and gourds in equal abundance; also, plenty of fish. They are much employed in hunting deer, buffalo, wild cats, wolves, wild boars, beaver, and other animals. It is rare to see snow in the country more than half a foot deep. But this year, it is more than three feet." The Rev. Fathers found our remote predecessors here upon the soil of Western New York, with the exception of one village, unfavorable to the mission they were upon, and intent upon which they had braved all the rigors of the season, and a long forest path which they soon retraced.

If those Rev. Fathers were admirers of nature's almost undisturbed works, fresh, as it were, from the Creator, and bearing the impress of His hands — and we may well suppose they were, for they had come from cloistered halls and high seats of learning, and refinement — how must their eyes have been satiated in view of the panorama of lakes and forests, hills and plains, rushing torrents, water-falls, and the climax in their midst — the mighty cataract of Niagara, thundering in its solitude! Who would not wish that he had been among them — or what is perhaps more rational — that he could enjoy such a scene as Western New York then was?

The treaty with the Iroquois had but suspended their hostilities. In 1618, they were again out upon their war-paths upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. Father Antoine Daniel had made a mission station of the small settlement of St. Joseph. When the Huron warriors had gone out upon the chase, while the missionary had the old men, the women and children, collected for religious service, a party of Iroquois stole upon them and massacred the whole. This was probably the first of a series of martyrdoms that awaited the Jesuit missionaries. In the early part of 1649, a thousand Iroquois fell upon two villages of the Hurons, and nearly exterminated the whole population; the missionary in each place meeting the fate of Father Daniel. This was followed up in the same year by an attack upon the Huron village of St. Johns, where nearly three thousand, with their missionary, were massacred! Disease, as well as the war-club, had visited the Hurons. "Most of the remnant of this unhappy tribe then took the resolution of presenting themselves to their conquerors, and were received into their nation. The few

who still remained wandering in the forests, were hunted down like wolves, and soon exterminated." *

In 1650, M. de Lauson became the Governor of New France. During his administration, the colony made but slow advances; flushed with their victories over their own race, the Iroquois grew bolder and more determined to expel another race whom they regarded as intruders; and who had been the allies of their foes. They almost continually hung upon the French settlements, and paralyzed their efforts. In 1653, however, the Onondaga branch of the Confederacy petitioned the French Governor for the location of a missionary and trading establishment among them. The proposition was acceded to, but it served to exasperate the other nations, and was finally withdrawn by stealth, to avoid a massacre.

In 1658, Viscount d'Arguson succeeded M. de Lauson. The commencement of his administration was signalized by a massacre of French allies, the Algonquins, under the very walls and guns of Quebec. A reverse, however—a defeat of a band of Mohawks at Three Rivers, was followed by a suspension of hostilities which was industriously improved by the French in extending their mission and trading stations. But the Iroquois were soon again upon their war-paths, giving the French colony but little repose. At a period when the colonists were desponding, and almost upon the point of abandoning the whole ground, and retiring to France, d'Arguson renewed a treaty with the Iroquois, and an exchange of prisoners.

In 1662, a new Governor came out—the Baron d'Avagour—and the French garrison was reinforced by an importation of 400 soldiers. A Bishop of Quebec had now been appointed—M. de Monts. He found all spiritual and temporal efforts likely to be paralyzed by the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and the colonists, that d'Avagour had allowed. The Bishop hastened to France, represented the evil to the King, and came back with a new Governor, M. d'Mesny, who had orders to stop the destructive traffic. † The new Governor proved a tyrant, thwarted the missionaries, fell into a general disrepute, and was soon recalled.

* Conquest of Canada.

† This was probably the first temperance movement by other than "moral suasion," on this continent. The Catholic missionaries were from the first, however, each a Father Matthew.

In 1663, the company of Associates relinquished all their rights in New France, which were transferred to the West India Company. In this year, all that is now the Canadas, Western and Central New York, was visited by a tremendous earthquake.*

M. de Tracy came out as Governor under the West India Company in 1665, bringing with him a recruit of soldiers, and soon, with the aid of Indian allies, intimidated the Iroquois. A large number of families, artisans and laborers, were added to the colony, and forts were built at the mouth of the Richlieu. In December, the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, sent deputations suing for peace and an exchange of prisoners, which was readily agreed upon. The Mohawks and Oneidas still holding out, after sending out an expedition against them that principally failed, M. de Tracy, at the head of 1200 French soldiers and 600 Indian allies, encountered all the vicissitudes of a long march through the wilderness: in which his army suffered for the want of food, and were only saved from starvation by subsisting upon chestnuts. Arriving at the villages of the Mohawks, he found them principally deserted. The finale of the formidable expedition was the burning of the Mohawk cabins, and the killing of a few old men and women.† Little of glory, and much of suffering, loss and disgrace, were the fruits of the expedition. M. de Tracy returned to France, and the government devolved on M. de Courcelles.

Peace with the Iroquois ensued, and a brief season was allowed for the progress of settlement and the promotion of agriculture. The administration of M. de Courcelles was vigorous and well conducted. Learning that the Iroquois were endeavoring to persuade the Western Indians to trade with the English, he manœuvred them with a formidable attack: to make amends for murders of Iroquois by Frenchmen, he had led out and executed the offenders, in view of those whose friends had been the victims; and by other acts of

* [See Appendix, No. 1.] There are strong evidences throughout all this region, of some great convulsion of the earth, as recently as within the last two centuries. There are fissures in our rocks, extensive forests with timber growths of less than two centuries: mounds and indentations of earth, as if whole forests had suddenly been uprooted; immense sections of rock and earth detached from their primitive locations upon hill sides, and the banks of our streams: shall we not say that all this dates from 1663? Some portions of the account would seem exaggerated; but in all matters of fact, the *Jesuit Relations* are accredited by historians.

† The French found corn enough buried in pits to have supplied the Mohawks for two years.

conciliation, preserved peace. A war broke out between the Iroquois and Ottawas, and he interfered and made peace.

About this period, the small pox, always a most frightful scourge with the Indian race,* broke out among all the allies of the French upon the St. Lawrence and the interior of Canada. In some instances, whole tribes were exterminated; the victims were enumerated by thousands; in one village near Quebec, they amounted to fifteen hundred.

Near the close of M. de Courcelles administration, in 1671, by sending an indefatigable agent to all the Indian nations around the western Lakes, a grand council was convened at the Falls of St. Mary, when the sovereignty of the King of France was acknowledged, and a cross, bearing his arms, was set up.

In 1671, Count Frontenac, a worthy successor of Champlain, his equal in all, and his superior in many respects; advanced in age, but vigorous, arbitrary, in all his designs and movements; took the reins of government in New France, and in many respects, created a new era. Following out the plans of his subordinate, M. Talon, an expedition was set on foot to explore the "great river," the "Mechasepe," in the dialect of the western tribes, of which but vague and indefinite ideas had been gained of the natives. Marquette, a Jesuit Missionary, with Joliet, and other attendants, set out from St. Mary's and reaching the Miami, obtained from them two natives as guides. They struck upon the waters of Fox River, and descending them, crossed the short portage, and descended upon the waters of the Wisconsin River to its confluence with the Mississippi. Their guides having returned, the adventurous Frenchmen floated down the river in their frail canoes until they came to a village of the Illinois where they were "kindly and hospitably received." The expedition, falling in with none but friendly natives, went as far down as below the mouth of the Arkansas, where, hearing that the river emptied itself into the Gulf of Mexico, instead of the Pacific, as they had fondly hoped; and fearing that they might fall into the hands of the Spaniards; they returned; Marquette commencing missionary

* Whenever the scourge has appeared upon this continent among the aborigines, it has swept off nearly all who were attacked. Their simple remedies successful in other diseases, have failed them in this. This has been principally attributed to the complexion, or rather the texture of the skin, differing from that of our race, in a toughness that prevents the disease breaking out and expending itself upon the surface; and sends it back to prey upon the vitals of its victims.

labors among the Miamis, and Joliet carrying the news of their discoveries to Quebec. These were the first of our race that saw the upper Mississippi and its vast tributaries. The pages of general history that tell of the hazardous journey ; that recounts the impressions made upon the mind of Marquette, who had a mind to appreciate all he saw in that then vast and hitherto unexplored wilderness of prairie and forest, inland seas, and wide rivers ; is one of peculiar attractions. Few historical readers will fail to peruse it. The name of a county in Illinois, and a village, perpetuates the names, and the memories of Marquette and Joliet.

ADVENTURES OF LA SALLE—THE FIRST SAIL VESSEL UPON THE
UPPER LAKES.

Previous to the western advent of Marquette and Joliet, La Salle, a young Frenchman of ample fortune, after completing his education, with all the religious enthusiasm peculiar to the disciples of Loyola, mixed with a spirit of adventure then so rife in France, had crossed the ocean, pushed on beyond the farthest French settlements upon the St. Lawrence, and become the founder of Frontenac, now Kingston, the ownership of which was conferred upon him by his King with the rank of nobility. The grant was in fact, that of a wide domain, with some exclusive privileges of Indian trade.

When Marquette and Joliet returned, they took Frontenac in their route, and found the young adventurer in the midst of his enterprises, drawing around him missionaries, traders, agriculturalists—the patron of one of the most flourishing settlements of New France.—Listening to their accounts of the vast beautiful region they had seen, its broad Lakes, wide prairies—and with especial interest to their story of the “Great River,”—he resolved upon following up their discoveries, by a new route, and extending French dominion across the entire continent. Returning to France, with the information he had obtained from various sources, his earnest importunities inspired the king and his minister, Colbert, with confidence, and a commission of discovery was granted him. The object, as expressed in the commission, was, “to discover the western portion of our country of New France,” and the suggestion was made, that through it a passage might be found to Mexico. The expedition

was to be at his own expense, and that of his associates; their prospective remuneration, a restricted monopoly of trade with the natives.

With an Italian named Tonti, Father Hennepin, a number of mechanics and mariners, naval stores, and goods for the Indian trade, he arrived at Frontenac in the fall of 1678, and soon after a wooden canoe of ten tons, the first craft of European architecture that ever entered the Niagara River, bore a part of his company to the site of Fort Niagara. La Salle, followed soon after with a sail vessel, in which he had a stock of provisions, and materials for ship building; crossed the Lake, coasted along its southern shore, entered the mouth of the Genesee River or the Irondequoit Bay, and visited some of the villages of the Senecas to reconcile them to his enterprise; and on his way from the Genesee to the Niagara River, encountered a gale and lost his vessel, saving but a part of his cargo. Arrived at Niagara, he erected some rude defences, established a post, and at Lewiston erected a trading station with pallisades. Late in January the business of ship building was commenced at the mouth of Cayuga creek, six miles above the Falls of Niagara. In mid winter, the necessity occurring, the intrepid adventurer, on foot, made the journey to Frontenac, around the head of the Lake, returning on the ice along the northern shore, with a dog and sledge for the transportation of his baggage.

It was fortunate, perhaps, that during the ship's building, the warriors of the Senecas were principally drawn off in an expedition against some of the western enemies. Those that remained behind, hung around and watched the operations at Niagara as well as at the place of ship building. In consequence of their remonstrances, what was intended as the commencement of a Fort at Niagara, had to be abandoned, and a "habitation surrounded with pallisades" substituted; and they were almost constantly annoying the ship builders. The missionary, Hennepin, by mild persuasion, and the display of the emblems of the faith he was propagating, would seem to have aided much in reconciling the natives to these strange movements they

NOTE.—It should be observed that hitherto Lake Erie had been unexplored. The route to the Upper Lakes had been via the interior Rivers and Lakes of Canada.—Why the earlier adventurers, missionaries and traders, had failed to follow up the great body of water that they saw discharging into Lake Ontario, is left to conjecture:—The jealousy with which the Senecas had guarded their territory, and then unwillingness, that the French should extend their alliance with their enemies the western nations, affords the most reasonable explanation.

were witnessing. Becoming discouraged, surrounded with dangers, the ship builders were once upon the point of desertion to the English settlements upon the Hudson, but were encouraged by the pious missionary in "exhortations on holidays and Sundays after divine service." He told them that the enterprise had sole "reference to the promotion of the glory of God, and the welfare of the christian colonies." On one occasion, while the vessel was upon the stocks, a scheme, the Senecas had devised for burning it, was frustrated by the timely warning of a friendly squaw.

All these difficulties were surmounted, and when the River and Lake had become clear of ice, a vessel of sixty tons burthen, was ready for the water. It was "blessed according to our Church of Rome," and launched under the discharge of artillery, accompanied by the chaunting of the *Te Deum*: the Senecas looking on with amazement, declaring the ship builders to be "*Ot-kous*," men with "penetrating minds." Some weeks followed of preparation for the voyage: trips by water were made to Frontenac; trading parties went to the principal villages of the Senecas; and the Niagara River was explored to see how the vessel was to be got into Lake Erie. In the mean time the warriors of the Senecas returned from the westward, and their resentments were absorbed in wonder at all they saw; awe, or fear perhaps, overcame their jealousies. Invited on board the vessel and hospitably entertained, they exclaimed, "*ga-nor-ron*," how wonderful!

The vessel was named the "*Griffin*," in honor of Count Frontenac, whose armorial bearing was the representation of two griffins. It was equipped with sails, masts, and every thing ready for navigation, and had on board "five small cannon and two arquebuses." After all was ready several attempts were made to ascend the Niagara, before a wind sufficiently favorable occurred to insure success. At last, with much severe labor, men being often placed on shore with tow lines to assist the sails—the vessel entered Lake Erie, and on the 7th of August, 1679, accompanied by the discharge of cannon, and the chaunting of the *Te Deum*, the first sail vessel was careering over its unknown expanse, groping its way with no charts to direct its course.

* Hennepin, whose account is principally relied upon, speaks of the great difficulty attending the getting of the vessel's equipments up the "three mountains" at Lewiston. He says "it took four men to carry the largest anchor, but bravely being given to cheer them, the work was soon accomplished."

After a protracted voyage, the Griffin cast anchor in Green Bay, where a trade was opened with the natives and a rich cargo of furs obtained. Late in the season of navigation, it started on its return voyage to the Niagara River, encountered severe gales, and the vessel and all on board were never more heard of—their fate remaining a mystery.*

Hennepin describing what they saw of the shores of Lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron, and the banks of the Detroit and St. Clair Rivers, observes;—Those who will have the good fortune some day to possess the beautiful and fertile lands, will be under many obligations to us, who have cleared the way.

Anticipating the return of the ill-fated vessel, La Salle established a trading house at Mackinaw, and proceeding to the mouth of the St. Josephs, added to a small Missionary station, under the care of Allouez, a trading house with pallisades, which he called the "Fort of the Miami." Despairing of the return of the Griffin, leaving ten men to guard the fort, with Hennepin, and two other Missionaries, Tonti, and about thirty other followers, the impatient adventurer ascended the St. Joseph and descended the Kankakee to its mouth. From there he descended the Illinois to Lake Peori where he erected a fort amid the murmuring and discontent of his followers, who deemed their leader and his expedition ruined by the loss of the Griffin. Yielding temporarily to despondency, the stout hearted leader, named it Fort Creve Cœur, the "Fort of the Broken hearted."

Recovering his wonted energy, however, he set his men to sawing ship plank, dispatched Hennepin with two followers to explore the Upper Mississippi, and started himself with three companions, for Frontenac, to procure recruits, and sails and cordage for his vessel. The journey was made in the month of March, and was one of peril and suffering; the route overland to the Niagara River, and from thence around the head of Lake Ontario to Frontenac. New adventurers

* Unless the author was right in the conclusion he formed as to its fate in a previous work. The Jesuit Missionaries concluded that it was stranded in a gale, plundered by the natives and its crew murdered. Such was probably the fact:—In 1805, some of the early settlers in Hamburg, Erie county, after a severe blow that had removed a large body of sand and gravel upon the lake shore, found where it had been deeply embedded, an anchor. In later years, near the same spot, there has been found several hundred pounds of iron, such as would seem to have been taken from a vessel; and near the spot, two cannon, the whole buried in the earth, and good sized forest trees growing over them. There is no record, or tradition, of the loss of any vessel, other than the Griffin, at the early period in which these relics must have been left where they were found.

flocked to his standard, supplies were obtained, and he returned to his post upon the Illinois, which he found deserted. In his absence, it had been attacked by the natives; an aged Missionary, Father Ribourde, had been murdered, and Tonti with a few followers, had escaped, and found refuge among the Potawatomes on Lake Michigan.

Returning to Green Bay, he commenced trading and establishing a friendly intercourse with the Indians; collected his scattered followers; built a spacious barge on the Illinois River, and in the early part of 1632, descended the Mississippi to the sea. He planted a cross upon the Gulf of Mexico, claimed the country for France, and called it Louisana.

The sequel of these daring enterprises, that have no parallel even in our day of wondrous achievements — that paved the way for the occupancy of our race in all the vast region drained by the Mississippi — is a long chapter of disaster, of successes and reverses, mostly remote from our local region, and belonging to the pages of general history. In all that relates to French occupancy, of the Genesee country, the borders of the western Lakes, of the valley of the Mississippi — especially, to the adventures of Marquette, Joliet, La Salle, Hennepin and Tonti, hitherto the historian has had but uncertain guides, and but unsatisfactory, authentic details. Recent discoveries in Quebec, and among the archives of the Jesuits, in Rome, afford encouragement that with some future historian these deficiencies will be supplied. In anticipation of this, the author leaves the high souled, adventurous La Salle, upon the threshold of adventures, that led him over the plains of Texas, to New Mexico; that embraced, voyages to France by sea, shipwrecks, and a series of untoward events; and ended in his murder by one of his followers, on the Trinity River in Texas, on a return, overland, to Frontenac.

Well deserving was he of the eulogy bestowed upon him by our accomplished national historian, Bancroft:—"For force of will and vast conceptions; for various knowledge and quick adaption of his genius to untried circumstances; for a sublime magnanimity that resigned itself to the will of Heaven, and yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope,—he had no superior among his countrymen."

In a previous work, the author in a brief review of a somewhat more elaborate account of the expeditions of La Salle, has remark-

ed: One hundred and thirty nine years ago, the Griffin set out upon its voyage, passed up the rapids of the Niagara, and unfurled the first sail upon the waters of the Upper Lakes.

Intrepid navigator and explorer! High as were hopes and ambition that could alone impel him to such an enterprise; far seeing as he was; could the curtain that concealed the future from his view, have been raised, his would have been the exclamation:—

“Visions of glory, spare my aching sight;—
Ye unborn ages, rush not on my soul!”

He deemed himself but adding to the nominal dominions of his King; but opening new avenues to the commerce of his country; founding a prior claim to increased colonial possessions. He was pioneering the way for an empire of freemen, who in process of time were to fill the valleys he traversed; the sails of whose commerce were to whiten the vast-expanse of waters upon which he was embarking!

How often, when reflecting upon the triumphs of steam navigation, do we almost wish that it were admitted by the dispensations of Providence that Fulton could be again invested with mortality, and witness the mighty achievements of his genius. Akin to this, would be the wish, that La Salle could rise from his wilderness grave in the far-off South, and look out upon the triumphs of civilization and improvement over the vast region he was the first to explore.

Ours is a country whose whole history is replete with daring enterprises and bold adventures. Were we prone, as we should be, duly to commemorate the great events that have marked our progress, here and there, in fitting localities, more monuments would be raised as tributes due to our history, and to the memory of those who have acted a conspicuous part in it. Upon the banks of our noble river, within sight of the Falls, a shaft from our quarries would soon designate the spot where the Griffin was built and launched; upon its base, the name of La Salle, and a brief inscription that would commemorate the pioneer advent of our vast and increasing Lake commerce.

Frontenac returned to France in consequence of disagreement with other officers of the colony, but to return again in after years. He was succeeded by M. de la Barre, who found the Iroquois dis-

posed to lean toward the English interests upon the Hudson, and assuming again a hostile attitude toward the French. The Ottawas, who were the allies of the French, had killed a chief of the Iroquois; and from this and other causes, they were again exasperated, and preparing for descents upon the French settlements. Hitherto, the Senecas, far removed from what had been the seat of war, and almost continually waging war with those of their own race, had participated but little in the wars with the French. Provocations now began on their part, in the way of endeavoring to divert trade to the English, and in warring upon the French Indian allies; and upon one occasion, they had robbed a French trading party on their way to Illinois.

A long series of provocations were given by the Iroquois, which determined M. de la Barre to go against them with all the forces he could command. He had information that a descent was to be made upon the French settlements upon the St. Lawrence. He assembled an army of 700 Canadian militia, 130 regular soldiers, and 200 Indian allies, in July, 1683. While coming up the St. Lawrence, he learned that the more friendly of the Iroquois nations had prevailed upon the Senecas to listen to overtures of peace. The English had offered their mediation, with intimations that they would make common cause with the hostile nations of Iroquois, if the French Governor persevered in his warlike demonstrations. M. de la Barre crossed Lake Ontario, and quartered his army at a Bay in what is now Jefferson county, and awaited the arrival of peace deputies of the Iroquois. While there, the French army suffered much for want of wholesome provisions, and they named the place "La Famine," or Hungry Bay. The Indians met them, with an Onondaga chief, Garangula, at their head. A speech was made by the French Governor, and replied to by Garangula, in a tone of contempt and derision, rather than of fear or submission.* He well knew that famine and disease had weakened the French force, and even tantalized them by allusion to their misfortunes. De la

* For a correct translation of this noted speech, copied from La Hontan, see "Holland Purchase." Mr. Clinton said:—"I believe it impossible to find in all the effusions of ancient or modern oratory, a speech more appropriate or convincing. Under the veil of respectful profession, it conveys the most biting irony; and while it abounds with rich and splendid imagery, it contains the most solid reasoning." The respected author of "History of Onondaga," regards him as having been the Nestor of the Iroquois.

Barre, says the Baron la Hontan, who was present, "returned to his tent much enraged at what he had heard." The interview ended by a stipulation on the part of the Senecas that they would make reparation for some alleged wrongs;* and on the part of the French Governor, that he would immediately withdraw his army. The discomfited and chagrined la Barre withdrew an army made feeble by disease and hunger; and upon reaching Montreal, learned that a French force had arrived, which would have enabled him to humble the proud warriors, and provoking orator he had met on the wild shores of Lake Ontario.

[Of local events, the expedition of De Nonville follows next in order of time. A brief allusion to it will be found in Mr. Hosmer's chapter upon the Senecas, and more of it will be found in the Appendix, No. 2.]

The Iroquois were prompt to carry the war home upon their invaders. In November following De Nonville's expedition, they attacked the French fort on the Sorrel, and were repulsed, but they ravaged the neighboring French settlements, and made captives. Darkness lowered upon the French cause.

"In this same year, there fell upon Canada an evil more severe than Indian aggression or English hostility. Toward the end of the summer, a deadly malady visited the colony, and carried mourning into almost every household. So great was the mortality, that M. De Nonville was constrained to abandon, or rather defer, his project of humbling the pride and power of the Tsonnonthouans. He had also reason to doubt the faith of his Indian allies; even the Hurons of the far West, who had fought so stoutly by his side on the shores of Lake Ontario, were discovered to have been at the time in treacherous correspondence with the Iroquois."

"While doubt and disease paralyzed the power of the French, their dangerous enemies were not idle. Twelve hundred Iroquois warriors assembled at Lake St. Francis, within two days' march of Montreal, and haughtily demanded audience of the Governor, which was immediately granted. Their orator proclaimed the power of his race, and the weakness of the white men, with all the emphasis and striking illustration of Indian eloquence. He offered

*The wrongs complained of, were the destruction, by the Senecas, of a large number of the canoes of the French traders, on their way to the West, the taking of fourteen Frenchmen as prisoners; and an attack upon one of the Western forts.—Paris Doc.

peace on terms proposed by the Governor of New York, but only allowed the French four days for deliberation."

"This high-handed diplomacy was backed by formidable demonstrations. The whole country west of the river Sorrel, or Richlieu, was occupied by a savage host, and the distant fort of Cataracouy, on the Ontario shore, was with difficulty held against 800 Iroquois, who had burned the farm stores with flaming arrows, and slain the cattle of the settlers. The French bowed before the storm they could not resist, and peace was concluded on conditions that war should cease in the land, and all the allies should share in the blessings of repose. M. De Nonville further agreed to restore the Indian chiefs who had been so treacherously torn from their native wilds, and sent to labor in the galleys of France."*

Before the treaty was concluded, however, the implacable enemies of the Iroquois, the Abenakis, attacked them on the Sorrel, destroyed many, and pushed their conquest even to the English settlements. And nearly at the same time, another untoward circumstance occurred; an instance of cunning and knavery which has no parallel in Indian warfare:—Kondiaronk, a chief of the western Hurons, with a retinue of warriors, sought an interview with De Nonville, for the purpose of reconciling some misunderstanding. Learning that peace was about to be concluded between the French and Iroquois, he determined to prevent it. Pretending to go back to his own country, he went up the St. Lawrence, and lying in ambush for the Iroquois, on their return from the treaty, he fell upon them with his warriors, killing many, and taking some prisoners. He then pretended that he was acting in concert with the French Governor, and that he had instigated the attack upon those with whom he had just concluded a peace. The scheme worked just as the wily backwoods Metternich had concluded it would:—A renewal

* Conquest of Canada.

NOTE.—The author of the history of the Conquest of Canada, says of De Nonville, in allusion to his seizure of the Iroquois, and sending them to France:—"His otherwise honorable and useful career can never be cleansed from the fatal blot of one dark act of treachery. From the day when that evil deed was done, the rude but magnanimous Indians, scorned as a broken reed the sullied honor of the French." The author should not have made De Nonville wholly responsible. In all probability, he acted under instructions. The instructions of Louis XIV. to La Barre, were:—"As these savages who are stout and robust, will serve with advantage in my galleys, I wish you to do every thing in your power to make them prisoners of war, and that you will have them shipped by every opportunity which will offer for their removal to France."

of hostilities was soon made by the Iroquois, to revenge themselves for the supposed baseness of the French Governor. Twelve hundred Iroquois warriors made a descent upon the Island of Montreal, burnt the French houses, sacked their plantations, and put to the sword all the men, women and children within the outskirts of the town. "A thousand French were slain in the invasion, and twenty-six carried into captivity."* The marauders retreated, but not without further destruction of life:—a force of one hundred French and fifty Indians, sent in pursuit, were entirely cut off. "The disastrous incursions filled the French with panic and astonishment. They at once blew up the forts of Cataracouy, (Kingston,) and Niagara, burned two vessels, built under their protection, and altogether abandoned the shores of the western Lakes."† Frontenac arrived at Quebec in October, 1689, at a period of great depression with the colony. His hands were strengthened by the government of France, but a vast field of labor was before him. He repaired to Montreal, and summoned a council of the western Indians; the first and most important consummation to be effected, being their perfect conciliation and alliance:—"As a representative of the Gallic Monarch, claiming to be the bulwark of Christendom—Count Frontenac, himself a peer of France, now in his seventieth year, placed the murderous hatchet in the hands of his allies; and with tomahawk in his own grasp, chaunted the war-song, danced the war-dance, and listened, apparently with delight, to the threat of savage vengeance."‡

In the February preceding the event just alluded to, the revolution in England had been consummated. William and Mary had succeeded to the throne, and soon after which France had declared a war against England, in which the American colonies became at once involved, and a contest ensued, in which the question of undivided empire in all this portion of North America was the stake to be won:—France and England had both determined upon entire conquest. Frontenac succeeded in conforming the alliance of nearly all the western tribes of Indians, and through the mission-

* Smith's History of New York.

† So says the author of the *Conquest of Canada*. It is not probable that all the western posts were abandoned.

‡ Bancroft.

aries was enabled to make a partial division of the Iroquois from the English interests. He soon received from his government instructions to war for conquest, not only upon New England and New York, but upon all the Indian allies of the English. His instructions contemplated an attack upon "Manathe," ("Manhattan" or New York,) by sea, and an attack upon Fort Orange by land, and a descent upon the Hudson, to co-operate with the naval expedition. The French force in Canada, of regulars and militia was about two thousand. In February, 1689, an expedition started from Montreal, and after a long march through the wilderness, in which they were obliged to walk up to their knees in water, and break the ice with their feet, in order to find a solid footing, they arrived in the vicinity of Schenectady, the then farthest advanced of the English settlements. Arriving at a solitary wigwam, the benumbed and disabled from the effects of the severe cold weather, warmed themselves by its fire, and information was gained from the squaws who inhabited it, how they could best fall upon the village and execute their terrible mission of war and retribution upon those who had assisted the Mohawk branch of the Iroquois in their onslaughts upon the French settlements. In all their march and contemplated attack, they had been assisted by a former chief of the Mohawks, who had deserted his country and identified himself with the French allies at the west. Approaching the point of attack, he had eloquently harangued the French and their Indian allies to "lose all recollections of their fatigue in hopes of taking ample revenge for the injuries they had received from the Iroquois, at the solicitation of the English, and of washing them out in the blood of the traitors." * At eleven o'clock at night they came near the settlement, and deliberating whether they should not postpone the attack to a more dead hour of the night, were compelled by the excessive cold to rush upon their victims and destroy them, to

* He was, says the French official account, "without contradiction, the most considerable of his tribe—an honest man—as full of spirit, generosity and prudence as was possible, and capable at the same time of great undertakings."

NOTE.—The English account of the massacre at Schenectady, contained in the London Documents, gives the names of sixty of "ye people killed and destroyed;" of twenty-seven who were carried prisoners to Canada. The few of all the population that escaped, being a detached part of the settlement, the residence of the British commandant of the place, "Capt. Santer," whose wife had shown some favor previously to some French prisoners. The French account, in the Paris Documents, says that "the lives of fifty or sixty persons, old men, women and children were spared, they having escaped the first fury of attack."

enjoy the warmth of their burning hamlets. A small garrison, where there were soldiers under arms, was first attacked, carried, set fire to and burned, and all its defenders slaughtered. Then succeeded hours of burning and massacre, until almost the entire population and their dwellings had been destroyed. The details of the terrible onslaught are familiar to the general reader. It was a stealthy midnight assault, a work of the sword and the torch, that has few parallels in all the wars upon this continent. The whole forms an early legend of the Mohawk, and was the precursor of the terrible scenes, that in after years were enacted in that once harrassed and ravaged, but now smiling and peaceful valley.

As if satiated with this work of death ; paralyzed by the severity of the weather, or intimidated by the English strength at Albany ; the French retraced their steps, with their prisoners and plunder, not, however, without suffering from hunger and cold, enough to make the victory, if such it could be called, a dear one. The flesh of the horses they had taken at Schenectady, was for a part of the march their only food. About one hundred and fifty Indians and fifty young men of Albany, pursued them to Lake Champlain, and even over it, killing some and taking others prisoners.

Another expedition left Three Rivers and penetrated the wilderness to the Piscataqua River in Maine, surprised a small English settlement, killed thirty of its inhabitants, and made the rest prisoners. After which they fell in with another French force, and destroyed the English Fort at Casco.

A third expedition went among the Western Indians to confirm their alliance by intimidation and a lavish bestowal of presents : and was by far the most successful of the three. It helped vastly to turn trade in the direction of Montreal, and strengthened the French with many of the powerful nations of the west. On their way, they fell in with and defeated a large war party of the Iroquois.

While all this was in progress, war parties of the hostile Iroquois had been making repeated incursions down the St. Lawrence, harrassing the French settlements.

The incursions of the French at the eastward had aroused the people of New England to make common cause with the people of New York and their Iroquois allies. In May, 1690, deputies from New York and all the New England colonies met in Albany, and made the quarrel their own instead of that of England, who had been

remiss in aiding their colonies to carry it on. A general invasion of the French colony was resolved upon. Two expeditions were arranged, one to sail from Boston to Quebec, and the other to cross the country to the St. Lawrence, and descending the River, join the naval expedition at Quebec. Both were failures. The land force, under General Winthrop of Connecticut, 800 strong, marched from Albany to Lake Champlain, where they were disappointed in not meeting 500 Iroquois warriors as had been agreed upon, and the Indians had also failed to provide the necessary canoes for crossing the Lake. A council of war was held and a retreat agreed upon. Major Schuyler of the New York levies, had however, preceded the main army, and crossed the Lake without knowing that Winthrop had retreated. He attacked a small garrison at La Prairie, and obliged them to fall back toward Chambly. The French in retreating, fell in with a reinforcement, and turned upon their pursuers; a severe engagement ensued; overpowered by numbers, Schuyler was obliged to retreat. Sir William Phipps had command of the naval expedition, which consisted of 35 vessels and 200 troops. After capturing some French posts at New Foundland, and upon the Lower St. Lawrence, the British squadron arrived at the mouth of the Saguenay, Frontenac having learned that the English land force had turned back, had hastened to Quebec, and ordered a concentration of his forces there. The slow approach of the New England invaders gave him a plenty of time to prepare for defence. On the 5th of October the squadron appeared before Quebec and the next day demanded a surrender. To the enquiry of the bearer of the message, what answer he had to return, the brave old Count said:—“Tell your master I will answer by the mouth of my cannon, that he may learn that a man of my rank is not to be summoned in this manner.” The attack followed:—A force of 1700 was landed under Major Walley, and had much hard fighting, with but indifferent success, with French out-posts. In the mean time, Phipps had anchored his vessels, bearing the heaviest guns against the town and fortress. The fire was mostly ineffectual; directed principally against the high eminence of the Upper Town, it fell short of the mark, while a destructive fire was pouring down upon the assailants. The siege was continued but twenty hours, when the British fleet fell down the stream out of the reach of the galling fire from the high ramparts of the besieged fortress. The force under Major

Walley, upon land, continued the fight, generally succeeding in their approaches. After a series of sharp engagements, the land force were obliged to resort to a hurried embarkation on board of their vessels. It was a night scene of panic and disorder, many losing their lives by the upsetting of boats. The artillery that was taken on shore, fell into the hands of the French. Leaving nine disabled ships, Phipps returned to Boston to add to the news of the retreat of Winthrop, the sad account of the result of his siege of Quebec.

Then followed a winter of repose with the French colony, but of dismay and apprehension in New England and New York, whose fleet and army had so signally failed. But the Iroquois who had failed to co-operate with Winthrop in the fall, were early in the field by themselves in the spring. In May, a thousand of their warriors approached Montreal, laying waste the French settlements, and re-enacting all the horrid scenes of former years; though not without some instances of severe and summary retributions before they had effected their retreat. In a few weeks the incursion was repeated, and with similar results.

Then followed seven years of English and French and Indian war, the French under the energetic administration of Frontenac, all the while extending their settlements, and strengthening their whole colonial position, though with arms in their hands. They were mostly content to act upon the defensive, while on the part of the English colonies, there seems to have been no energy in aiding the Iroquois to carry on the war. In 1796, Frontenac, despairing of any reconciliation with the Iroquois, resolved upon another invasion of their territory. He assembled all his disposable forces of French and Indian allies at Fort Frontenac, (Kingston.) and crossing Lake Ontario disembarked at the mouth of the Oswego river. His army was a formidable one, and it was provided with a train of artillery as if he was to attack a walled town instead of weak pallisade Forts. After en-

NOTE. — The details of battles that occurred along in these years upon the St. Lawrence, would alone confirm all of daring heroism that has been attributed to the Iroquois, and give us a clue to their long series of conquests over their own race. Crossing Lakes Ontario and Champlain, in inclement seasons, with their frail canoes, and descending the St. Lawrence by land and water amid snows and ice, there was not only their stealthy assaults and savage warfare, but on many occasions with the stoicism of their race added to ordinary bravery — they faced for hours the trained and veteran soldiers of France, astonishing the men of discipline in the arts of war with their achievements. The best soldiers of France, and England, were not a match on many occasions, for an equal number of untaught soldiers of the wigwam and forest.

tering the Onondaga Lake, the army was divided, a portion of it being sent against the Oneidas, while Frontenac landed with the main force destined for the attack upon the Onondagas. The old Count had now become so decrepid from age and hard service, that he was borne to the point of attack upon a litter; presenting a scene spiced somewhat with romantic heroism, if the object of attack had in any considerable degree corresponded with the military array and preparation. The French army landed upon the banks of the Lake, and threw up some defences. The Onondagas were aware of the approach, fortified themselves as well as they could in their castle, sent away all but their warriors, and resolved upon a desperate defence. They were, however, intimidated by a Seneca prisoner, who had escaped from the French, who told them that Frontenac's army "was as numerous as the leaves on the trees, and that they had machines which threw up large balls in the air, which falling on their cabins would burst in pieces scattering fire and death every where around, against which their stockades would be no defence." This was a kind of warfare new to them, and which they resolved not to encounter, setting fire to their castle and cabins, they fled and left their invaders the poor triumph of putting to death one old Indian Sachem, who remained to become a sacrifice and defy and scorn the invaders, even while they were applying their instruments of torture. The Oneidas fled at the approach of the other division of the French army, but thirty of them remaining to welcome the invaders and save their castle, village, and crops. They were made prisoners and the village, castle, and crops destroyed. No rumor came from the English, but the fear of one hastened the French retreat across the Lake to Fort Frontenac, and from thence to Montreal.

The treaty of peace concluded at Ryswick, and the death of Frontenac soon followed, leaving partial repose to the harrassed French and English colonies. The amiable Callieres, the governor of Montreal, succeeded Frontenac, but hardly lived to witness the consummation of his wise measures for conciliating the Iroquois, renewing Indian alliances, and generally to better the condition of the affairs of New France. He was succeeded by Vaudreuil who was soon waited upon by a deputation of Iroquois, that acknowledged the French dominion.

It was but a short breathing spell for the colonies:—In May, 1702, what was called "Queen Ann's war," was declared, and the

scenes of what had been called "King William's war," were re-enacted upon this continent.

The Province of New York took but little part in the contest, and its chief burden fell upon New England. The Indians, within their own limits, reinforced by the Indians of Canada, and not unfrequently accompanied by the French, made incursions into all parts of the eastern English Provinces, falling upon the frontier settlements with the torch, the tomahawk and knife, and furnishing a long catalogue of captivity and death, that mark that as one of the most trying periods in a colonial history, upon almost every page of which we are forcibly reminded how much of blood and suffering it cost our pioneer ancestors to maintain a foothold upon this continent.* The war on the part of the English colonies, was principally directed against Port Royal, Quebec and Montreal. Most of the expeditions they fitted out were failures; there was a succession of shipwreck, badly framed schemes of conquest; organization of forces but to be disbanded before they had consummated any definite purposes; "marching up hills and marching down again."

Such being the geographical features of the war; the Province of New York having assented to the treaty of neutrality between the French and Five Nations, and contenting itself with an enjoyment of Indian trade, while their neighboring Provinces were struggling against the French and Indians; there is little to notice having any immediate connexion with our local relations.

Generally, during the war, the Five Nations preserved their neutrality. They managed with consummate skill to be the intimate friends of both the English and French. Situated between two powerful nations at war with each other, they concluded the safest way was to keep themselves in a position to fall in with the one that finally triumphed. At one period, when an attack upon Montreal was contemplated, they were induced by the English to furnish a large auxiliary force, that assembled with a detachment of English troops at Wood Creek. The whole scheme amounting to a failure, no opportunity was offered of testing their sincerity; but from some circumstances that transpired, it was suspected that they were as much inclined to the French as to the English. At one

* From the year 1675, to the close of Queen Ann's War in 1713, about six thousand of the English colonists, had perished by the stroke of the enemy, or by distempers contracted in military service.

period during the war, five Iroquois Sachems were prevailed upon to visit England for the purpose of urging renewed attempts to conquer Canada. They were introduced to the Queen, decked out in splendid wardrobe, exhibited through the streets of London, at the theatres, and other places of public resort: feasted and toasted, they professed that their people were ready to assist in exterminating the French, but threatened to go home and join the French unless more effectual war-measures were adopted. This was a lesson undoubtedly taught them by the English colonies, who had sent them over to aid in exciting more interest at home in the contest that was waging in the colonies. The visit of the Sachems had temporarily the desired effect. It aided in inducing the English government to furnish the colonies with an increased force of men and vessels of war, in assisting in a renewed expedition against Montreal and Quebec, which ended, as others had, in a failure. They got nothing from the Five Nations but professions; no overt act of co-operation and assistance. The Governor of the province of New York, all along refused to urge them to violate their engagements of neutrality; for as neutrals, they were a barrier to the frontier settlements of New York, against the encroachments of the French and their Indian allies.

"The treaty of Utrecht, in April, 1713, put an end to the war. France ceded to England 'all Nova Scotia or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries; also, the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and all other things in those parts, which depend upon the said lands.' France stipulated in the treaty that she would 'never molest the Five Nations, subject to the dominion of Great Britain,' leaving still undefined their boundaries, to form with other questions of boundary and dominion, future disagreements."

In all these years of war, French interests at the West had not been neglected. In 1701, a French officer, with a small colony and a Jesuit missionary, founded the city of Detroit.* The peace of their respective sovereigns over the ocean, failed to reconcile difficulties between the colonies. The trade and the right to navigate the Lakes, was a monopoly enforced by the French, which the English colonies of New York were bent upon disturbing, though

* Almost a century before the settlement of Western New York had advanced beyond the Genesee river.

the terms of peace had in effect, confirmed it. The English assumed that all of what is now Western New York, was within their dominions, by virtue of but a partial alliance of its native owners and occupants; and the French claimed by a similar tenure; for, in fact, it was a divided alliance, fluctuating with the policy of the Senecas, who seemed well to understand the importance of their position, and were resolved to make the most of it. Soon after 1700, we find a marked and progressive change in the disposition of the Senecas towards the French. This we may well attribute to the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, who had succeeded in getting permanent missionary stations among them, in a greater degree, perhaps, to the advent of an extraordinary personage, who, for a long period, exercised an almost unbounded influence throughout this region. This was Joncaire, a Frenchman, who, from a captive among the Senecas, merged himself with them, was adopted, and became the faithful and indefatigable promoter of the French interests. We first hear of him from Charlevoix, who, in 1721, found him the occupant of a cabin at Lewiston, where he had gathered around him a small Indian settlement, and where a fortress was contemplated — the right to build which, he had negotiated with the Senecas. He then bore a commission in the French army. He was familiar with all the localities of this region, and gave to Charlevoix a description of the “river of the Tsontonouans,” (Genesee river,) the Sulphur Springs at Avon, and the Oil Spring at Cuba. In 1750, Kalm, the German traveller, found a half-blood Seneca, a son of his, at Lewiston; and in 1753, Washington made the acquaintance of another son of his, while on a mission to the French at the West, and mentions that he was then preferring the French claim to the Ohio, by virtue of the discoveries of La Salle. In 1759, these two half-blood sons bore commissions in the French army, and were among the French forces of the West, that were defeated on the Niagara River, on their way to re-inforce the besieged garrison. In 1736, M. de Joncaire, the elder, had made a report to the French Superintendent at Montreal, of all the Indians whom he regarded as “connected with the government of Canada.” He embraces the whole of the Iroquois nations, and locates them principally through this State, from Schenectady to the Niagara River; and in Canada, along near the lower end of Lake Ontario, all of the nations of Canada, and all inhabiting the valleys of the

western lakes, the Ohio and the Mississippi. In this official document, he mentions that he is "engaged at the history of the Sioux." "He spoke," says Charlevoix, "with all the good sense of a Frenchman, whereof he enjoys a large share, and with all the sublime eloquence of our Iroquois."

The peace of Utrecht, in 1713, had but illy defined the respective dominions of the English and French, in this quarter: but the Governor of New York assumed that it gave the English the jurisdiction they had claimed. In 1726, the English Governor, Burnett, built a fort at Oswego, and a "public store-house" at the Bay of "Irondequoit." The year previous, the French, upon the ruins of the temporary works of De Nonville, had built Fort Niagara against the protests and remonstrances of the English.*

The occurrences of a long succession of years, of Indian outbreaks, of French descents upon New England settlements, of retaliatory expeditions, of French and Indian wars, have in the main but little reference to this local region, though dominion here was one prominent cause of contention. Peace between the mother countries had but little influence with the colonists: they would make war upon their own account as often as difficulties arose out of mixed occupancy, and conflicting claims to jurisdiction. The

NOTE. — Were it not that NAMES descend through the maternal line, the descendants of Joneaire would be found among the Senecas of the present day, in all probability: for French blood has now where run out among the natives when once merged with them. Inquiry would hardly fail to find among them traditions of Joneaire, and those who are his living descendants.

* The site of Fort Niagara commanded the key to the western lakes. The French were aware that its occupancy and fortification was necessary to the maintenance of the dominion they claimed against English encroachments. Previous to 1721, Joneaire had secured a mixed trading, missionary and military station at Lewiston. Even this met with the strong opposition of the English authorities of New York, and all of the Six Nations, except the Senecas, who had the right of controlling the matter. The Senecas persisting in allowing their favorite to build his "cabin" where he chose, the English asked for joint occupancy. To which the Senecas replied:—"Our country is in peace, the French and you will never be able to live together without raising disturbances. Moreover, it is of no consequence that Joneaire should remain here; he is a child of the nation; he enjoys this right, which we are not at liberty to take from him." Soon after this, the successful negotiator extended his views farther down the river, and paved the way for the erection of a strong fortress at Niagara. This was accomplished by a ruse on the part of Joneaire and other French officers. The Senecas had no idea of admitting either French or English fortifications upon their territory. A body of French troops arrived and encamped at the mouth of the Niagara river, to commence the work, but were by no means strong enough to undertake it in the presence of the Senecas, who were watching their movements. They at first got permission to build a "wigwam with one door;" and then to divert the Senecas from being witnesses of the formidable work they were contemplating, joined them in a general hunt, which kept them away until the work was far enough advanced to enable the French to protect themselves against attack.

French continued to extend their posts to the West and South West, and the English to strengthen the frontiers of New England, and their advance post at Oswego.

In 1744, Great Britain declared war against France and Spain. The first blow struck upon this continent, was the capture of Louisburg, which success emboldened Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, to ask the co-operation of the other colonies in an attempt to drive the French from all their American possessions; some demonstrations with that view were made; but the principal events of the campaign were at sea, and upon the frontiers of New England. The short war was closed by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, of 1748. Its chief result had been the loss to the French of all the Northern frontier coast, to repair which, they immediately projected schemes for extending their dominion to the valley of the Ohio, and upon the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1750, commissioners met in Paris to adjust American boundaries, but after a long session, accomplished nothing. Difficulties arose in a new quarter. The crown of England granted to an association of its subjects at home, and in Virginia, called the Ohio Company, 600,000 acres of land upon the Ohio river, all of which was upon territory claimed by France. The attempts of this Company to survey and settle these lands, and the building of French posts upon them, simultaneously, brought the English and French colonists into direct conflict. The campaign was opened by the Governor of Virginia, who sent an armed force to the disputed ground. Other colonies soon co-operated; and after the contest had been attended with alternate successes and reverses, in 1755, General Braddock came with a force from England, to aid the colonies. All the events of the war upon the Allegany and the Ohio, form prominent pages of American history; ultimately connected with the history of our western States; but deriving its chief general interest from the circumstance that it was the school of experience and discipline, where the sword of the youthful WASHINGTON was first unsheathed.

Braddock's defeat followed; then General Shirley's abortive expedition in the direction of Niagara; Sir William Johnson's partially successful expedition to Lake George; the advent of Lord Loudon, as Commander-in-chief of the British army in America; which principal events closed the campaign of 1755; and in the aggregate, had darkened British prospects on this side of the Atlantic.

The campaign of 1756, opened with the successful attack of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, upon an English fort, in what is now the county of Onondaga; which, after an engagement of Bradstreet with a French force on the Oswego river, was followed by the capture of the British fort at Oswego, by the Marquis de Montcalm.

These principal events, with the dark filling up of French and Indian depredations at the west; amounting almost to the extermination of the border settlers of Pennsylvania; gave to British interests, at the close of the campaign of 1756, an aspect even less encouraging than the one with which it was commenced.

Montcalm opened the campaign of 1757, early in the spring, by a harassing investment of Fort William Henry, by a force under the command of Vaudreuil and Longueuil: a reinforcing and strengthening of Crown Point, Ticonderoga and Niagara. During the summer, Lord Loudoun collected the main force of the regular army, all the disposable forces of the colonies, and with a powerful naval armament added, undertook the capture of Louisburg, on the Island of Cape Breton, but abandoned the design when a victory seemed easily attainable; for reasons which remain a mystery in the history of English warfare. Taking advantage of this diversion of the English forces, Montcalm in person completed the conquest of Fort William Henry. It was a year of disasters with the English; formidable armies and navies were embarked and disembarked, expensive expeditions were abortive; one of their strong fortresses had gone into the hands of the French. In no modern era, save that of the American Revolution, has English pride of foreign conquest been more humbled.

In 1758 a new era with England commenced:—It was that of Mr. Pitt's administration of its affairs. So unwelcome was the aspect of its affairs when he assumed the helm of government, that it was with difficulty, that confidence could be restored. "Whoever is in, or whoever is out," said Lord Chesterfield, in one of his letters, "I am sure we are undone both at home and abroad: at home by an increasing debt and expenses; abroad by our ill luck and incapacity. The French are masters to do what they please in America. We are no longer a nation. I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect."

The first brilliant achievement under the new order of things, was the capture of Louisburg. Procuring the removal of the naval and military officers, who had proved so inefficient in America, Mr. Pitt recalled Lord Amherst from the army in Germany, and made him

commander in chief of the expedition, and made the Hon. Edward Boscawen the Admiral of the fleet. An expedition consisting of 22 ships of the line, 15 frigates, 120 smaller vessels, on board of which were nearly 12,000 British regulars, sailed from Portsmouth and arriving at Halifax on the 28th of May, soon commenced the siege of Louisburg, which ended in a capitulation of the strong fortress, after a gallant and protracted resistance, on the 25th of July. The fruits of the conquest were 5,600 French prisoners; 11 ships of war taken or destroyed; 250 pieces of ordnance; 15,000 stand of arms, and a great amount of provisions and military stores. A scene of plunder and devastation followed in all that region, which dimmed the lustre of British arms.

Far less of success attended British arms in this campaign in other quarters:—Mr. Pitt had infused among the despairing colonies, a new impulse: they had sent into the field an efficient force of 9,000 men, which were added to 6,000 regulars—all under the command of Abercrombie. In July, he had his strong force afloat on Lake George, proceeding to the attack upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point. A protracted siege of Ticonderoga followed, badly conducted in almost every particular; the sequel, a retreat, with the loss of nearly 2,000 men. The intrepid Bradstreet soon made partial amends for this unfortunate enterprise, by the capture of Fort Frontenac, then the strong hold of French Indian alliance. General Stanwix advanced up the Mohawk and built the Fort that took his name. In the mean time General Forbes had left Philadelphia with an efficient army of over 6,000 regulars and provincials, and after a defeat of his advance force, had captured Fort du Quesne, changing the name to Fort Pitt in honor of the great master spirit who was controlling England's des-

NOTE.—How often are triumphs of arms, the result of chance! It is but a few years since an American General confessed that a splendid victory was owing to the fact that some undisciplined troops did not know when they were fairly conquered, persevered in the fight and turned the tide of battle. An English historian, candid upon every subject he touches, admits that the capture of Louisburg was accidental:—The first successful landing was made by Wolf, then a Brigadier General. Gen. Amherst doubted its practicability. "The chivalrous Wolf himself, as he heard the awful surf, staggered in his resolution, and proposing to defer the enterprise, waved his hat for the boats to retire. Three young subaltern officers, however, commanding the landing craft, pushed on shore, having mistaken the signal for what their stout hearts desired, as an order to advance; some of their men, as they sprung upon the beach, were dragged back by the receding surge and drowned, but the remainder climbed up the rugged rocks, and formed upon the summit. The Brigadier then cheered on the rest of the division to the support of the gallant few, and thus the almost desperate landing was accomplished."

tinies, At the close of the campaign of the year, Abercrombie had been recalled, and General Amherst, who had returned to England after the capture of Louisburg, had arrived in America invested with the office of commander in chief.

CHAPTER II.

SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF FORT NIAGARA. — CONQUEST OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

TOWARD the close of 1758, the policy of the British Minister, Mr. Pitt, began to be clearly developed. It looked to no farther inefficient measures but to a vigorous and decisive campaign, which should terminate in the annihilation of French power and dominion upon this continent. The British people, stimulated by a spirit of conquest, and a hatred of the French, both of which had been assiduously promoted by the public press, and public men of England, seconded the ambitious views of the Minister. Parliament, in addressing the Throne, applauded him, and upon the recommendation of the King, were prompt and liberal in the voting of supplies.

And care had been taken upon this side of the Atlantic, to secure cordial and vigorous co-operation: the colonists, wearied with war and its harrassing effects, were cheered by the expressions of the commiseration of the King, and his assurances of protection and final indemnification; and more than all, perhaps, by an overt act of Parliament, in voting them the sum of £200,000, as a compensation for losses and expenses consequent upon the war. The strong, impelling motive of interest had been preparing the way for a cordial co-operation of the colonists in the magnificent scheme of conquest that Mr. Pitt had projected. In its success was involved the high prizes, a monopoly of the Indian trade, the commerce of the Lakes, and the consequent vastly extended field of enterprise which would be opened. The board of trade had brought every appliance within their

control to bear upon the King and Parliament, and of course, had not failed to magnify the hindrances to British interest which continued French dominion imposed; nor to present in glowing language, the fruits of conquest and the extension of British power in America. Sir William Johnson, always faithful to his liberal patron the King, was more than usually active in wielding the immense influence he had acquired with the Indians to secure their aid; he drew them together in different localities, urged upon them his professions of regard for their interests, inflamed their resentments by recounting the wrongs they had endured at the hands of the French; listened to their complaints of English encroachments upon their lands, and was lavish in promises of ample reparation; not omitting the more than usually liberal distribution of presents, of which he was the accustomed almoner. By much the larger portion of the Five Nations of the Iroquois were won over to the British interests, a portion of the Senecas being almost alone in standing aloof from the contest, or continuing in French alliance.

General Amherst having succeeded to the office of Commander in Chief of the British forces in North America, had his head quarters in New York, in the winter of 1758, '9, actively calling to his aid the provincial troops, appointing Albany as the place of rendezvous, at which place he established his head quarters as early as the month of April.

The force at the disposal of General Amherst, was larger by far than any that had been before mustered upon this continent. In addition to a large force of British regulars, the colony of Massachusetts had furnished seven thousand men, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire one thousand. The provincial regiments, as fast as they arrived at Albany went into camp, and were subjected to rigid discipline; the regulars, who were destined for operations at the north, were pushed on and encamped at a point some fifty miles on the road to Fort Edward.

The general plan of the campaign contemplated the conquest of the three important strong holds, and seats of power, of the French; Quebec, Montreal, and Niagara. The main army, under General Amherst, were to move from the shores of Lake George, reduce the French posts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, descend by the river Richlieu and occupy Montreal; then, on down the St. Lawrence to join the besiegers of Quebec.

Leaving the northern expedition to the province of general history, with the exception perhaps of a brief allusion to it in another place, we will take up that portion of the general campaign, which is more immediately blended with the history of our local region:—

The force destined for Niagara rendezvoused at Schenectady early in May. It consisted of two British regiments; a detachment of Royal Artillery; a battalion of Royal Americans; two battalions of New York Provincials; and a large force of Indian Allies under the command of Sir William Johnson; the most of whom were Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas, the remainder, Cayugas and Senecas, with a few from such western nations as had been partly won over to the British interests. Brigadier General Prideaux was the Commander in Chief; next in rank, was Sir William Johnson, who previous to this had been regularly commissioned in the British army. The force moved from Schenectady on the 20th of May, came up the Mohawk, and via the usual water route to Oswego, where it remained, completing the preparation of batteaux for ascending Lake Ontario, for over five weeks. On the first of July, the whole force were embarked, and coasting along the shore of the Lake toward their destination; a strong fortress, the seat of French dominion, over a widely extended region; the key or gate-way to the primitive commerce of the western lakes; its battlements in solitary grandeur frowning defiance to any force that would be likely to reach it through difficult avenues, in its far off location in the wilderness. Never in all more modern periods, have the waters of Ontario borne upon their bosom a more formidable armament. In addition to a large force, to their stores and camp equipage, was the heavy artillery, and all the requisites that British military skill and foresight had deemed necessary for the reduction of a strong fortress by regular approaches; such as the plan of attack contemplated. And how mixed and made up of different races, and men of different habits and characters, was this expedition!—There was the proud commissioned and titled Briton, who had seen more of the refinements and luxuries of courts, than of the hardships of camps in the wilderness; veteran officers and soldiers, who had fought in European wars, inured to the camp and the field; the sons of the wealthy and influential colonists in New York, along the Hudson river counties, who had sought commissions in the army, and were going out in their first campaign. Provincials, men and boys, transferred from

the stores counting-houses, and mechanic shops of New York, and the rural districts of Westchester, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, Albany, and the lower valley of the Mohawk, to the camp, the drill, and the march that seemed then as far extended, and beset with more difficulties than would one over the mountains to Oregon now; and lastly there was the warriors of the Iroquois, fully imbued with their ancient war spirit, decked out with feathers, claws, and hoops, the spoils of the forest chase—and with new paint, broad-cloths, blankets and silver ornaments, the gifts of the King.

The armament coasted along up the south shore of the Lake, encamping on shore; the first night at Sodus, invited there by the beautiful bay, in which their water craft could be made secure from winds and waves, as their frail structure demanded. Their other halting places for the night, were at Irondequoit, Braddock's Bay, and Johnson's Creek: (which latter place was named in honor of Sir William Johnson;) arrived at the mouth of the Eighteen Mile Creek, (what is now the village of Oleott,) within eighteen miles of Fort Niagara, a halt was made to enable reconnoitering parties to go out and determine whether the French had made a sortie from the Fort in anticipation of their arrival.

As they coasted along up the lake, they had occasionally discharged their heavy artillery, well knowing that a noiseless approach would give them no advantage, as the Indian scouts from the garrison, glimpses of whom had been caught upon several occasions, had kept the French well informed of their movements; and there were Iroquois enough in the French interest, belonging to the lower nations, to give the French missionaries and traders, in all their localities in Western New York, timely notice of all that was going on. But they wished to inspire the Senecas in their interests with courage and the neutrals with terror; and well, perhaps, did their device subserve those purposes.

Leaving the British army almost within sight of the field of conflict, let us pass over the lake, and down the river St. Lawrence, to see what preparation had been made for their reception:—

Well informed at home of the policy of Mr. Pitt; of the preparatory acts of Parliament; of the shipping of reinforcements to the British army in America; of all the minutiae, in fact, of the campaign; the French had not been idle. Despatches were sent to M.

De Vaudrieuil, the Governor of Canada, and his hands were strengthened by reinforcements from France. He lost no time in putting Quebec, Montreal, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, in the best possible state of defence. Proclamations were made to the Canadian militia, commending them in the highest terms for their former services; reminding them of their former triumphs; and appealing to them to join in the final struggle for the dominion of their King and country, over the fairest and best portions of the New World. The gallant Montcalm had succeeded Dieskau, as commander in chief of the French forces in Canada, and was active in the work of preparation. Captain Pouchot, a skillful and experienced engineer, was sent to put Fort Niagara in a condition for defence, and to assume the command of it.

On the 7th of July, the British force under Prideux, broke up their brief encampment at the Eighteen Mile Creek, and by land and water, moved up to the Four Mile Creek, making a stand upon the western shore of the Bay, where they then began an entrenchment, and commenced the work of opening an avenue through the forest. A small scouting party of French and Indians, came upon the advance workmen, as they were about to emerge from the forest into the open ground, a few shots were exchanged, and the party retired into the fort. A fire was opened upon the besiegers from the fort, which was kept up during the greater portion of the night. On the 8th, the English prosecuted the work upon their entrenchments, the French continuing their fire upon them at intervals from the fort, and Monsieur La Force * coasting up and down the Lake in the armed schooner Iroquois, occasionally reaching them with a shot. General Prideux sent an officer with a flag into the fort, demanding a surrender, which was very courteously refused by the French commander. On the 9th, but little transpired beyond the exchange of a few shots, and a slight advance of the besiegers. On the 10th, the English advanced into the open ground, protecting themselves by entrenchments, under an occasional fire from the fort,

* He may, with propriety, be called the Admiral of the Lake; for he commanded the only sail vessel upon it. He was a kind of fresh water Van Tromp, or Paul Jones; at one period, we hear of him as an active negotiator between the French and English, at Fort du Quesne; at another, in the command of a scouting party, harassing the border settlers of Virginia; at another, loaded with chains, in jail at Williamsburgh, from which he was liberated by the humanity of Washington, who had known him upon the Ohio; and lastly, in the command of an armed schooner, active and brave, in the French service on Lake Ontario.

which became almost incessant during the night, obliging them at times to suspend their works. The small French force at Schlosser, succeeded in reaching the fort. On the 11th, a small party of French approached within a short distance of the English trenches, from which they sallied out in strong force, but were driven again into their defences, by the guns of the fort. At 5 P. M., the English opened their fire with eight mortars.

The siege continued from day to day, and night to night, with occasional, but not long-continued intermissions; the French, too few in number to risk a sortie, holding out valiantly amid the tumbling walls of their devoted fortress, seriously annoying the besiegers by an active fire, that often arrested the progress of their works, as may well be inferred from their slow approaches; wearied with toil and want of rest; at times, almost upon the point of abandoning the unequal contest. On the 14th, the besiegers had so extended their works, as to be enabled to bring a heavy force to bear upon the fort. On the evening of the 19th, their General, (Prideux,) who had so well planned the attack, and, so far, so well executed it, was accidentally killed, while giving his orders in the trenches, by the premature bursting of a shell, discharged from a cohorn mortar. The vigor with which the siege was prosecuted, may be judged from the fact, that in one night, they threw three hundred bombs. Thus things continued until the morning of the 23d, when the besieged had a gleam of hope that was destined not to be realized:—Anticipating this attack, Captain Pouchot had sent runners to Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, Venango, and Detroit, ordering them with their commands, and all the Indian allies they could muster, to repair to Niagara. At a moment when it seemed that the dilapidated fortress, and its diminished and wearied defenders could hold out no longer, two western Indians made their way into the fort, bringing word from Monsieur Aubrey that he had arrived with a force of nearly twenty-five hundred French and Indians, at Navy Island, opposite the “Little Fort,” (Schlosser.) Four Indians were immediately despatched, to inform Monsieur Aubrey of the critical condition of the fort, and urge him to press forward to its relief.

The command of the British force having now devolved upon Sir William Johnson, he had anticipated the approach of the French and Indians from the West, and kept himself carefully advised of their movements, by means of his Indian runners. On

the evening of the 23d, he sent out strong detachments of troops, and posted them along on either side of the road leading from the fort to the Falls, about two miles from the fort, where they rested upon their arms during the night. Early in the morning of the 24th, other detachments of his most effective troops were ordered from the trenches before the fort, to re-inforce those already posted upon the Niagara River. The success of his protracted siege, now depended on arresting the march of D'Aubrey.

The British force had but just been posted for the encounter, when the French and Indians, under D'Aubrey, came down the river. The British out-posts fell back, and joined the main body. The opposing forces were now drawn up in order of battle, and D'Aubrey gave the order for attack. His western Indian allies, hitherto principally concealed, swarmed from the woods, and gave the terrific war-whoop, at the same time, rushing upon the English lines, followed by the French troops. The British regulars, and such provincials as had seen little of Indian warfare, quailed for a moment in view of the fierce onslaught: the Iroquois and the practiced Indian fighters, among both regulars and provincials, stood firm. In a moment, the shock was met as firmly as it had been impetuously made. Volley after volley was discharged upon the fierce assailants from the whole British line, and from the Indian flanking parties, until the Indian assailants gave way and left the field. Deserted by his Indian allies, D'Aubrey bravely led on his French troops against the English column, and was pressing it vigorously, when a reinforcement of Johnson's Indians arrived from the trenches, and assailed his flanks, and aided powerfully in turning the tide of battle against him. Standing firm for a short time, and returning the English and the Indian fire, he gave way and ordered a retreat, which soon assumed the character of a total rout. The English pressed upon the vanquished and retreating French, and made prisoners, or shot down by far the larger portion of them. But a remnant of them escaped into an inhospitable and trackless wilderness. D'Aubrey and most of his principal officers were among the captives. This was the main and decisive feature of the protracted siege. The contest was but of short duration; but long enough, with the vigor and desperation with which it was waged, to strew the ground for miles with the dead bodies of the combatants.

How vivid is the picture presented to the imagination, of this early scene! It was then far, far away, in any direction, from the abode of civilization. There were no spectators of that sudden clash of arms, of that protracted siege; all were participants. Hundreds of miles beyond the heaviest sounds that like earthquake shocks must have gone out from the conflict, were the nearest of our race, save those who were at Frontenac and Oswego, and the few missionaries and traders upon our interior rivers. The outlet of vast inland lakes, the shores of which had been scarcely tread by Europeans, hushed to comparative stillness, after having tumbled over the mighty precipice, and madly rushed through the long narrow gorge that succeeds, was rolling past, its eddies dashing heavily against the shore, moaning a requiem over the dead that were thickly strewn upon it. Death and carnage, the smoke of battle, the gleaming of steel, had chosen for their theatre a marked spot, romantic and beautiful as any that arrests the eye of the tourist, in that region of sublime and gorgeous landscapes. There was the roar of musketry, the terrible war-hoop; the groans of the dying; the fierce assault and firm repulsion; precipitate retreat, and hot and deadly pursuit: the red warrior loading himself with trophies of the tomahawk and scalping knife, that would signalize his valor in the war dance, or tale out his deeds of blood at a place of reward:

"The shout of battle, the barbarian yell, the bray
Of disonant instruments, the clang of arms,
The shrieks of agony, the groan of death,
In one wild uproar and continued din
Shook the still air!"—SOUTHEY.

In yonder ancient structure, standing out in bold relief, solitary and isolated even now; was a handful of brave men, their numbers thinned, holding out after a long siege; encouraged by hopes that were crushed, when their brave countrymen, deserted by treacherous allies, gave way before a superior force. Stretched out upon yonder plain, in long lines of batteries and entrenchments, were the besiegers, who, advancing from day to day, had approached so near, that every shot from their heavy artillery told upon the massive walls they were assailing.

It was a new scene in the wilderness;—nature in her solitudes and fastnesses, was affrighted; the wild beasts hurried farther and farther, into the recesses of the forest, or huddled in their lairs,

trembling as each successive crash came upon their unaccustomed ears. It was a calm July morning. The surface of that wide expanse of water, smooth and unruffled, mirrored the scene of fire and smoke, of waving banners and advancing columns. Stunning and deafening came the sounds of battle; — then a hushed silence, as if war and conquest stood appalled in view of the work of death they had wrought; in which brief pause would come the roar of the mighty cataract, rushing in as if impatient to riot in its accustomed monopoly of sound! The “great thunderer” was contending with its first rival! High over all arose the smoke of the two battle grounds to the clear blue heavens, and mingling there with the spray of the cataract, was carried off by a gentle breeze; and at the suns decline, when the strife was ended, it canopied and spanned the deep blue waters, — a bow of promise and a harbinger of peace.

The French in the Fort had been close observers of every sign without, and had seen enough to make them apprehensive of the result upon the river bank; but hours passed by before they could know with certainty the fate of the gallant men who had been arrested in their march of intended relief. An Indian scout gained access to the Fort informing them of Aubrey's total defeat and rout, and in a few minutes, a British officer entered and demanded a surrender, accompanying the demand with an exhortation from Sir William Johnson against the necessity of further bloodshed, and the intimation that his exasperated Indian allies could not be prevented from wreaking vengeance upon the captives if the fight was further prolonged. Captain Pouchot, with the advice and concurrence of his officers, yielded to fate and necessity; and more than all, perhaps, to the fearful apprehension that farther doubtful resistance would make victims to savage warfare, of his unfortunate countrymen and their allies. Terms of capitulation were agreed upon, honorable to both parties; and thus ended a well planned and well conducted siege; stood out against with almost unexampled heroic fortitude; and thus commenced the English possession of Fort Niagara, and dominion over all the region of Western New York.

NOTE. — The battle ground is upon the banks of the Niagara River between the villages of Youngstown and Lewiston, below the Five Mile Meadows. Its principal theatre was at a small inlet which was known to the early settlers by the name of “Bloody Run.” Soon after 1800, when settlement of that region commenced, gun barrels, gun locks, broken swords, bayonets and “bill axes” were found on the surface of the earth, and up to this period, the plough frequently discloses relics of the battle.

The terms of capitulation assented to by Sir William Johnson, should be added to the evidences that while he excelled in bravery and military foresight, a life in the wilderness, far away from the incentives and examples of civilized life, had not made him insensible to the obligations of humanity and courtesy. Anticipating the bloody scenes we must yet pass through, to conduct the reader to the main objects of our narrative, the wish obtrudes itself that he could have been spared to have exercised his vast influence in after years in arresting the tomahawk and the scalping knife. The vanquished were allowed to pass out of the Fort with the honors of war, and lay down their arms. It was stipulated that the French officers and soldiers should be conducted to New York, where comfortable quarters should be furnished them; that the females and children should have safe convoy to the nearest port of France; and that the wounded should be taken care of, and conveyed to New York as soon as they were able to undertake the journey. Upon the other hand, Captain Pouchot stipulated the surrender of all the stores, provisions and arms, with which the garrison had been well supplied.

The French that capitulated in the fort, numbered over 600; beside them, were the prisoners taken in the battle upon the river. Not less than ten commissioned officers were among the prisoners, of whom were the gallant D'Aubrey, Captain Pouchot, and two half-breed sons of Joncaire. In marching out and embarking in batteux, it was with difficulty they were saved from massacre by the Iroquois; and only saved by the conciliatory course of Sir William Johnson, and the promise to his turbulent allies of a liberal participation in the spoils of victory; a promise that he fulfilled.*

In a few days, after holding an Indian council to further promote

* A letter, written from the spot soon after the surrender, preserved in some old newspaper files, states that the Indian allies were allowed all the plunder in the fort, save the arms and ammunition. Some of them, it is stated, obtained, individually, plunder to the value of £300. Among the plunder, were large quantities of French hatchets, stored there for Indian trade and presents; the same that are even now occasionally uncovered by the plough, in different localities in this region.

NOTE. — It has been truthfully said, that the last French and English war, was the school of the Revolution. Washington first unsheathed his sword at the battle of the Great Meadows, and won his first laurels at Braddock's defeat. Putnam was at Ticonderoga; Gates and Morgan were at Braddock's defeat; Stark was a young officer in a corps of Provincial Rangers; George Clinton, it has been asserted, bore a commission among the Provincials, in the siege of Niagara; and there are other names, afterwards rendered illustrious, mingled in different accounts of the campaigns against Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Quebec, and Niagara.

and strengthen the alliance of the Iroquois, and detaching a sufficient force to repair and occupy the captured fort, Sir William Johnson, with his main force and his prisoners, departed for Oswego.

CHAPTER III.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA, CROWN POINT, QUEBEC, AND MONTREAL — PEACE OF 1763 — END OF FRENCH DOMINION.

WHILE all this was transpiring, war was waging with equal vigor, if not with as signal success, upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, and upon the Northern Lakes. On the 22d of July, the main army under General Amherst, arrived at Ticonderoga: and, opening a heavy fire upon the French out-posts, compelled them to retire within the walls of the fort, leaving their heavy breast-works to shelter the besiegers from a brisk fire they poured out from the strong-hold to which they had retreated. The siege and stout resistance continued until late in the night of the 23d, when the French, warned by the formidable preparations the besiegers were making, withdrew their main force to Crown Point, leaving but 400 to mark their retreat. Seldom, perhaps, in war's annals, has an unequal force — a handful against a powerful array — so much annoyed besiegers, as did these 400 gallant Frenchmen, left, as it would almost seem, for a sacrifice. In the darkness of the night, a detachment of them went from the fort, and stealthily approached the English in their entrenchments: breaking them up, and for a brief space, creating confusion and dismay. They held out in the fort for the two succeeding days, annoying the besiegers in their entrenchments, by a continued well-directed fire. On the night of the 26th, the small force, perceiving that the English had planted themselves strongly within six hundred yards of the fort — that

longer resistance would be unavailing — blew up their magazines, fired their wooden breast-works, barracks and store-houses ; made a wreck of their fortress for the besiegers to occupy, and secured a safe retreat, uninterrupted but by a pursuit across the Lake, and the capture of 16 of their number. At daylight, on the morning of the 27th, the French flag was struck down, and the English flag raised, amid smoke and flames, devastation and ruin, that the torch and musce of the gallant, but despairing Frenchmen, had left for the destruction of works their valor could not save.

The first work of Gen. Amherst was the repairing of the dilapidated fortress ; and in the mean time some naval armament was perfected necessary to carrying his conquest further on, to Crown Point. He was soon however, informed that that post was abandoned, and that the enemy had retreated to Aux Nois, at the lower end of Lake Champlain. On the 4th of August, he advanced with his main army, to the last deserted French post. M. de Bourlemagne, who commanded the French forces in that quarter, seemed governed by the policy of retarding as far as possible, the advance of the English force, whose ultimate destination he was well aware, was Quebec ; and their errand there, to aid the besiegers in the reduction of that strong hold, and last hope, of his king and country upon this continent. At Aux Nois, where he had made his stand, he had yet an effective force of 3,500 men ; 100 pieces of cannon ; and a force of armed vessels, which gave him command of the Lake. The English rested at Crown Point, engaging actively however, in strengthening their feeble naval armament ; occasionally sending out small scouting parties ; and preparing in all things, for breaking up the French in their plan of retreat. On the 10th of October, the army under Gen. Amherst were embarked, and after an ineffectual attempt to reach their destination, in consequence of high winds and storms, were obliged to seek shelter in a bay, upon the western shore of the lake, and remain there for seven days. On the 18th, the troops were again embarked, and after encountering another gale, fell back to Crown Point. The season was now far advanced — the rigors of winter, in a bleak northern region, had begun seriously to impair the ability and energy of the troops. These considerations, allied to the probability that he could not reach Quebec until the contest there was decided, induced Gen. Amherst to postpone further offensive operations to a more propitious season.

The English squadron, destined for Quebec, had set sail about the middle of February. The command of this expedition was conferred by Mr. Pitt, upon James Wolf; the youngest man that had ever borne the commission of Major General in the British army; yet, he was selected for by far the most difficult service that the war involved. The naval command was conferred upon Admiral Saunders. The expedition arrived at Halifax, towards the close of the month of April. The force destined to act upon land under Wolf, was over 8,000. From the first landing upon the American coast, the British Admiral had anticipated the arrival of a convoy from France, destined for supplies and men, and had watched to intercept it, but it had eluded his vigilance and reached Quebec.

It was not until the 27th of June that the imposing force had reached the Island of Orleans, a few leagues below Quebec, and disembarked. A recent historian* has thus eloquently described the English commander's first view of Quebec, and the task that lay before him: — "Accompanied by the chief engineer, Major M. Keller, and an escort of light infantry, he pushed on to the extremity of the Island nearest to Quebec. A magnificent but disheartening scene lay before him. On the summit of the highest eminence; on the straits of the great river from whence the basin before him opened, the French flag waved. The crest of the rocky height was crowned with formidable works redoubted and planked. On every favorable spot, above, below, on the rugged ascent, were batteries bristling with guns. This strong-hold formed the right flank of a position eight miles in extent; the falls and the deep and rapid stream of the Montmorency, was the left. The shoals and rocks of the St. Lawrence protected the broad front, and the rich vallies of the St. Charles, with the prosperous and beautiful villages of Charlesburg, and Beauport, gave shelter and hospitality in the rear. A crested bank of some height over the great river, marked the main line of defences from east to west, parapets planked at every favorable spot, aided their natural strength. Crowding on this embattled bank, swarming in the irregular village streets, and formed in masses on the hills beyond, were 12,000 French and Canadian troops, led by the gallant Montcalm."

The scenes that followed — all the details of that protracted and

* Author of Conquest of Canada.

eventful siege — form prominent pages in our general history. It would be but repeating that with which most readers are familiar, to give them a place in these local annals.

The siege commenced on the 29th of June, and lasted with but brief intermissions, until the 18th day of September. Upon that memorable day the French, after a gallant resistance — a holding out almost unparalleled, considered in reference to time and the fierce and frequent approaches they had to resist — surrendered the great citadel of their strength in America; the Gibraltar upon which they had fallen back in other days of untoward events; the spot they had occupied since Champlain chose it in 1608, as the seat and centre of French colonization.

The American reader has been surfeited, through English sources principally, with accounts of the bravery, the skill and the fortitude, of the besiegers and conquerors of Quebec. The story of the gallant Wolf, the mild, unassuming and amiable commander; in whose character there is mixed up the finest sensibilities of our nature; child like simplicity, with as stern heroism as Britain can boast in her long catalogue of military conquerors; his almost shout of triumph, when the news reached him that the enemy was yielding, even when the film of death was upon his eyes, just as his noble spirit was about to take its flight far away from worldly conflict; — has become as familiar as house-hold words. But little has been said, or known, in our language, of the brave defenders of the besieged citadel; and of him especially, the gallant but unfortunate Montcalm; whose end was as glorious as that of his conqueror; though no shouts of victory cheered him upon his entrance into the dark valley of death.

A recent English historian,* has in this respect, set an example of magnanimity; and to his pages are we indebted for much that is new in all that concerned the defence of Quebec. From the moment the English had obtained a footing upon the Island of Orleans, the French commander was like a noble stag at bay. Confronted by a powerful force, chafed and harrassed in his preparation for defence; distrustful as the result proved he had reason to be, of the courage and counsels of the Governor, Vaudreuil, who had an immediate command of the Canadian militia; his courage was that

* Author of "Conquest of Canada."

of desperation:—restive, impulsive, chivalric, to a fault. Forgetful of superiority of rank, he said to Vaudreuil, in reference to some policy he had pursued: "You have sold your country, but while I live I will not surrender it up." Of the provincial troops, he wrote, on the eve of battle: "My Canadians without discipline, deaf to the sound of the drum, and badly armed, nothing remains for them but to fly: and behold me beaten without resources. But one thing I can assure you, I shall not survive the probable loss of the colony. There are times when a general's only resource is to die with honor; this is such a time. No stain shall rest upon my memory. But in defeat and death there is consolation left. The loss of the colony will one day be of more value to my country, than a victory. The conqueror shall here find a tomb; his aggrandizement shall prove his ultimate ruin."^{*}

Never did the general of an army, or the defender of a citadel have more upon his hands. There was disaffection among the militia to conciliate; desertion to prevent: a scanty and bad supply of provisions to obviate, with but feeble prospects of obtaining new supplies; an unreaped harvest wasting in the fields, for the preservation of which he was obliged to spare 2,000 of his men at a critical moment: the supply of ammunition was scanty: the vigorous and almost incessant prosecution of the siege, left him with little of that confidence which is essential to efficient action. His co-operator, and superior, (Vaudreuil,) was but a clog upon his movements. Yet he manfully and heroically contended against impending and fearfully foreshadowed fate. He compelled obedience to his orders by iron rules and summary inflictions of severe penalties: inspired by his determined impetuous bearing, terror, where duty and courage failed or flagged; moved from point to point issuing his orders; here to repair a breach, there to prevent desertion; and there, to push forward attacking columns.

"I am safe," said he on the 12th of September, "unless Wolf lands above the town." Even then, there was a movement with the British force to gain the position, from the possession of which he had impliedly foretold his ruin.

^{*} There is some difficulty in determining to what event this looked forward:—If to defeat and expulsion from the region the English were conquering, it has not been realized. If it meant that the war that was then waging would pave the way to the loss of most of the American Colonies, it was singularly and truthfully prophetic.

While he was listening to the sound of cannon from an unexpected quarter, a horseman came to him in full speed, and announced that the English were occupying the plains of Abraham. He aroused a sleeping and wearied soldiery, and by prompt action had them soon hurrying in long lines over the valley of the St. Charles to the battle ground. Incredulous at first, that the besiegers had ventured and succeeded in gaining the rugged ascent — almost believing it a feint; — when convinced of its reality he nerved himself for the decisive contest which he knew had come. The hour of conflict found him at the head of his army; as Wolf was of his. Where danger was most imminent, he was to be found; flying from column to column, inspiring confidence by his presence and infusing into his ranks, a desperate courage that England's veteran troops had no where before contended with. At one moment, simultaneously almost, as if each charge was exploded by an electric circuit, came a volley from the drawn up columns of the British lines. The French were swept down like forest trees before a whirlwind. Upon this hand, fell his second in command, upon the other, one of his bravest generals; the day and the battle, the citadel and an Empire was already lost; and yet Montcalm was undismayed. Recoiling from the shock, like hardened steel that has been bent almost to breaking, again he collected his scattered forces and presented a bold front to the enemy. Then came another terrible fire from the British lines, and with it a charge, such as has but few parallels in the histories of battles. Overcome, trampled down, yielding and flying in every direction, was the whole French force. Amid this scene of death and carnage, Montcalm died as he had hoped he should; when he could no longer resist the march of the invader. He fell mortally wounded at the head of his troops, that he was in vain attempting to rally and make stand firm, in the face of a fire and a charge, incessant and desperate. When the surgeon had examined his wound, he told him it was mortal. "I am glad of it," said he, "how long can I survive?" "Perhaps a day, perhaps less," was the reply of the surgeon. "So much the better," replied Montcalm, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." It is given on the authority of a British officer, who was present at the siege of Quebec, that Montcalm, in his last moments, paid a high compliment to his conquerors; and at the same time bitterly reflected upon his own troops. That he said: "If I could survive this wound, I would

engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning, with a third of their number of British troops."

The siege continued. On the 17th, when the British fleet had prepared to attack the lower town, and 118 guns were mounted upon the British batteries, ready to open a fire, there came from the besieged city a stipulation to surrender, if no reinforcements came before the next morning. This was in anticipation of the arrival of French troops from Montreal that had been ordered down. In the mean time, Vaudreuil had retreated with his immediate command at Montmorency, as had also another large division of the French army, under De Bougainville, that had been posted at another point. They retired to Port aux Trembles. When the Governor of Montreal came down and joined them, it was agreed to send encouraging words to M. de Ramsay, the Governor of Quebec, urging him to hold out against the siege. The courier reached the besieged city on the day — the 18th of September — in the morning of which it had surrendered.

The English army took possession of Quebec, and the French army retired to Three Rivers and Montreal. Thus ended the campaign in that quarter, for the season of 1759. Its results had been the conquest of Quebec, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Niagara. Occupying these vantage grounds, the English may well be supposed to have surmounted the most formidable barriers against the complete success of the campaign; yet, on the part of the French colonists, the stake they were contending for, was too large — the issue was too momentous — to admit of entire surrender, as long as there was the least chance of winning.

M. de Levi, the Governor of Montreal, had succeeded Montcalm as commander-in-chief. The French army, during the winter of 1759, '60, had been reinforced by six thousand militia, and a large

NOTE. — The author of the "Conquest of Canada," says: — "Under some mysterious and incomprehensible impulse, Montcalm at once determined to meet his dangerous enemy in the open field. To account for this extraordinary resolution, is impossible. Had the French General thrown himself into Quebec, he might have securely defied his assailants from behind its ramparts, till winter drove them away. But a short time before, he had recorded his deliberate conviction, that he could not face the British army in a general engagement. He was well aware that all the efforts of his indefatigable enemy had been throughout exerted to bring on an action upon any terms; and yet, at length, on an open plain, without even waiting for his artillery, unaided by any advantage of position, he threw the rude Canadian militia against the veterans of England. Once, and once only, in a successful and illustrious career, did this gallant Frenchman forget his wisdom and his military skill. But that one tremendous error led him to defeat and death."

body of Indians. In April, as soon as the upper portion of the St. Lawrence was open enough to admit of the transportation of his artillery, heavy baggage, and military stores, M. de Levi resolved upon a descent and an attempt to re-conquer Quebec. It was a rash attempt, but he relied much upon the effects a cold winter had had in reducing and enfeebling the British force, that had been left at Quebec; and in fact, shut up as they had been, but scantily supplied with salt provisions, death and disability had fearfully thinned their ranks. The defence had devolved upon Gen. Murray. On the morning of the 27th of April, M. de Levi had posted his strong force within three miles of Quebec. The British General, fully aware that investment, for any considerable period, in the condition of his army, would be equally as fatal as defeat, resolved to follow the example of Montcalm. His unequal force was marched out, and an attack commenced. After a desperate fight, and the loss, in killed and wounded, of nearly one-third of his army, he retired within the walls. M. de Levi followed up his success, approaching and strongly entrenching; the lost citadel was apparently within his grasp, when a small, but efficient English fleet came up the St. Lawrence, and made quick work in destroying and capturing the whole French armament; a new spirit was infused in the English camp; and M. de Levi, with hopes so suddenly crushed, made a hasty retreat at the sacrifice of his guns, amunition, stores, and entrenching tools. Thus ended an expedition that the chagrined Canadians stigmatized as "de Levi's folly."

On his way to Niagara, Prideux had left Col. Haldimand in command at Oswego. On the 4th of July, the fort was besieged by a large force of Canadian militia and Indians, under the command of M. de la Corne. A surprise was attempted and failed, the garrison, being forewarned, was ready for their reception, and opened a fire upon the besiegers, which compelled a dispersion. An attempt to burn the English boats in the harbor failed, and the besiegers recrossed the Lake.

The English opened the campaign in 1760, to complete their conquest. Early in May, Gen. Amherst had collected a large force at Oswego. Two armed vessels succeeded in forcing all the French armament upon the Lake to take refuge among the "Thousand Isles." The army at Oswego consisted of over 10,000; allied to which, were 700 Indians that Sir William Johnson had brought into

the field. The main army under Gen. Amherst, went down the Lake, and the St. Lawrence; a detachment under Col. Haviland going via Lake Champlain to Crown Point, to be joined by the force stationed there. The first point of attack was the small garrison upon Isle Royal, commanded by captain Pouchot. That surrendered after a spirited resistance. Here the Indian allies mostly deserted, or marched off in a body, chagrined at Amherst and Johnson's refusal to allow them to massacre the whole French garrison, as they had intended. After a perilous passage down the St. Lawrence, in which 80 men and 60 boats were lost, Amherst's army landed nine miles from Montreal on the 6th of September. Murray, with all his disposable force, had left Quebec and sailed up the St. Lawrence on the 14th of June. As an evidence how strong was yet the attachment of the Canadians to the French interests — even in this hour where there was little hope, it is mentioned that Murray's force was constantly annoyed by guerrilla attacks from the banks of the river, as they ascended. After a slow passage, delayed in expectation of being joined by fresh troops from England, the squadron reached the Island of Montreal on the 7th of September, and were disembarked. Col. Haviland having come down Lake Champlain, captured the post at Isle Aux Nois, to which the French had retreated before Amherst, the previous season, was near at hand, and reached the Island on the 8th.

Under Amherst, Murray and Haviland, there was now an English force of 16,000 effective troops. With but little delay, in view of so formidable an army of besiegers, M de Vaudreuil surrendered Montreal and signed articles of capitulation, which included, all of Canada, western New York, and to the extent of the French claims at the west.

If any thing excused the French Governor, Vaudreuil, for so sudden a surrender, it was the favorable terms he exacted from the besiegers, which were conceded to, as a better alternative, than the shedding of more blood, of which the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the shores of the Lakes, had already seen enough to satiate the most morbid desire for human sacrifice, in the respective countries to which the thousands of victims owed allegiance. The foreign French troops; the civil officers, their families and baggage; were to be sent home in English vessels; the troops under parol, to serve no more during the war. The militia were allowed to return to

their homes. The French colonists were to enjoy the same privileges and immunities as British subjects. The Indians that had adhered to the French interests, were to be unmolested, and disturbed in no right they had enjoyed under French dominion.

Thus terminated French dominion upon this continent, which had existed for a century and a half. How badly was all that time improved! The sympathies which are naturally excited by a perusal of all the details of the final contest; the misfortunes and casualties, we may well call them, that one after another baffled the arms of France, and paralyzed the arms of as brave men as were ever trained in her armies; shutting them up in fortresses; closing the avenues by which succor could reach them, with ice and snow, or adverse winds; cutting off reinforcements in their march of relief; disease prostrating them, and famine staring them in the face, while hosts of armed men were thundering at their gates, and their strong walls were swaying and trembling over their heads; are in a measure abated by the reflection, that they so long held dominion over as fine a region as arms ever conquered, or enterprise ever reached, and were so unmindful of the value of their possession. An occupancy of five generations, and how little did it leave behind of its impress! How little was done for France! how little for mankind!

There was in Canada, (East,) the two considerable cities of Quebec and Montreal, and a few small villages upon the St. Lawrence. In their vicinities, upon the most favorable soils, there was an agricultural population, but little more than supplying their own food. In Canada, (West,) but a small garrison at Frontenac, (Kingston,) with a little agricultural improvement in its immediate neighborhood; a small trading station at Toronto; and a few missionary and trading stations in the interior, and upon Lake Huron. In western New York, the valley of the Lakes, and the upper vallies of the Mississippi, over all of which the French claimed dominion, there was but fur trading and missionary stations; with few exceptions of agricultural enterprise; by far the most considerable of which, was upon a narrow strip upon the Detroit river.

There is much that is admirable in the French Missionary enterprise in all the region they occupied. The world has no where seen as much of devotion, of self-sacrifice, of courage, perseverance and endurance. A host of gifted men who had left the highest

walks of civilization and refinement, which they had helped to adorn, took up their abode in the wilderness, in rude huts; here and there, upon the banks of lakes and rivers, where there were none of even the foot prints of civilization, save their own. Solitary and alone, they wrestled with the rude savage; displayed the cross, the emblem of salvation, to his wondering gaze, and disarmed his fierce resentments by mild persuasion; adapting themselves to his condition, and inducting him into the sublime mysteries of a religion of peace and universal brotherhood. Each missionary was a wanderer:—ice, snow, swollen streams, winds and tempests, summer's heats and winter's chills, were to him no hindrances, when duty and devotion urged him onward. Inured to toil and privation, a small parcel of parched corn and a bit of jerked beef, would be his only sustenance in long journeys through the forests, seeking new fields of missionary labor. Often were they martyrs—there are few localities in all the vast region they traversed, where one or more of them did not yield up his life as an earnest of his faith.—As often as they perished by the tomahawk, the rigors of the climate, exposure, fatigue or disease, their ranks were supplied. Like disciplined soldiers, the Jesuit missionaries, one after another, would fill ranks, the vacancy of which would admonish them of danger.

And where are now the evidences of all these long years of missionary enterprize, zeal and martyrdom? In the small villages of Western New York, which now contain remnants of the once powerful Iroquois, there is the form of the cross in their silver ornaments, and around the western Lakes and Rivers, the traveller may see in addition to this, occasionally, a rude cross, over an Indian grave. This is all that is left, save written records, to remind us of that extraordinary, long continued, missionary advent. All else faded away with the decline of French power. The good missionary, worn out in the service, either rested from his labors under the mould of the forests he had penetrated, or retired when the flag of his country no longer gave him confidence and protection. The treaty of 1763 forbid any recruits of his order. In his absence, his simple neophytes soon forgot his teachings. The symbols of his faith no longer reminded them of the "glad tidings" he had proclaimed. Tradition even of his presence, has become obscure.

Never perhaps, was rejoicing in England, as universal and enthusiastic, as when the news of the conquest of Quebec—the con-

quest of Canada as it was rightly construed — reached there. High expectations of the value and importance of the French possessions had been raised ; and hatred of the French had become a universal public sentiment. A series of defeats and misfortunes that had previously attended the British arms in this quarter ; in the war then waging, had disposed the people of England to make the most of victories when they finally came. A public thanksgiving was proclaimed, pageants upon land and water succeeded, with bonfires and illuminations. The victory was the theme of the press and the pulpit, of the poet and the player. Mingled with all this, was mourning for the brave men that had perished in the long succession of conflicts, or rather the reverse of the picture, was the funeral pageant, the widow's and the orphan's tears, the hearths made desolate. When the remains of the lamented Wolf were carried home and conveyed to Greenwich cemetery, there was a solemn and imposing hiatus in the national jubilee ; — but that over, England became again joyous in view of an immense accession of empire, and the triumph of its armies.

We know how well it is ordered for us, as individuals, that a curtain is drawn between the present and the future ; that our present happiness is unalloyed by any taste of the bitter drugs that are concealed even in the cup of bliss. So with nations, if they could always see the tendency and the end of events, there would have been less rejoicing at the triumphs of arms. How would it have appalled England ; how would her King, her Statesmen, sitting under triumphal arches, or holding saturnalias at festive boards, have been affrighted and dismayed, if some prophetic hand had inscribed upon their walls : — “*YOU HAVE GAINED A PROVINCE AND LOST AN EMPIRE !*”

And such was the destiny ; — crowding into a brief space, the cause and the effect, the triumph and its consequences. Illy fitted for the great task that was before them, would the feeble colonies have been, at the commencement of the Revolution, in the absence of the apprenticeship in the trade of war, that the last French and English war upon this continent afforded. What better discipline could men have had ; what better experience, to inure them to toil, privation and danger, than was had in the expeditions to the Ohio and the Allegany, the siege of Louisburg, Quebec, Montreal, Crown Point and Niagara ? Every campaign was a school far

better than West Point and Annapolis. Mingled in all these were the colonists of New York and New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Out of the ranks of those retired armies, came a host of the efficient men, who, upon the breaking out of the Revolution, so well convinced their military instructors of the proficiency they had made under their tuition. The military skill and genius necessary to organize armies, the courage and chivalry necessary to lead them to triumph, which had been inert, was aroused in the stirring scenes of the French war; its succession of splendid triumphs. England had made war a profession with a large number of the colonists, little thinking where would be the field and what the occasion of its practice. In the prosecution of the French war, England had fearfully augmented its public debt; in an hour of evil councils, against the protestations of her wisest statesmen, taxation of the colonies was added to the burthens, the privations and sufferings that had borne so heavily upon them. And it may be added, that a handful of feeble colonies would hardly have ventured to strike a blow for separation, as long as the French held dominion here. Independence achieved, the colonies would necessarily have had to assume the relative condition that England bore with France. They would have assumed England's quarrels, growing out of unsettled boundaries and disputed dominions.

Had there been no English conquest of French dominions, the separation of the colonies, if realized at all, would have been an event far removed from the period in which it was consummated. France surrendered her splendid possessions in America, sullenly and grudgingly, yielded to destiny and a succession of untoward events, hoping for some event — some “tide in the affairs of men,” that would wrest from England's Crown the bright jewel she had picked up on the banks of the St. Lawrence, bathed in blood: and which she was displaying with a provoking air of triumph. It came more speedily than the keenest eye of prophecy could have foreseen. In a little more than twenty years after the fall of Quebec, La Fayette, Rochambeau, Chastelleux, D'Estang, M. de Choisy, Viomenil, de Grasse, M. de St. Simon, and a host of gallant Frenchmen beside, saw the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown: an event as crowning and decisive, in the loss of an empire, as was the surrender of Quebec, in the loss of a colony.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH DOMINION — BORDER WARS OF THE REVOLUTION.

FROM the end of French dominion in Western New York, to the close of the Revolution, constituted a period of twenty-four years; the events of which, having an immediate bearing upon our local region, must be crowded into a space too limited for elaborate detail; allowing of but little more than what is necessary to prevent a break in the chain of events that leads us to the main design of the work in hand.

Little of historical interest occurred previous to the Revolution. The English would seem to have made no better use of the rich prize that the fortunes of war had thrown into their hands, than had their French predecessors. Settlements made the advance of but a day's walk, and occupancy in any form, west of the lower valley of the Mohawk, was but the fortresses of Oswego and Niagara, and small English trading establishments, that had succeeded those of the French. The rich soil, that has made this region the prosperous home of hundreds of thousands; in which lay dormant the elements of more enduring wealth than would have been the richest "placers" of California, had no attractions for their adventurers, and were without the narrow circle of enterprize that bounded the views of colonial governors and legislators.

The change of occupants does not seem to have pleased the Senecas. Scarcely had the English got a foothold in their country, before a war was commenced by an attack upon a British wagon-train and its guard, as they were passing over the Portage from Lewiston to Schlosser. A tragical event that has much prominence in the local reminiscences of that region. This was followed by an attack upon a detachment of British soldiers at Black Rock, on their way from Niagara to Detroit. Sir William Johnson, in his official correspondence, called the Senecas a "troublesome people."

All of English dominion west of Albany, other than its military posts, was a "one man power;" and before proceeding farther, it will be necessary to give some account of that one man, who has already, incidentally, been introduced in our narrative.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

He was a native of Ireland, of a good family, and was well educated. Soon after he became of age, in 1737 or '8, he came to America as the land agent of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, an Admiral in the English navy, who had acquired a considerable tract of land upon the Mohawk, in the present county of Montgomery. He located a few miles from the present village of Port Jackson. Of a romantic disposition, and having acquired, from the unsuccessful termination of a love affair in his native country, some distaste for civilized society, which he was well qualified to adorn, he had not been long a resident in the backwoods of America, when he had determined upon permanent settlement. He formed an exception to a large majority of his countymen, in the ease and facility with which he exchanged the refinements of civilized society for life in the woods, with few but the native Indians for neighbors or associates. No Frenchman ever sit himself down upon the borders of our western lakes, alone of all his race, in the midst of Indian wigwams, and sooner merged and blended himself with all about him. Says the *London Gentleman's Magazine*, (1755): — "Besides his skill and experience as an officer, he is particularly happy in making himself beloved by all sorts of people, and can conform to all companies and conversations. He is very much the fine gentleman in genteel company. But as the inhabitants next to him are mostly Dutch, he sits down with them and smokes his tobacco, drinks flip, and talks of improvements, bear and beaver skins. Being surrounded with Indians, he speaks several of their languages well, and has always some of them with him. He takes care of their wives and old Indians, when they go out on parties, and even wears their dress. In short, by his honest dealings with them in trade, and his courage, which has often been successfully tried with them, and his courteous behavior, he has so endeared himself to them, that they chose him one of their chief Sachems, or Princes, and esteem him as their father."

He was just the man the English government required in the contest they were waging with the French: and he had not been long in the Mohawk valley, before he became its Indian agent, and the dispenser of its gifts, which added to his personal popularity with the Indians, gave him an influence over them greater than any one of our own race has ever possessed. He was the first Englishman to contend, with any great measure of success, with French Indian diplomacy; their governors, missionaries and traders.

On the breaking out of the last English and French war upon this continent, he was made a General of colonial militia, and by virtue of a leadership that had been created by the Iroquois, he was head warrior of all of them that inclined to the English interests. His first military service, was to head the formidable expedition against Crown Point, in which he was the vanquisher of the Baron Dieskau. For this signal service, he was made a Baronet. The other prominent event in his military career, was the siege and conquest of Fort Niagara, which mainly devolved upon him, by the death of his superior in command, Gen. Prideaux.

The gifts of his sovereign, and the facilities he enjoyed for purchasing Indian lands, made him the possessor of great wealth, which, with his military honors, the partiality of his countrymen, and his great influence with the Indians, rendered him as near a Prince as any thing the backwoods of America have witnessed. *

After the close of the French war, as a British agent, he held treaties and negotiated with the Iroquois, and some of the western nations, all of the territorial acquisitions in middle New York, northern Pennsylvania, and upon the Ohio River, that was made pre-

* "He built two spacious and convenient residences on the Mohawk River, known afterwards as Johnson Castle and Johnson Hall. The Hall was his summer residence. Here this singular man lived like a little sovereign, kept an excellent table for strangers and officers, whom the course of their duty now led into these wilds; and by confiding entirely in the Indians, and treating them with unwearied truth and justice without even yielding to solicitations he had once refused, he taught them to repose entire confidence in him. So perfect was his dependence on those people, whom his fortitude and other manly virtues had attached to him, that when they returned from their summer excursions and exchanged their last year furs for fire arms, &c., they used to pass a few days at the Castle, when his family and most of his domestics were down at the Hall. There they were all liberally entertained by Sir William, and 500 of them have been known, for nights together, after drinking pretty freely, to lie around him on the ground, while he was the only white person in a house containing great quantities of every thing that was to them valuable or desirable." — *Memoirs of an American Lady.*

vious to the Revolution. To his influence with the Indians as a British agent, inherited by his family, may be attributed in a great measure their alliance with the British throughout the Revolution; and yet had he lived when the contest was waged, it is doubtful what would have been his position. There are strong reasons for assuming that he would have been at least a neutral. He died at Johnson Hall, in June, 1774, just as the storm was gathering, soon after he had himself predicted that "England and her colonies were approaching a terrible war, which he should never live to witness." His health had been for some years declining.*

In his youth, soon after he became a resident upon the Mohawk, he took for his wife, (conventionally,) a comely German girl, who being a redemptionist, was serving her time with one of his neighbors. She was the mother of his son and successor, Sir John Johnson, and of his daughters, who became the wives of Col. Claus, and Col. Guy Johnson, a distant relative of Sir William. A legal marriage took place when Sir William was on his death bed, which ceremony had reference to the descent of property. And here it would be historical delinquency to conceal the fact, that Sir William, away from the restraints of civilized life, had indulged in what Mr. Bancroft would call the "freedom of the backwoods." Ebenezer Allan, who was at one period, in the valley of the Genesee, what Sir William was in the valley of the Mohawk, without taking his many virtues as his examples, was but an humble imitator of his one prominent vice. The fruits of his amours may be traced at this day in all the retreats of the remnants of the Six nations. Upon the banks of the Allegany, the observing traveller will recognize the family resemblance in the contour of faces: the "blood of the Johnsons," coursing the veins and harmoniously blending with that of the Iroquois. The sister of Joseph Brant, in some respects as good a specimen of her race, as was her renowned brother, was the mother of several of his children who were also legitimatized by a private marriage that took place a few years before his death.

Histories of the Revolution exist in too many forms, are too easily accessible to all classes of readers, to make it necessary to em-

* Documentary History, Vol. 2d, p. 957; Col Duncan, to a Friend of Sir Williams: "Yr friend Sir William is sore failed, he is ever now and then in a bad way, wherefore

brace even any considerable allusion to it in a work of this character. All of it that has any more than a remote connection with the history of our local region, are the Border Wars of New York, and with them the author will assume that his readers are generally familiar.

On the death of Sir William Johnson, his son, John Johnson, succeeded to his titles and estates, and his officer of General Superintendent of Indian Affairs fell into the hands of Col. Guy Johnson, his son-in-law, who had as his deputy Col. Claus, another son-in-law. Thus inherited, all the official and personal influence that had been acquired was wielded against the Colonies and in favor of the mother country. The natives unschooled in all that could enable them to understand the merits of the quarrel—themselves recognizing in their simple form of government hereditary rulers—could see in the uprising of the Colonies against their King, little else than unjustifiable rebellion, and they were told by the Johnsons that the outbreaks in Boston, and the battle of Lexington, were the acts of disobedient children against the King their Father, who had been kind to them as he had to the Six Nations. Sir William Johnson had been the almoner of annual gifts from his sovereign, and mingling a sincere regard for them, with his official duties, had wedded them strongly to him and to his government.

Joseph Brant, (in Indian, *Thay-en-da-ga*.) had been the protegee of Sir William Johnson. When quite a youth he had sent him to the Rev. Dr. Wheelock's school in Lebanon, Connecticut, afterwards employed him in his private business. * Engaged in military service, when he took the field, the young chief took the war path, one of the leaders of Sir William's Indian allies. Under these circumstances it was very natural that Brant should have been found a follower of the fortunes of the Johnson family.

With those influences bearing upon them, the Six Nations, with

is thought not to last many years more which will be a great loss to mankind in general, but particularly to this neighborhood, and I don't see that any one of the family is capable of keeping up the general applause when he is gone."

* His nativity is a mooted question. Bishop Strachan of Toronto, in an article written for the *Christian Messenger*, assumed that he was a Mohawk, born on the Ohio river, his parents having emigrated. This is upon the authority of Dr. Stewart, formerly a missionary in the Mohawk valley; Col. Stone accredits this. But better authority than either, because he has been a far more industrious researcher—L. C. Draper, Esq., of Philadelphia—assumes that he was a native Cherokee. There were Cherokees in all the nations of the Iroquois; captives and their descendants.

the exception of a part of the Tuscaroras and Oneidas, were the firm allies of England throughout the war of the Revolution. Immediately after the death of Sir William, Guy Johnson renewed alliances, and as hostilities approached the Mohawk valley, "brightened the chain of friendship" with gifts and lavish promises of increased patronage from his master, the King. A "committee of safety," which was early organized in "Tryon county," were jealous of every movement of the Johnsons, and especially those of Guy Johnson. It would seem, in fact, that he had at first rashly determined to maintain his ground, and, for that purpose, under pretence of fear of attack from "the rebels," had fortified his house, and drawn around it as guards, a formidable body of Indians. This alarmed the Tryon county committee, which had been early organized as auxillary to the central committee at Albany. They made representations to the Albany committee of all that was going on, and in allusion to Johnson's fortified castle and the hostile Indians, they say:—"We are, gentlemen, in a worse situation than any part of America at present. We have an open enemy before our faces, and a treacherous enemy at our backs." They assure the Albany committee that they will "neither submit to the acts of Parliament nor Col. Johnson's arbitrary conduct."

A series of stirring local events followed:—The Johnson family closely allied in interest and friendship with other influential families of Tryon county, not only controlled the Indians, but had such an influence with the whites as almost to enable them to coerce local obedience to them, and fealty to the King. They even ventured, and partially were successful, in using the civil authorities of Tryon county to subserve these purposes: interfering in one or two instances in breaking up what they termed "rebel meetings."

Early in the summer of 1775 however, Guy Johnson had determined that his own safety and the interests of his King, would both be promoted by removal to Canada. Up to this time, he had relied upon hopes that the revolutionary movements were but temporary outbreaks, which would be suppressed by the strong arm of his government, or conciliated by a redress of some of the grievances complained of. But admonished by the dark clouds of war that were gathering, that the crisis had arrived, that he could not preserve where he was with safety, a position even of neutrality, he resolved upon placing himself in a position to take an active part in the con-

test. Under the pretence that he could better control the Indians, and keep them from harming the inhabitants by fixing his headquarters at Fort Stanwix, he left "Guy Park" and repaired to that post, where he was soon joined by John and Walter Butler, Brant, and a formidable body of Tories and Indians. He soon removed with most of his retinue to Oswego.

It should here be observed, that inured to war as had been the Iroquois — fond of it as would seem from the avidity with which they had engaged in it with their own race and ours — the breaking out of the Revolution, found them with somewhat altered inclinations. Vastly reduced by wars with the southern and western Indians, and with the French, the remnant of them that had enjoyed a few years of peace had learned in some degree to estimate its value. Fully realizing the consequences, should they take up the hatchet for the King, the local committees of safety for Tryon and Albany counties, held conferences with the Mohawks and received assurances of neutrality. In June, 1776, General Schuyler, appointed for that purpose by the Congress at Philadelphia, held a council with all of the Six Nations upon the German Flats, where assurances of neutrality were renewed. But the superior influences that have been spoken of, finally prevailed.

Guy Johnson soon repaired to Montreal, where he made his head quarters, and engaged with zeal and activity, in enlisting the Indians in a harrassing border war, chiefly directed against his old neighbors. Sir John Johnson, previous to the flight, or hegira of his brother-in-law, had stipulated with Gen. Schuyler that he would remain and be a neutral, the chief motive being the preservation of the vast estate he had inherited; but encouraged by the prospect of a final triumph of the King over the colonies, he followed his inclinations, violated his pledges of neutrality, and taking with him three hundred of his neighbors and dependents, (chiefly Scotch,) joined his brother in Montreal, and became like him an active partizan. The immediate presence of the powerful family was thus withdrawn from the Mohawk, and little left of them but their deserted fields and mansions; but the devoted valley had yet to feel the terrible scourge which loyalty could inflict, when sharpened by motives of private vengeance.

Col. John Butler soon fixed his residence on the shores of Lake Ontario, in the immediate vicinity of the village of Niagara, where

he was soon installed as the leader of the tory refugees. Erecting barracks upon the plain, near where Fort George was afterwards built, there they were organized and quartered; and from that point they sallied out in marauding expeditions to the vallies of the Mohawk and Susquehannah, with their Indian allies; and to that point they returned when their errands of mischief had been executed. It was there the expeditions to the devoted valley of Wyoming, and to arrest the march of Sullivan, were projected.

After leaving the Mohawk valley, Brant was alternately at Oswego, Niagara, upon the Susquehannah and Genesee Rivers, until July 1777, when he made his appearance with an armed band of warriors at Unadilla, an Indian village upon the Susquehannah. There Gen. Herkimer, with a strong guard of Tryon county militia, sought an interview with him, in hopes of changing his purpose of engaging in the King's service. They met, Brant rather haughtily demanded the object of the interview, which was explained. Hinting to Gen. Herkimer that his attendants were pretty numerous for a peace ambassador, he assured him that he had a superior force, five hundred warriors, with which he could crush him and his party at a word; but said he, "we are old neighbors and friends and I will not do it." A hot-headed and imprudent Col. Cox, who had accompanied Gen. Herkimer, grossly insulted Brant, which came near bringing on an unequal contest, but Brant hushed the impending storm and promised another interview. It was had according to promise: Brant assured the General that he fully understood his errand; "but" said he, "you are too late, I am already engaged to serve the King. We are old friends, I can do no less than to let you return home unmolested, although you are entirely within my power." This was the last conference held by the agents of Congress with the Indians, pending or during the war of the Revolution; and after this, soon followed the terrible scenes with which the author presumes the reader to be familiar.

Immediately following this interview with Brant, Sir John Johnson and Col. Walter Butler sent out runners and convened delegations from all of the Six Nations at Oswego. The council was opened by a speech from Sir John, in which he assured the Indians that their assistance was wanted "to subdue the rebels who had taken up arms against their good Father the King, and was about to rob him of a great part of his possessions and wealth." The

chiefs then rose and severally assured the British agents that they had only one year before in council with General Schuyler, pledged themselves to neutrality, and that they should not violate the pledge by taking up the hatchet. The British agents told them that the "rebels" were few in number and easily subdued, and that on account of their disobedience they fully merited all the punishment that white men and Indians united could inflict: that the King was rich and powerful, both in money and subjects; that his "run was as plenty as the waters of Lake Ontario." This appeal to the appetites of the simple natives which British agents had done much before to vitiate, accompanied by promises of rich gifts, prevailed, and a treaty was made in which they pledge themselves to take up arms against the rebels, and continue in service during the war. "Upon the conclusion of the treaty, each Indian was presented with a suit of clothes, a brass kettle, a gun, a tomahawk, a scalping knife, a quantity of powder and lead, and a piece of gold." *

In the speech of Cornplanter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in 1822, he said: — "The cause of Indians having been led into sin at that time, was, that many of them were in the practice of drinking and getting intoxicated. Great Britain requested us to join them in the conflict against Americans, and promised the Indians land and liquor."

Soon after the war commenced, Brant collected the Mohawks at Lewiston, selecting for their home some of the fine grounds on the Ridge Road, near the present village. He built a small log church, using the bell of one of the Indian churches upon the Mohawk, which was hung upon the notch of a tree, the British chaplain at Fort Niagara, frequently holding service there. After the Revolution, he removed to Brantford, C. W., where large grants of land were secured to him by the British government. He died in 1807, aged 64 years.

Col. John Butler, who was respectably connected upon the Mohawk, became, from the first breaking out of the Revolution, a

* Life of Mary Jemison.

NOTE.—In few things is the poverty of the colonies, when the war commenced, more strikingly evinced, than in these Indian negotiations. With a few thousand dollars expended in the form of presents, when Gen. Schuyler held his treaty with them, their neutrality could have been secured; but he gave them nothing, for he had nothing to give. The British took advantage of this, secured their services, and made them a scourge to border settlers of New York and Pennsylvania.

zealous tory, and fled from his friends and home with the Johnsons, fixed his residence at Niagara, as has already been mentioned. With the doings of him and his Rangers, the readers of the Revolutionary history are familiar; he is connected with some of the darkest pages of it. With more of the savage in his nature by far, than Brant, he was far ahead of him in acts of cruelty, and incapable of the exercise of any of his sterling virtues. He was well educated, and his letters and the part he acted in various Indian treaties for the sale of the lands of this region, induce the conclusion, that he had a good share of business talents. At the close of the Revolution, he became Superintendent of Indian affairs for Upper Canada, and was also a half-pay British Colonel. The patronage of a King he had served so devotedly at the sacrifice of the private esteem of even those who had been his companions in arms, enabled him to surround himself with all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life. The home of which he was the founder, even now in its neglected condition, exhibits in all its primitive appointments, much of cultivated taste and refinement, which it is difficult to reconcile with the character of the man, as given to us in the annals of Border Wars. He died at Niagara, in 1794.

The influence of the Johnson family with the Indians, was hardly less potent than with their white neighbors. No where in all the colonies, was there so large a proportionate diversion of the inhabitants from an espousal of the Revolution, as in the valley of the Mohawk; and on the other hand, no where were there better examples of patriotism, bravery and self-sacrifice. It was, emphatically, "the dark and bloody ground." At first, the contest had all the features of civil war; households were divided; it was brother against brother, and neighbor against neighbor; and when, after the tories and Indians had withdrawn to Oswego, Montreal, Fort Niagara and Canada, they returned from time to time upon their errands of blood-shed and rapine; they were upon familiar ground, and well knew where most effectually to direct their steps.

NOTE.—In 1791, James Wadsworth visited Niagara, principally to inform himself as to the prospect of an Indian war. He wrote to a friend:—"You will not suppose that we are under much fears from the Indians, when I tell you that I started from the Genesee river without company, and reached Niagara in two days, without any difficulty. But sir, it was a most solitary ride." "I had an excellent dinner with Col. Butler. We were served with apples, chestnuts, hazel nuts and walnuts; but what surprised me most, was, to see a plate of malactoon peaches as good as I ever saw."

and where to execute the most terrible mischief. In the retrospect, when nations have settled down in peace, and look back upon the excesses they have committed in the strife and heat of war, there is always much even for self-accusation; but in all the history of wars, there is nothing that so stands out in bold relief, without mitigation or excuse, as was the sanguine policy of England in the employment of the tomahawk and scalping knife, to aid her in warring against her colonies. In all her own dark catalogue of wrongs, in the east, at home, in compelling obedience to the throne, there is nothing that so far outraged humanity, that so far transcended the rules of civilized warfare, as was the arming of savage allies, and sending them to lay waste unprotected backwoods settlements and massacre their inhabitants, without regard to age, condition, or sex. What the feeble colonies scorned to do in self-defence — after they had determined upon asking nothing farther than to have the tomahawk and scalping knife kept out of the contest — British agents, with the sanction of their government, did not hesitate to do in a spirit of inhumanity so sanguinary and unrelenting, that it urged on Indian warfare, even when it hesitated in the execution of its stealthy and bloody missions.

The Border Wars, the tory and Indian incursions from Canada, Oswego and Niagara, continued at intervals from the flight of the Johnsons, Butler and Brant in '75, until August 1779. The horrid details already fill volumes of published history.* With powerful British armies to contend with upon the sea board — work enough for the feeble and exhausted colonies — inadequate help had been afforded to repel invaders of the frontier settlements of New York. The stealthy foe could make descents by land or water through different unguarded avenues, and when their work of death was accomplished, retreat to their strong holds at Oswego and Niagara, a wide wilderness their defence and security against pursuit and retribution. When expeditions were planned at Niagara, if designed for the valley of the Mohawk, the Indians and tories would concentrate at Oswego; and if the valley of the Susquehannah was the destination, they would concentrate upon the Genesee river, Seneca

* For these details the reader is referred to Campbell's Annals of Tryon County, Simm's History of Schoharie and the Border Wars, Stone's Life of Brant, History of Onondaga, and the Holland Purchase.

Lake, or the Tioga river. Their prisoners were usually taken to Fort Niagara, the Bastile of the then western wilderness

At last, in the early part of the year 1779, Gen. Washington determined upon a measure for carrying the war home upon the invaders, routing the Indians from their villages, and if practicable, the siege and capture of Fort Niagara. The command was entrusted to Gen. Sullivan. The army organized for the expedition was in three divisions. That part of it under the immediate command of Gen. Sullivan, coming from Pennsylvania, ascended the Susquehanna to Tioga Point. Another division under the command of Gen. James Clinton, constructing batteaux at Schenectady, ascended the Mohawk and rendezvoused at Canajoharie, opened a road to the head of Otsego Lake, and from thence proceeded in a formidable fleet of over two hundred batteaux, to Tioga Point, forming a junction with the force under Gen. Sullivan, on the 22d of August. Previous to the arrival of Gen. Clinton, Sullivan had sent forward a detachment which fell in with a scouting party of Indians, and a skirmish ensued.

The combined forces amounted to 5,000 men. The expedition had been so long preparing, and upon the march, that the enemy were well apprized of all that was going on. Their plan of defence contemplated a decisive engagement upon the Chemung river. For this purpose the Rangers and regular British troops, under the command of Col. John Butler, Cols. Guy and Sir John Johnson, Major Walter N. Butler and Capt. McDonald, and the Indians under Brant had concentrated their forces upon a bend of the river, near the present village of Elmira, where they had thrown up a long breast work of logs. The united forces of the British allies as computed by Gen. Sullivan, was about 1500.* Having ascertained their position, Gen. Sullivan marched in full force and attacked them in the forenoon of the 29th of August. He found the enemy partly entrenched and partly arranged in scouting and flanking parties, the Indians especially adopting their favorite mode of warfare. Well provided with artillery, a heavy fire was opened upon the enemies entrenchments, which soon proved them a weak defence; a part of the Indians were panic stricken by the heavy cannonade, and fled, while other portions of them were rallied by

* Assumed to be much less in the British accounts.

their intrepid leader, Brant, and well maintained the unequal contest. "Both Tories and Indians were entitled to the credit of fighting manfully. Every rock and tree and bush, sheltered its man, from behind which the winged messengers of death were thickly sent, but with so little effect as to excite astonishment. The Indians yielded ground only inch by inch; and in their retreat darted from tree to tree with the agility of a panther, often contesting each new position at the point of the bayonet — a thing very unusual even with militiamen, and still more rare among the undisciplined warriors of the woods." * The battle had been waged about two hours, when the British and Indians perceiving their forces inadequate, and that a maneuver to surround them was likely to be successful, broke and fled in great disorder.

"This" says John Salmon, of Livingston county, who belonged to the expedition and gave an account of it to the author of the *Life of Mary Jemison*, "was the only regular stand made by the Indians. In their retreat they were pursued by our men to the Narrows, where they were attacked and killed in great numbers, so that the sides of the rocks next the River looked as if blood had been poured on them by pailfuls."

The details of all that transpired in this campaign are before the public in so many forms, that their repetition here is unnecessary. The route of the army was via "French Catherine's Town," † head of Seneca Lake, down the east shore of the Lake to the Indian village of Kanadesaga. (Old Castle.) and from thence to Canandaigua, Honeoye, head of Conesus Lake, to Groveland. The villages destroyed, (with the apple trees and growing crops of the Indians,) were at Catherinestown, Kendai, or "Apple Town" on the east side of the Lake, eleven miles from its foot, Kanadesaga, Honeoye, Conesus, Canaseraga, Little Beard's Town, Big Tree, Canawagus, and on the return of the army, Scawyace, a village between the

* *Life of Brant.*

† Name from Catherine Montour. She was a half blood, is said to have been the daughter of one of the French Governors of Canada. She was made a captive and adopted by the Senecas when she was ten years of age, becoming afterwards the wife of a distinguished Seneca Chief. When on several occasions she accompanied the chief to Philadelphia her extraordinary beauty, joined to a considerable polish of manners, made her the "observed of all observers;" she was invited to a private house and treated with much respect. She resided at the head of Seneca Lake previous to Sullivan's expedition, and afterwards at Fort Niagara, where she was treated with marked attention by the British officers.

Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, and several other Cayuga villages. Captain Machin was at the head of the engineers in this expedition. The industrious gleaner of Border War reminiscences, the author of the History of Schoharie, has found among his papers the following, which accompanied a map of Sullivan's entire route : —

"Distance of places from Easton, Pennsylvania, to Chenesee, [Genesee] Castle, taken in 1779, by actual survey : —

NAMES OF PLACES.	MILES.	TOTAL.
From Easton to Weonining, - - - - -	65	65
To Lackewaneck Creek, - - - - -	10	75
Quailuternunk, - - - - -	7	82
Tunkhamunk Creek, - - - - -	11	93
Meshohing Creek, - - - - -	9	102
Vanderlips Plantation, - - - - -	5	107
Wealusking Town, - - - - -	8	115
Wessawkin, or Pine Creek, - - - - -	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	129 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tioga, - - - - -	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	145
Chemung, - - - - -	12	157
Newton, - - - - -	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	165 $\frac{1}{2}$
French Catherinestown, - - - - -	18	183 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kandia or Appeton, - - - - -	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	211
Outlet of Seneca Lake, - - - - -	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	222 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kanadesaga, or Seneca Castle - - - - -	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	226
Kanandaque, - - - - -	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	241 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hannawaia, - - - - -	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	255
Adjusta, - - - - -	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	267 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cossauwauloughby, - - - - -	7	274 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chenesee Castle - - - - -	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	280

It is probable a better table of distances than has since been made. Among the papers of Capt. Machin, is the following certificate : —

"This may certify that Kayingwaurto the Sanakee chief, has been on an expedition to Fort Stanwix and taken two scalps, one from an officer and a corporal, they were gunning near the Fort, for which I promise to pay at sight, ten dollars for each scalp. Given under my hand at Buck's Island.

JOHN BUTLER, Col and

Supt. of the Six Nations and the allies of his Majesty."

This Kayingwaurto was a principal Seneca chief at Kanadesaga. He was killed by a scouting party of Gen. Sullivan's army, and in his pocket the certificate was found. The history of those scalps is one of the most melancholy tales of that era of terrible savage warfare. The chief in 1777, with a scouting party of Seneca warriors, was prowling about Fort Stanwix. Capt. Gregg, and a Corporal of the Fort, had ventured out to shoot pigeons, when they were fired at by the Indian scouts; the corporal being killed and Capt. Gregg severely wounded. Both were scalped; but after the Indians had left

Capt Gregg revived. His dog ran off to some fishermen of the Fort, a mile distant, alarmed them by his moaning, attracted them in the direction of his wounded master. Capt. Gregg was thus discovered, and lived to relate the story of his preservation. It is given upon the authority of Dr. Dwight.

The march of Sullivan, the devastations committed by his army, would at this distant period seem like Vandalism, in the absence of the consideration that he was acting under strict orders; and that those orders were approved, if not dictated by Washington. The campaign was a matter of necessity; to be effectual, it was not only necessary that its acts should be retaliatory and retributive, but that the haunts, the retreats, of a foe so ruthless, must be broken up. The object was to destroy all the means of subsistence of the Senecas, desolate their homes, prevent their return to them, and if possible, induce their permanent retreat beyond the Niagara River. The imprudence, the want of sagacity, which Col. Stone has imputed to Gen. Sullivan in alarming every village he approached by the sound of his cannon, the author conceives, a misapprehension of his motives. Stealthy, quiet approaches, would have found as victims in every village, the old men, the women and children — the warriors away, banded with their British allies. Humanity dictated the forewarning, that those he did not come to war against could have time to flee. It would have been a far darker feature of the campaign than those that have been complained of, and one that could not have been mitigated, if old men, women and children, had been unalarmed, and exposed to the vengeance of those who came from the valleys of the Susquehannah and the Mohawk to punish murderers of their kindred and neighbors. The march of Gen. Sullivan, after leaving the Chemung, was bloodless, except in a small degree — just as it should have been, if he could not make victims of those he was sent to punish.

The third expedition of this campaign, which has generally been lost sight of by historians, was that of Gen. Broadhead. He left Fort Pitt in August with six hundred men, and destroyed several Mingo and Muncey tribes living on the Allegany, French Creek, and other tributaries of the Ohio.

The heavy artillery that Gen. Sullivan brought as far as Newton, would indicate that Niagara was originally the destination. There the General and his officers, seeing how long it had taken to reach

that point, in all probability determined that too much of the season had been wasted, to allow of executing their tasks in the Indian country, making their roads and moving the army and all its appointments to Niagara before the setting in of winter. Besides, before the army had reached the valley of the Chemung, the fact was ascertained that there would be a failure in a contemplated junction with the army under Gen. Broadhead.

After the expedition of Gen. Sullivan, the Indians never had any considerable permanent re-occupancy of their villages east of the Genesee river. They settled down after a brief flight, in their villages on the west side of the river in the neighborhood of Genesee, Mt. Morris and Avon, and at Gardeau, Canadea, Tonawanda, Tuscarora, Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus and Allegany. For retreats of the Johnsons, Butler and their troops, see narrative of William Hinchey, in subsequent pages; and for Gen. Washington's official account of Sullivan's expedition, as copied from the manuscripts of a Revolutionary officer for the History of the Holland Purchase, see Appendix, No. 3.

* NOTE.—The author derives from James Otis Esq. of Perry, Wyoming County, a more satisfactory account of the retreat of the Indians upon the Genesee River, than he has seen from any other source. He became acquainted with Mary Jemison in 1810. She told him that when Sullivan's army was approaching the place of her residence, Little Bear's Town, the Indians retreated upon the Silver Lake trail. When about two miles from the Lake they halted to await expected re-inforcements from Buffalo Creek. They had a white person with them that they hung by bending down a small tree, fastening to it a bark halter they had around his neck, and letting it fly back; thus suspending their victim in the air. The bones and the bent tree attested the truth of the relation long after white settlements commenced. Reinforcements from Buffalo arrived, a council was held which terminated in the conclusion that they were too weak to risk an attack of Sullivan. When their invaders had retreated, the great body of the Indians went back to the sites of their old villages upon the River. Mrs. Jemison, went around on the westside of Silver Lake, and then down to Gardeau flats, where she found two negroes living that had raised some corn. She husked corn for the negroes and earned enough to supply her family with bread until the next harvest. This occupancy continued, Mrs. Jemison had the Gardeau tract granted to her at the Morris treaty.

PART SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

OUR IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS — THE SENECAS — WITH A GLANCE AT
THE IROQUOIS.

It is not the design of this work to embrace a detailed account of the Five Nations. The Senecas, however, the Tsonnontouans of French chronicle, who guarded the western door of the Long House, looking out on the Great Lakes, demand a passing notice, as we are approaching a series of events connected with the "partition" of their wide and beautiful domain.

In common with the red races, they are the "*autochthonoi*" of the soil — "fresher from the hand that formed of earth the human face," than the present rulers of the land that was once theirs. On their hunting grounds, the pioneers of the Genesee country, preparatory to settlement, kindled their camp-fires. Our clustering cities and villages are on the sites of their ancient castles, forts and places of burial. In the vallies where they lived, and on hills where blazed their beacons, a people with the best blood of Europe in their veins, at one and the same time, are founding halls of learning, and gathering in the golden harvests. The early annals of their occupation, to which the reader is soon to be introduced, are intimately blended with this once powerful and numerous branch of the Iroquois confederacy, that furnished under the totewic bond, at the era of confederation, two of the presiding law-givers and chiefs.*

An opinion prevails, that the guardians of the Eastern Door, the Mohawks; or, as called by their brethren, "Do-de-o-gah," or

* Documentary History.

"message bearers," were the most warlike; but a careful examination of history and the pages of Jesuit journals, establishes the fact, that the Senecas were not their inferiors in every martial attribute, and were always represented at a general gathering of the clans, in time of danger, by a more formidable force. There is no foundation for the remark of Buchanan, speaking in reference to the Mohawks, that their allies neither made war or peace without their consent.

Unquestionable proof is on record, that the fierce Senecas were not always governed in their action by the general voice at Onondaga. Sternly independent, they some times took up arms, when the other tribes, to use an Indian metaphor, sat smoking in quiet on their mats. After the rapid decline of French ascendancy on this continent, and many of the tribes beheld with terror the government of Canada falling into English hands, the Senecas, undaunted by the danger, adhered with dogged obstinacy, to the vanquished.

For a time, they were in alliance with Pontiac, and played a conspicuous part with the great "Ottawa" in his plan of surprising a cordon of posts in the Lake country, and exterminating the "dogs in red clothing," that guarded them. This statement does not rest on vague conjecture, or blind tradition. By reference to the British Annual Register, for 1764, we learn that on the 3d of April, 1763, Sir William Johnson concluded at Johnson Hall, on the Mohawk, preliminary articles of peace with eight deputies of the Seneca nation, which alone of the Iroquois league, had joined Pontiac. While the proud and conquering Mohawks imposed tribute on the Mohegans, and scoured the pine-forests of distant Maine in pursuit of flying foes, westward the track of the Senecas was literally marked in blood. The Neuter Nation, with homes on both sides of the Niagara, were "blotted from the things that be;" and the Eries, after a brave resistance, destroyed — the prize of conquest, the loveliest portion of our trans-Genesseean country. The barren coast of Superior, a thousand miles away from their great council-fire, was trodden by their warriors.

The Illinois turned pale at their approach on the shores of the Mississippi, and no hatchets were redder than theirs in the Herculean task of humbling the Lenni Lenapes, and for ever hushing into silence their boasting tongues.

The Chippewas, a valiant people, discomfitted and utterly dismayed by their prowess, fled like hunted deer to the remote villages of the Sioux. The long and bloody wars waged by the Five Nations with the Southern tribes, owed their origin to an attack made on the Senecas in one of their distant expeditions to the south west, by a party of Cherokees. The war-post was at once struck, and the confederates joined with their injured brethren in resenting the insult, and taming the pride of their wily antagonists. Though a vast extent of territory lay between the hunting grounds of the latter and the central fire of their cantons, the dreaded war-whoop of the Iroquois was heard on the banks of the Tallapoosa and Ocmulgee. Forbidding wilds, draped in the long gray moss of milder latitudes, and swampy fastnesses, the savage haunts of the alligator and terrapin, were explored by the infuriated invaders.

Nature opposed no barrier to a triumphant campaign, and distance was no obstacle in the fearful work of retaliation.

Hiokattoo, the renowned husband of the "White Woman," was a leader in one of these wild forays, and when a gray-haired ancient, cheered many a listening circle at his lodge fire, with a narrative of his exploits on that occasion.

Individuals of Cherokee extraction, still reside on the Tonawanda Reservation. They trace their descent to captives, saved from torture at the stake, and adopted as tribesmen by their victors.

I must differ from many writers, misled by Heckewelder, in the opinion that compared with surrounding nations, the Iroquois were not a superior race of men. No primitive people can boast of nobler war captains, than Kan-ah-je-a-gah, Hon-ne-ya-was, Brant, Hendrick and Skenandoah; — no abler orators and statesmen than Dekanissora, Canassetego, Logan and Red Jacket.

When the adventurous Frenchmen first set foot on Canadian soil, in 1603, he found the tribes of the League settled near Hochelaga, on the site of Montreal. Previous to this eventful period, they were said to have been a peaceful and happy people — more inclined to till the earth than follow the war-path. The unprovoked encroachment of the Adirondacks on their land — a powerful nation residing 300 miles above Trois-Rivieres, at length woke their latent energies, and roused their martial qualities. After their expulsion from the banks of the St. Lawrence, one of America's mighty arteries, and

conquering the *Satanas* in their migrations, they laid the foundation of empire on the borders of our beautiful Lakes. Seasoned, like *Cæsar's* veterans, by hardship, long marches and victory, they bravely resisted the inroads of their old enemies, the Hurons and Adirondacks. Though inferior in physical force, they made ample amends therefor, by the exercise of greater prudence, and superior strategy. Fighting in small detached parties, and under intrepid leaders, they struck blows in remote points, at one and the same moment of time, producing a general panic and surprise.

In turn, assuming the offensive, they drove back the invaders, disheartened and discomfited, to the neighborhood of Quebec. Then came the tug of war. Through the intervention of Jesuit influence, so puissant in the 17th century, that Kings and Pontiffs submitted to its dictation, the French colonists formed an alliance with the vanquished tribes. Supplied with more deadly weapons — the fire-locks of civilization — the Algonquin and Huron again struggled for the mastery. By consulting Colden, we learn that previous to the conflict between Champlain and the Iroquois, on the Lake that bears his name, the latter had never heard the thunder or seen the lightning of the pale faces. Though defeated on that occasion, they were not humbled; all fear of consequences was merged in a feeling of deep and deadly exasperation. The redoubtable Champlain himself, was doomed a few years after to feel the heavy weight of their vengeance. * Incautiously laying siege to one of their forts on Onondaga Lake, in October, 1615, he was twice wounded by arrows, and forced to retire in disgrace with his motley array of French and Indians.

He who falls, in hard encounter, a dexterous swordsman, with an oaken staff, gives proof of matchless address and prowess — and the fact that the Five Nations, recovering from the effects of a first surprise, boldly maintained their ground, even at this period, and often played an aggressive part, proves their native superiority, and gives them indisputable right to their own haughty term of designation — “*On-gui-hion-wi*” — men without peers.

French interference, in behalf of their old and implacable foes, only developed the genius of their Sachems, and attested the devotion of their warriors.

* O. H. Marshall's able address before the Young Men's Association at Buffalo.

It was extremely impolitic on the part of the Canadian colony, far from the resources of the mother country, thus in a state of infancy, to provoke the hate of unconquerable tribes. The Charistone, or Iron Workers, as they termed their neighbors, the Dutch, and after their decline, the English, supplied the Konoshioni with ammunition and arms. Jealous of French influence, they encouraged them to wage a war that should ask no quarter, and know no ending, until Canada was depopulated. Then blacker grew the tempest:—from the pine plains of Ske-nec-ta-da to the great Lake, a gathering-cry was heard, that rang through the arches of the forest, more dreadful than the panther's scream. Towns and outposts were burned—the Carignan was struck down at his door-stone, and the settler scalped in the midst of his clearing. Neither age nor sex was spared.

The fur-trader found a red grave in the wilderness; even the sentinel was shot pacing his rounds, and the unwary batteau-man dyed with his heart's best blood the waters of Cataracqui.

French America, through the administration of successive Viceroy's of Louis XIV., atoned for her folly in the dispersion of her Abenaki—the sack of Montreal—the defeat of her faithful Hurons under the guns of Quebec, and humiliating irruptions of a foe that overran the province, to use the strong figure of her annalists, "as a torrent does the low-lands, when it overflows its banks, and there is no withstanding it."

Compare for a moment the Atahualpas and Huan Capacs of Peruvian history, with the dreaded founders and rulers of this Aboriginal League. Though mighty armies came at their call, resplendant with gold and blazing with jewels, they were routed by Pizarro, with a few horsemen at his back. Charging steed and shouting rider—deemed by the silly natives one animal, like the Centaur of fable—rattling gun and the blast of the trumpet subdued them with a terror that no appeal to patriotism could overcome. In sight of their homes and altars, thousands were slain like unresisting sheep, the survivors bowing their necks to the yoke, and looking tamely on, while their heart-broken Incas suffered ignominious death. The mighty empire of the Aztecs had experienced a few years before, the same disastrous fate; it crumbled away, as it were, in a night; the splendor of its adorning more effectually insuring its destruction.

The romantic valor of a few Castilian adventurers, outweighed in the scale of conflict, the countless multitudes that opposed them.

Montezuma and Guatimozin, after all, were nothing more than royal shadows, notwithstanding their patient martyrdom.

The sceptred phantoms invoked by the weird sisters were less frail and unsubstantial, for they inspired fear — extorting this shuddering cry from a tyrant and regicide, bloody and false like Cortez —

“Let this pernicious hour
Stand, aye, accursed in the calendar.”

Of different mould and mettle, were the Sachems and Attotarhos of the Five Nations. They were endowed with the will to dare — the hand to execute. Their Garangulas and Decanissoras — their Oundiagas and Karistageas united to indomitable courage, talents for negotiation, and resistless eloquence.

Less brilliant than banded states that paid submissive tribute to the Aztec emperor, there was more stability and strength in their unwritten compact of union. Though a mere handful, compared with the swarming and priest-ridden slaves of Mexico, they possessed an inherent valor and spirit of independence, that submitted to no wrong, and brooked no rivalry. Seldom in the field with more than a thousand warriors, they went forth conquering and to conquer — bound by an heraldic tie that evoked a deeply-rooted sentiment of regard and national pride.

Less formidable by far was Spanish inroad at the extreme south than French military power on this continent so vainly exerted, under De Nonville and Frontenac, to overawe and subdue them, “and it can scarcely be deemed fanciful to assert,” says a distinguished writer, * “that had Hernando Cortez entered the Mohawk valley instead of that of Mexico, with the force he actually had, his ranks would have gone down under the skillfulness of the Iroquois ambuscades, and himself perished ingloriously at the stake.”

Wherever they were urged onward by a martial impulse and ardor that no difficulties could lessen or abate — whether traversing the Appalachian chain or western prairie — the fame of their exploits preceeding them, created panic, and paralyzed resistance. Though thinned in number by long and bloody wars, they were fearfully formidable in modern times: foes in our revolutionary struggle,

* Schoolcraft.

they proved their devotion to their British Father at Wyoming, Minnisink and mournful Oriskany — friends at a later epoch, of our Union, they followed Oundiaka and Honneyawas to the red field of Chippewa. At all periods of their history — flushed with triumph, or clouded by disaster — there has been no decay of hereditary valor.

Whether known as 'Massawomekes' to the southern, or 'Nadowa' to the western Tribes, they were alike terrible and invincible. A more splendid race of savages never launched their war-canoes on our streams, or drew bow in our forests; and a wild magnanimity throws light on their darker traits, in their practical application of the motto, "*parcere subjectos, et extirpare superbos.*" Humanity blushes to recall the scenes of rape and hellish licence that have followed the storming of towns, and sack of cities in the old world, but an Iroquois warrior was never known to violate the chastity of a female prisoner.

Often a chivalric spirit gave an air of romance to their native daring. After a successful foray into an enemy's country, pursuers on the trail, finding their gage of mortal defiance, would move with greater circumspection. Like the generous reptile whose dread rattle arrests the step of the hunter, significant tokens dropped by the way, warned foemen to retire, or expect no mercy at their hands. Thus in 1696, when Frontenac's army was on the Oswego, two bundles of cut rushes, in their line of march, a numerical sign, conveyed the startling intelligence that more than fourteen hundred warriors were on the watch for their coming.

Not less haughty and heroic was their conduct in 1779, when retreating before the greatly superior force of Sullivan. They bent a tree, and twisted its rugged top around the trunk, as an emblem of their own situation — bent but not broken — smitten, but not overthrown.

Though all the tribes of aboriginal America were competitors; the palm for greatest manifestation of mental power would be awarded to this extraordinary people. The principle of unity that banded them together, offspring of profound policy that lifts them above the hunter state — their love of liberty that scorned submission to foreign control; their ability to cope, in council, with the most skillful diplomatists of a boasted civilization — the wonderful eloquence of their orators, challenging comparison with the finest periods of Demosthenes — their self-reliance that laughed at the menaces of kings —

their long adherence to one great plan of conquest : — bear witness that they were a highly-gifted race, and may well make them objects of intense interest to the poet, philosopher and historian. The climate enjoyed, and the country occupied by them were favorable to the development of a noble manhood. Their broad domain was irrigated by streams whose rich alluvial bottoms rewarded the rudest tillage with a full supply of golden maize : its forests abounding in animals of chase — bear, bounding deer, majestic moose and elk — furnished their lodge boards with venison ; and the lovely lakes that spotted its rolling surface, paid rich tribute to the bark-net, and barbed spear of the fisherman.

Man owes many of his characteristics to the scenes amid which he is nursed, and the grand, geographical features of Iroquois empire were sources to its upholders and lords, of high, ennobling thought. Rivers rushing to find a level "either in the gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, or in the intermediate shores of the Atlantic" — Erie and Ontario, those lonely worlds of waters, that bordered on the north and west, with a blue belt, their hunting grounds ; the Adirondack chain, with its deep gorges, vapory cones, and splintered cliffs — old mossy woods, where the mysterious winds awoke their wildest music ; glades basking in the light, and glens where reigned at noon-day a sepulchral gloom ; and, more than all, the mighty Cataract of Niagara, singing an eternal anthem at the western door of their Long House : were sights and sounds that found a reflex and an echo, not only in their magnificent traditions, but in the sublime imagery and symbolic phraseology of their orators. Previous to the overthrow of the Neuter Nation, and subsequent to that event, of the Eries, the Seneca country extended westward to the Genesee. After that period they were undisputed masters of the soil from the valley of Pleasant Water, to the banks of the De-o-se-o-wa, or Buffalo Creek. Disputes have arisen among antiquarians, as to the question whether the Kah-kwahs and Eries were one and the same people. All Indian history proves that a tribe is often known by diverse names in their own tongue, as well as in different dialects. For example, referring to their position, the Senecas were called "Swan-ne-ho-ont," (door on the hinge) — in reference to the place of their origin — an elevated point at the head of Canandaigua Lake, "Nun-do-wa-ga," or people of the Hill. Whether known as Allegan, Erie, or Kah-kwah, the western door-

keepers struggled many years in vain to give the Long House of the League a greater extension. For the first time since quitting their Canadian seats, on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, were they checked in their march toward the setting sun. Their rivals in arms were inclined, while hand could wield hatchet, not to surrender without a blow the broad spreading chase-grounds of their fathers: — and a glorious land it was — a Canaan of the wilderness — well worth the bloody sacrifice that was made by a luckless and gallant people in defending the integrity of its soil. Opposed to them was a foe, renowned throughout the nations, for courage, endurance, enterprise and boundless ambition.

The latter assign as cause of war, the defeat of the Kah-kwahs in ball playing, and other athletic sports, though the challenging party.

I am inclined to believe, however, that the Senecas were the aggressors, — competitors for the spoils in one of those games of life and death that the human race, savage and civilized, have played in all ages and in all lands.

Their fierce and restless natures could ill bear aught that blocked the way to a more extended rule: — bounds to their supremacy, westward, were not to be found on the Genesee, while beyond its channel lay one of the fairest gardens of this western World. It was an easy task for their subtle minds to frame a pretext — a much harder one for their strong right arms to wrest a priceless heritage from its heroic defenders.

In August of the year 1653, Father Le Moyne — known among red men as Ondessonk — visited the Onondagas, and found them bitterly bewailing the loss that the confederacy had sustained in the massacre of the great Seneca Chief “An-nen-cra-os” by their enemies, the Kah-kwahs. The war raged for a time without any very disastrous result to either party.

Unaided by their eastern brethren, the Senecas, however, triumphed in the first general engagement — unmistakeable proof of their high, martial qualities; for their opponents displayed a desperate hardihood, on that day, worthy of a more fortunate issue.

Some writers are of opinion, that the battle was fought near the Honeoye outlet, and midway between Canandaigua Lake and the Genesee River: — others locate the scene of carnage more than a day's march from the old village of Cannewaugus, in a westward

direction. The place of final conflict is better known. Leaving more than half of their warriors, pierced by the shafts, and crushed by the war clubs of the conquerors, the survivors fled to their principal village, and strong-hold on the De-o-se-o-wa.

Reinforced by their allies, the Senecas pursued and attacked them in their fortress. After a brave resistance a feeble remnant of the once haughty Eries fled from their old hearth-stones and possessions to an Island of the Allegany; but a foe was on their trail, truer than the sleuth-hound when he has tasted blood. The unhappy fugitives, surprised in their encampment, fled down the river, under cover of night, losing forever in distant wilds, their identity as a nation. A few, saved from the general slaughter and dispersion, were adopted by the confederates; for by this politic course, they in part, repaired the dreadful ravages of war, and postponed the dismal hour of their own inevitable declension and fall.

I cannot forbear, in my brief sketch of their extirpation, from closing in the eloquent words of my friend Marshall:—“They are a people of whom there is scarcely a memorial, save the name of the Lake that washes the shore they ruled. Fit mausoleum of an extinct tribe! Even the vague tradition that transmits their memory, will soon be lost, with the last remnant of the ‘Nun-de-wa-gas’ that swept them from existence.”

Enraged by continued infraction of their territory, during the administration of De la Barre, by the passage of French trading parties to the south west, laden with material to arm their enemies, the Senecas began hostilities by wresting from them their powder and lead—seizing their canoes, and dismissing them, homeward, with threats of torture and death if they ever returned. In his instructions to the French Governor, on receipt of the alarming intelligence, Louis XIV. recommended a prompt invasion of the hostile country, and directed that all prisoners of war taken in the campaign, when opportunity offered, should be shipped to France, remarking, in his despatch, that “the Iroquois, being stout and robust, would serve with advantage in his galleys.”

What plan, by the rash Bourbon, could have been devised, I ask, more certain than this to undermine his sovereignty on this continent? An attempt to enslave a high spirited race, that preferred liberty to life, was a long stride, on the part of French America, towards certain destruction. Captives, treacherously seized, were,

actually carried to France, in pursuance of royal policy, and forced into degrading service.

At a subsequent period they were liberated and laden with presents, brought back to Canada. But the dragon-teeth had been sown, and it was too late to hope for a burial of the hatchet. The insult was one that the Five Nations would neither forget nor forgive:—and many were the bloody scalps that soon hung drying in the smoke of their wigwams. De la Barre's expedition to La Famine, or Hungry Bay, in compliance with the royal pleasure, was attended by disastrous results. A terrible distemper broke out in his camp, and the half-famished troops, spurning restraints of discipline, clamored for speedy departure to their homes.

While thus in a condition to become an easy prey for enemies, ever on the watch, he endeavored to achieve by diplomacy what he could not effect by force. Messengers were sent entreating the Five Nations to meet him in council on the shore of the Lake.

The Mohawks and Senecas returned a haughty refusal, but the remaining tribes complied with his request. The speech of Garangula, on that occasion, has been justly deemed a master-piece of argument and eloquence.

De la Barre had indulged in idle bravado, thinking that his real situation was unknown to his eagle-eyed adversary; and nothing could have astonished him more than the picture drawn by the sarcastic chief, of his utter inability to strike a blow—or more galling to a soldier's pride, than the taunting language that he employed:

"Hear, Yonnondio! our women had taken their clubs, our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them, and kept them back."

Soon after this signal exposure of his weakness, the Governor returned to Canada, with a dispirited army, and a tarnished reputation.

The Marquis De Nonville, successor of De la Barre, though an accomplished officer, was taught a still sterner lesson in 1687. In July of that year, with two thousand regulars and militia, and a thousand friendly Indians, he landed at "O-nyui-da-on-da-gwat," or Irondequoit Bay. The plan of campaign was to attack the dreaded "Long-house," at a point never before invaded, by securing

greater chances of success. In crushing the Senecas, justly regarded the most ferocious and formidable of the Five Nations, the Marquis hoped to curb the pride, and paralyze the power of their strong League for ever. Great glory would also accrue to his name, in conquering a region, and annexing it to the crown of France, unsurpassed in beauty and fertility, "of regular seasons," mild of climate, intersected by numerous lakes and rivers, and said, by writers of the period, to be "capable of bearing all the fruits of Touraine and Provence."

In addition, by erecting a fort at "the extremity of a tongue of land between the Niagara River and Lake Ontario," he intended to secure uninterrupted command of the great lakes, monopolize the beaver trade, and furnish a place of rendezvous and supplies for the savage allies of France in their wars with the Iroquois.

After building a redoubt, manned by several companies, to protect the canoes and batteaux, four hundred in number, De Nonville put his army in motion. Warned of the danger, the main body of the Seneca warriors hastened to remove their old men, women and children to places of safety, leaving a hundred picked men at a small fort to act as a corps of observation, and closely watch the progress of the invaders.

The latter, informed that "Yonnondio" was on the war-path, sent runners to their friends, and 350 young men turned back to give him a suitable reception.

An ambuscade was skillfully laid on a small wooded hill, about half a mile from the Indian castle of Ganagarro, at the foot of which was a deep and dangerous defile.

The scouts of the army, on the second day of their march, passed without being molested, or observing their crafty enemies, even to the corn fields of the village. The lions of the Genesee lay crouched in their hidden lair, to pounce on more formidable prey. No note of alarm being heard, command was given to centre and wings to quicken their movements. Thinking that the braves of the nation had fled, and that they would meet with no opposition, the French plunged rashly into the defile. While in confused array, the dreaded and blood-curdling war whoops of the Iroquois rang in their ears, followed by a heavy volley of musketry. While their bravest went down under the close discharge, the foremost ranks recoiled; then, emulating French speed at the "Battle of the spurs."

shamefully fled, disorganizing the whole line, and carrying dismay in their course. "Battalions," — says La Hontan, a spectator, and the historian of the fight — "separated into platoons, that ran without order, pell-mell, to the right and left, not *knowing whither they went.*" A more vivid picture of utter overthrow for the time, and the contagion of fear, could not be drawn.

Before the panic subsided, the Senecas broke cover, and charged the flying foe, tomahawk in hand.

Many of the fugitives were slain, but the pursuers followed too far, losing the advantage of a thick wood, and strong position. Such was their paucity of numbers, that they could only for a brief period make head against a host. By rallying his routed troops, and making a combined attack of regulars, militia and Indians, De Nonville checked the Senecas, and after a valiant stand, and desperate efforts to stem the reflux tide of conflict, they were compelled reluctantly to give way.

Spartan prowess could have done no more. A General, thirty years in service, and a favorite officer of "the Magnificent Louis," had been surprised; his savage hordes, colonial levies, and veteran regiments disordered, charged and driven back by a much smaller force than his own rear-guard — and only saved, by overwhelming numbers, from the crowning disgrace of a disastrous defeat.

Though repulsed, the Senecas were not disheartened, and when challenged, in their retreat, to stand and fight, halted on the brow of a hill, and replied: — "Come on, four hundred to our four hundred, and we have but a hundred men, and three hundred boys, and we will fight you hand to fist." * It is unnecessary to remark that the proposition was not accepted, for we have French authority for saying that the Iroquois were *more skillful in the use of the gun* than Europeans. †

If De Nonville was the chivalrous soldier and christian, that Charlevoix represents him to have been, he left his good name behind him in this unfortunate expedition. In his report of the battle he has mingled much that is obviously false, an act unworthy of a gallant gentleman; and he little honored the christian character, by permitting his wampum-decked allies, whose poltroonry was only

* Doc. "His." Vol. 7, p. 248.

† Doc. "His." p. 231.

surpassed by their horrid barbarities, to torture the helpless and wounded, breathing defiance to the lost, that fell into his hands.

How can we reconcile with common ideas of honor, his official statement, that the skulking Ottawas performed their duty admirably in the action, with a passage in his published letter to the Minister, in which he bitterly denounces their cowardice and cruelty? How can we reconcile his idle, and vain-glorious claim to an almost bloodless victory, with La Hontan's, that besides twenty-two wounded, an hundred Frenchmen, and ten savages were slain?

The Baron's honest narrative, so little flattering to the military pride of his countrymen, is corroborated, in the main, by other witnesses of the engagement. Well might an indignant savage, in view of their utter inefficiency to cope with the "Western Romans," sneeringly exclaim, that "they were only fit to make war on Indian corn, and bark canoes:" for there is proof on record, that the French officers, at Mount Royal, jeered one another for being appalled by the Seneca war whoop to such a degree, as to fall terror-stricken and powerless to the ground.*

The memory of illustrious women who have matched, in defence of altar and hearth, the deeds of the sterner sex, has been enshrined in song, and honored by the Historic Muse. Joan of Arc, and the dark-eyed maid of Saragossa, in all coming time, will be chivalric watchwords for France and Spain, but not less worthy of record, and poetic embalment, were the five devoted heroines who followed their red lords to the battle-field, near ancient Ganagarro, and fought with unflinching resolution by their sides.† Children of such wives could not be otherwise than valiant. "Bring back your shield, or be brought upon it," was the Spartan mother's stern injunction to her son; but, roused to a higher pitch of courage, the wild daughters of the Genesee stood in the perilous pass, and, in defence of their forest homes, "turned not back from the sword — the thunder of the captains, and the shouting."

The results of this ill-conceived irruption into the Seneca canton, though preceded by months of busy preparation, great consumption of material, and attended by the pomp and parade of war, may be summed up in few words.

* Doc. "His." Vol. I, p. 246.

† Doc. "His." Vol. I, p. 248.

A battle was fought in which the field was won by the French — the glory by their foe. Then a few unarmed prisoners were tortured, corn fields laid waste, and bark villages burned, followed by alarms that caused a precipitate retreat to their boats, harrassed every step of the way by hovering parties in pursuit. Embarking at Irondequoit, after the loss of about twenty men,* they coasted along the Lake, leaving a feeble garrison at Niagara to defend an isolated post.

The greater part of them, soon after, including the commander, De Troyes, while closely besieged by the Iroquois, fell victims within their stockade, to the not less fearful assaults of famine and disease.

CHAPTER II.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS TO WESTERN NEW YORK — INDIAN TREATIES — THE LESSEE COMPANY — THE MILITARY TRACT.

In the treaty of peace of 1783, which ended the Revolutionary war, England, forgetful of their obligations to the Six Nations, most of whom had served them faithfully, as the devastated frontier settlements fully attested, made no provisions for their allies; but left them to the mercy or discretion of those against whom they had carried on a long and sanguinary warfare. "The ancient country of the Six Nations, the residence of their ancestors, from the time far beyond their earliest traditions, was included in the boundary granted to Americans." † According to the usages of

* "We have the news of Keman, that the Indians have taken 8 men, 1 woman, 8 crowns or scalps, and killed near upon 20 men at the place where the Barks lay."

[Maj. Schuyler to Gov. Dongan, Doc. His. v. 1 p. 255.

† Memorial of the Six Nations, presented to Lord Camden.

war and the laws of civilized nations, they were a conquered people, and their country forfeited to the conqueror. But the authorities of our General and State Governments did not choose to apply so stringent a rule to the simple natives, who were unlearned in reference to the position in which their action in the war had placed them, and had been the dupes of their unprincipled, ungrateful, and neglectful employers. A strong disposition prevailed in the state to regard their lands a forfeit—especially among those who had suffered most at their hands; at one period, the State Legislature entertained such a proposition—with so much favor, that it is probable it would have prevailed, but for the decided opposition of General Schuyler, aided by the influence of Washington, with the General Government. A different course was dictated by a feeling of humanity, as well as that of economy; for renewed war and conquest would have been far more expensive than peace negotiation and purchase proved to be. The wiser and better policy prevailed.

The cessation of hostilities on the part of those to whom they had lately been allies, left them in an embarrassing position. England had made a peace, and left her allies in the field to fight it out, or seek a peace upon their own account. British perfidy has seldom been more clearly exhibited.

Previous to the cession by all the states, of lands within their boundaries to the General Government, the respective rights of General and State Governments were but illy defined; and so far as this State was concerned, especially, a collision was had. As early as April, 1784, the Legislature of this State passed an act, making the Governor and a Board of commissioners the Superintendents of Indian affairs. The commissioners designated were:—Abraham Cuyler, Peter Schuyler, Henry Glen, who associated with them, Philip Schuyler, Robert Yates, Abraham Ten Broeck, A. Yates, jr., P. W. Yates, John J. Beckman, Mathew Vischer, Gen. Ganesvoort. Governor George Clinton, as the head of the Board, assumed the laboring oar of negotiation. The services of the mis-

NOTE.—Had a different course been pursued, the Indians would have called to their aid some of the western nations, and prolonged the war. The venerable chief Blacksnake, now an hundred years old, residing upon the Allegany Reservation, insists that the Six Nations went to the treaty of Fort Stanwix, not as a conquered people suing for peace, but with arms in their hands.

sionary, the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, of Peter Ryckman, Jacob Reed, James Deane, Major Fonda, Col. Wemple, Major Fry, Col. Van Dyke, — most of whom had been Indian traders or captives — were enlisted. Peter Ryckman became to the Board, a species of “winged Mercury,” flying from locality to locality— now at Oneida, then at Kanadesaga, then at Niagara, consulting with Brant; and next at Albany, reporting the result of his conferences with the statesmen and diplomatists of the forest. The time and place of a treaty was partially agreed upon.

In the mean time, Congress had contemplated a general treaty with the Indians, bordering upon the settlements in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; and had appointed as its commissioners, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee. A correspondence took place between the New York Board and the Commissioners of the United States, in which the question of jurisdiction, the respective rights to treat with the Indians, was seriously involved. The New York Commissioners found the Indians generally averse to treating with a State, but generally disposed to meet the “Thirteen Fires,” and hold a treaty of peace jointly with their people of some of the western nations. Most of the spring and summer of 1784, was consumed by endeavors of the New York Board to get a council of the Six Nations convened. On the first of September, they met at Fort Schuyler— deputies from the Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas and Senecas. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras held back; but deputations from them, were brought in by runners on the third day. The deputies of these two nations were first addressed by Governor Clinton. He assured them of a disposition to be at peace; disclaimed any intention to deprive them of their lands; proposed a settlement of boundaries; and warned them against disposing of their lands to other than commissioners regularly appointed by the State of New York, who would treat with them for lands, when they were disposed to sell them. In reply to this speech, a delegate of the two nations expressed their gratification that the war had ended, and that they could now meet and “smoke the pipe of peace.” “You have come up,” said he, “what has been an untrodden path to you for many years; and this path which you have seen as you have come along, has been strewed with blood. We, therefore, in our turn, console your losses and sorrows during these troublesome times. We rejoice that

you have opened the path of peace to this country." He thanked the commissioners for their advice to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, not to listen to individuals who proposed the purchase of their lands.

At this stage of the council, the Cayuga and Tuscarora chiefs exhibited a letter from the commissioners of Congress. The letter was read. It informed the Indians that they, the commissioners, were appointed by Congress "to settle a general peace with all the Indian nations, from the Ohio to the Great Lake" — that the Governor of New York had no authority from Congress; but as he had invited the Indians to assemble at Fort Stanwix, on the 20th of September, the commissioners, to save the trouble of two councils, would alter the determination of holding their council at Niagara, and meet them at For Stanwix on the day named.

Gov. Clinton next addressed the "Sachems and warriors of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas." He assured them that what was a colony had become a State: that he and his friends had met them to open the paths of peace, to establish that friendly relation that existed between the Indians and their white neighbors previous to the war. Some passages of the Governor's speech was as truly eloquent as any thing that will be found among our State records. He said: "The council fires which was lighted both at Albany and Onondaga by our ancestors and those of the Six Nations, which burned so bright, and shone with so friendly a light over our common country, has unhappily been almost extinguished by the late war with Great Britain. I now gather together at this place the remaining brands, add fresh fuel, and with the true spirit of reconciliation and returning friendship, rekindle the fire, in hopes that no future events may ever arise to extinguish it: but that you and we, and the offspring of us both, may enjoy its benign influence as long as the sun shall shine, or waters flow." In reference to the letters of the commissioners of Congress, he assured them that their business was with Indians residing out of any State: but that New York had a right to deal with those residing within her boundaries.

The answer to the Governor's speech was made by Brant. He said that "it meets with our dispositions and feelings of our minds." In reference to the respective claims of Congress and New York to treat with the Indians, he thought it strange that "there should

be two bodies to manage the same business." Several speeches followed, Brant and Cornplanter being the spokesmen of the Indians. The utmost harmony prevailed; the Indian orators treating all subjects adroitly, manifesting a disposition to make a treaty, but evidently intending to stave off any direct action, until they met in council the U. S. Commissioners. To a proposition from Gov. Clinton, that the State of New York would look for a cession of lands to help "indemnify them for the expenses and sacrifices of the war;" they replied, admitting the justice of the claim, but saying they were peace ambassadors, and had no authority to dispose of lands. The council broke up after distributing presents, and leaving the Indians a supply of provisions for subsistence while waiting to meet the U. S. Commissioners.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix followed, conducted by the United States Commissioners, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee. No record of the proceedings exist in our public archives: the general result is however known. Terms of peace were concluded; the western boundaries of the Six Nations were so fixed as to enlarge the "carrying place" on the Niagara river they had previously ceded to the King of Great Britain, and starting from the mouth of Buffalo Creek, was to be a line running due south to the northern boundary of Pennsylvania: thence west to the end of said boundary; thence south along the west boundary of said State to the river Ohio. The treaty was effected with considerable difficulty, a large number of the Indians insisting that it should be general, and embrace the western Indians, so that all questions of boundaries could be settled at once. Brant was absent, transacting some business with the Governor of Canada. Had he been present, it is doubtful whether any treaty would have been concluded. Red Jacket, then a youth, made his first public speech, and as Levasseur, (who derived his information from La Fayette,) says: — "His speech was a masterpiece, and every warrior who heard him, was carried

NOTE.—La Fayette was present at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. After the lapse of forty years, the generous Frenchman, the companion of Washington, and the Seneca orator, again met. The author was present at the interview. A concourse of citizens had been assembled for nearly two days, awaiting the arrival of the steam boat from Dunkirk, which had been chartered by the committee of Erie county, to convey La Fayette to Buffalo, and among them was Red Jacket. He made, as usual, a somewhat ostentatious display of his medal—a gift from Washington—and it required the especial attention of a select committee to keep the aged chief from an indulgence—a "sin that so easy beset him,"—which would have marred the dignity if not the

away with his eloquence." He strongly protested against ceding away the hunting grounds of his people at the west, and boldly advocated a renewal of the war. The better councils of Cornplanter, however, prevailed. The so highly extolled eloquence of Red Jacket, had little in it of practicability. The Six Nations agreed to surrender all of their captives, most of whom had been brought to the treaty ground for that purpose. The commissioners in behalf of the United States, guaranteed to the Six Nations the quiet possession of the lands they occupied, which was recognized as embracing all of New York, west of cessions they had made under English dominion.

The next council of the commissioners of New York, after the one that has been named, was convened at Fort Herkimer, in June 1785. This was with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras. Gov. Clinton made an opening speech in which, after defining their rights, and advising them that the State held the exclusive right to purchase, informed them that it was understood they were prepared to sell some of their lands south of the Unadilla; and if so, the commissioners were ready to purchase. After nearly two days deliberation, the Governor's speech was replied to by "Petrus, the minister." The orator said his people were averse to parting with lands—alluded to the frauds that had been practiced upon the Mohawks before the Revolution: said "the German Flats people when they were poor, applied to us for lands and they were friends: but now they are rich, they do not use us kindly." The speech was one of consummate ability; especially did the chief turn the tables upon the Governor, in a frequent allusion to his former advice to the Indians to keep their lands. Days of deliberation and speech making succeeded, the Indians making propositions to lease a small quantity of land, then to sell a small quantity of their poorest lands, but failing

romance of the intended interview. The reception, the ceremonies generally, were upon a staging erected in front of "Ratibon's Eagle." After they were through with Red Jacket was escorted upon the staging, by a committee. "The Douglass in his hall,"—himself in his native forest—never walked with a firmer step or a prouder bearing! There was the stoicism of the Indian—seemingly, the condescension, if it existed, was his, and not the "Nation's Guest." He addressed the General in his native tongue, through an interpreter who was present. During the interview, La Fayette, not recognizing him, alluded to the treaty of Fort Stanwix: "And what" said he, "has become of the young Seneca, who on that occasion so eloquently opposed the burying of the tomahawk?" "He is now before you," replied Red Jacket. The circumstance, as the reader will infer, revived in the mind of La Fayette, the scenes of the Revolution, and in his journey the next two days, his conversation was enriched by the reminiscences which it called up.

to come up to what the commissioners required. In a speech made by the Grasshopper, he alluded to the attempt the British agents made during the war, to induce the Tuscaroras and Oneidas to join them. He said:—"They told us by joining the Americans, we would get lice, as they were only a lousy people; but however, although they expressed the Americans were lousy, they have although lousy, overcome their enemies."

The commissioners finally succeeded in purchasing the land lying between the Unadilla and Chenango Rivers, south of a line drawn east and west through those streams, and north of the Pennsylvania line, &c., for which they paid \$11,500, and distributed among them a liberal amount of goods, trinkets and provisions. In finally announcing the conclusion to sell the land, the Grasshopper said:—"This news about selling our lands will make a great noise in the Six Nations, when they hear we have sold so much; and therefore we hope we shall not be applied to any more for any of our country." How was the future curtained before the simple backwood's diplomatist! Little did he think that the narrow strip of land thus grudgingly and unwillingly parted with, would be added to, and widened out, until his people were mostly shorn of their broad possessions!

Here, in the order of time, it becomes necessary to notice two hindrances that were interposed to temporarily delay the preliminary measures for the advance of settlement westward from the lower valley of the Mohawk, after the Revolution:—The Kings of England and France were either poor geographers, or very careless in their grants of territory in the new world. They granted what they never possessed, paid very little attention to each other's rights, and created cross or conflicting claims. In the year 1620, the King of Great Britain, granted to the Plymouth Company a tract of country denominated New England, extending several degrees of latitude north and South, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, east and west. A charter for the government of a portion of this territory, granted by Charles I., in 1628, was vacated in 1684, but a second charter was granted by William and Mary 1691. The territory comprised in this second charter, extended on the Atlantic ocean, from north latitude $42^{\circ} 2'$, to $44^{\circ} 15'$, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Charles I., in 1663, granted to the Duke of York and Albany, the province of New York, including

the present State of New Jersey. The tract thus granted extended from a line twenty miles east of the Hudson river, westward, rather indefinitely, and from the Atlantic ocean north, to the south line of Canada, then a French province.

By this collision of description, each of these colonies, (afterwards States,) laid claim to the jurisdiction as well as pre-emption right of the same land, being a tract sufficiently large to form several States. The State of New York, however, in 1781, and Massachusetts, in 1785, ceded to the United States all their rights, either of jurisdiction or proprietorship, to all the territory lying west of a meridian, line run south from the westerly bend of Lake Ontario. Although the nominal amount in controversy, by these acts, was much diminished, it still left some nineteen thousand square miles of territory in dispute; but this controversy was finally settled by a convention of commissioners, appointed by the parties, held at Hartford, Conn., on the 16th day of December, 1786. According to the stipulations entered into by the convention, Massachusetts ceded to the State of New York, all her claim to the government, sovereignty and jurisdiction of all the territory lying west of the present eastline of the State of New York; and New York ceded to Massachusetts the pre-emption right, or fee of the land, subject to the title of natives, of all that part of the State of New York lying west of a line, beginning at a point in the north line of Pennsylvania, 82 miles north of the north-east corner of said State, and running from thence due north through Seneca Lake, to Lake Ontario; excepting and reserving to the State of New York, a strip of land east of, and adjoining the eastern bank of Niagara river, one mile wide, and extending its whole length. The land, the pre-emption right of which was thus ceded, amounted to about six millions of acres.

The other difficulty alluded to, arose from the organization and operations of two joint Lessee Companies. The constitution of the state forbade the purchase of the fee in lands of the Indians, by individuals, reserving the right to the state alone. To evade this, and come in possession of the lands, an association of individuals was organized in the winter of 1787, '8, who styled themselves the "New York Genesee Land Company." The company was composed of some eighty or ninety individuals, mostly residing upon the Hudson; many of whom were wealthy and influential. The prin-

incipal seat of the company was at Hudson. Dr. Caleb Benton, John Livingston, and Jared Coffin were the principal managers. At the same time a branch company was organized in Canada, called the "Niagara Genesee Land Company." This consisted of John Butler, Samuel Street, John Powell, Johnson and Murphy, and Benjamin Barton; all but the last named, being residents of Canada. This branch organization enabled the company to avail themselves of the then potent influence of Col. John Butler with the Six Nations, and the influence of his associates. Benjamin Barton, the father of the late Benjamin Barton Jr. of Lewiston, was an active member of the association. Soon after the close of the Revolution, he had engaged in the Indian trade, and as a drover from New Jersey, via. the Susquehannah River, to the British garrison at Niagara. By this means he had become well acquainted with the Senecas, was adopted by them, and had taken while a youth, Henry O'Bail, the son of Cornplanter, and placed him in a school in N. Jersey. In addition to the influence thus acquired, there belonged to the New York Company, several who had for a long period been Indian traders. Thus organized, by such appliances as usually forwarded negotiations with the Indians, the company in November, 1787, obtained a Lease for "nine hundred and ninety nine years," of all the lands of the Six Nations in the state of New York, except some small reservations, the privilege of hunting, fishing &c. The annual rent was to be two thousand spanish milled dollars; and a bonus of \$20,000 was also promised.

In March, 1788, John Taylor had been appointed an agent of the New York board of commissioners, or superintendent of Indian affairs. In that month, he was sent to the Indian country to counteract the unlawful proceedings of the Lessees. On his return he reported that he had fallen in with the clerk of an Indian trader, just from Tioga, who told him that "Livingston had sent fourteen sleighs loaded with goods into the Indian country. They got within 50 miles of Tioga, and would proceed no farther. That the Senecas were exceedingly dissatisfied with Livingston, and would not abide by the bargain, charging him with having cheated them; and threatened Ryckman for having assisted him in cheating them. That near 160 families were at Tioga, with a considerable number of cattle, in order to form a settlement on those lands; but were very much at a loss, as they had heard that the state intended

that no settlement should be made." Governor Clinton issued a proclamation warning purchasers that the Lessee title would be annulled, and sent runners to all the Six Nations warning them of the fraud that had been practiced against them.

It was a formidable organization, embracing men of wealth and political influence, and those who, if their own plans could not be consummated, had an influence with the Indians that would enable them to throw serious obstacles in the way of legal negotiations with them for their lands. The lease consummated, the next object of the association was to procure an act of the legislature sanctioning the proceedings, and for that purpose, an attempt was made to intimidate, by threats of dismemberment, and the formation of a new state, embracing all the leased territory. But the whole matter was met with energy and promptness by Gov. George Clinton, who urged upon the Legislature measures to counteract the intended mischief. In March, 1788, an act was passed which authorised the Governor to disregard all contracts made with the Indians, not sanctioned by the state as null and void, and to cause all persons who had entered upon Indian lands under such contracts, to be driven off by force, and their buildings destroyed. Governor Clinton ordered William Colbraith, then Sheriff of the county of Herkimer, (which then embraced all of the present county of Herkimer and all west of it to the west bounds of the state,) to dispossess intruders and burn their dwellings. A military force was called out, and the orders strictly executed. One of the prominent settlers, and a co-operator of the Lessees, was taken to New York in irons, upon a charge of high treason.

Thus baffled, the managers of the two associations determined to retaliate and coerce a compromise, if they failed to carry out their original design, by meeting the State upon treaty grounds, where they could bring a stronger lobby than they could command for the halls of legislation. At the treaty, held in Fort Stanwix, in September, 1778, with the Onondagas, for the purchase of their lands by the State, Governor Clinton took the field in person, backed by all the official influence he could command; and yet, he found for a while, extreme difficulty in effecting any thing. Little opposition from the Lessees showed itself openly, but it was there with its strongest appliances. In after years, when preferring a claim against the "New York Genesee Company," in behalf of the

"Niagara Genesee Company," a prominent individual among the claimants, urged that the Canada company had kept the Indians back from the treaties; and when they could no longer do so, had on one occasion, baffled Governor Clinton for nearly three weeks. Treaties, however, went on, until the State had possessed itself of the lands of the Six Nations east of the pre-emption line. The lessees, seeing little hopes of accomplishing their designs, finally petitioned the legislature for relief; and after considerable delay, in 1793, an act was passed, authorizing the commissioners of the land office to set off for them from any of the vacant unappropriated lands of the State, a tract equal to ten miles square. The allotment was finally made in township number three, of the "Old Military tract." Thus terminated a magnificent scheme, so far as the State was concerned, which contemplated the possession of a vast domain, and perhaps, as has been alleged, a separate State organization. It marks an important era in the early history of our State. The influence brought to bear upon the Indians from Canada, by which the extraordinary lease was obtained, was stimulated by the prospect of individual gain; but may we not well infer—without an implication of the many respectable individuals who composed the association in this State to that extent—that it looked forward to future events; the maintenance of British dominion, which was afterwards asserted and reluctantly yielded. It was long after this, before the potent influence which the Johnsons, Butler and Brant had carried with them, even in their retreat to Canada, was counteracted. They were yet constantly inculcating the idea among the Six Nations, that they were under British dominion, the Senecas at least. What could better have promoted this pretension, than such a scheme, especially if it contemplated the extreme measure of a dismemberment of this State—such as was alleged at the time, was embraced in the plan of the two organizations? The calculations of the "New York Genesee Company" may have been circumscribed by the boundaries of loss and gain; that of their associates and co-operators may have taken a wider range, and embraced national interest, to which it was wedded by ties even stronger if possible, than motives of gain and private emolument. As late as November, 1793, James Wadsworth and Oliver Phelps, received a circular, signed by John Livingston and Caleb Benton, as officers of a convention purporting to have been

held at Geneva, urging the people to hold town meetings and sign petitions for a new state to be set off from New York, and to embrace the counties of Otsego, Tioga, Herkimer and Ontario.

Early in the spring of 1788, another council with the Six Nations was contemplated by the New York commissioners. In answer to a message from them, requesting the Indians to fix upon a time, some of the chiefs answered in a writing, that it must be "after the corn is hoed." Massachusetts, not having then parted with its pre-emption right west of Seneca Lake, Gov. Clinton wrote to Gov. Hancock to secure his co-operation in counter-acting the designs of the lessees. The general court declared the leases "null and void;" but Governor Hancock, in his reply to the letter, stated that Massachusetts, on account of the "embarrassed situation of the Commonwealth," was about to comply with the proposals of some of her citizens, for the purchase of the pre-emption right.

The first of September was fixed as the period for the treaty, and Fort Schuyler was designated as the place. Active preparations for it were going on through the summer, under the general supervision of John Taylor, who had the zealous co-operation of Gov. Clinton. In all the villages of the Six Nations, the lessees had their agents and runners, or Indian traders in their interest. Even the Rev. Mr. Kirkland had been either deceived or corrupted by them, and had played a part inconsistent with his profession, and with his obligations to Massachusetts. It was represented to Gov. Clinton that, in preaching to the Indians, he had advised them to lease to the New York and Canada companies, as their territory

NOTE.—After the arrangement with the State, there was a long controversy between the two associations in settling their affairs: in the course of which, much of the secret machinery of both was developed. An old adage was pretty well illustrated. It no where appears that any thing was paid to the Indians in their national or confederate capacities; though a bonus of twenty thousand dollars was stipulated to be paid in addition to the annual rents. The Canada company refused at one time to pay an installment into this general fund, alleging as a reason, the non-payment of this twenty thousand dollars due the Indians. But yet, it appears that it was a pretty expensive operation; the chiefs who favored the scheme and the agents who operated upon them, must have been well paid; "presents" must have been as lavish as in the jangled days of British and Indian negotiations. Remonstrances that were presented to the Legislature of this State, set forth that "secret and unwarrantable means had been employed by the lessees in making their arrangements with some of the Indians." At a meeting of the "New York Genesee Company," at Batavia, in September, 1789, the aggregate expenditures, as liquidated, had been over twelve thousand pounds, N. Y. currency. It will be necessary to refer to this subject again, in connection with Indian treaties that followed, and Charles Williamson.

was so wide, he could not make his voice heard to its full extent ; that he could "preach better," if their territory was smaller. At the treaty held at Kanadesaga, when the Lease was procured, he had acted efficiently for the Lessees. To counteract those strong influences, agents and runners were put in requisition by the N. Y. commissioners ; and during the summer, the poor Indians had but little peace.

The preparations for the embassy to the Indian country, at Albany and New York, were formidable ones. A similar expedition now to Santa Fee, or Oregon, would be attended with less of preliminary arrangements. A sloop came up from New York with Indian goods, stores for the expedition, marquees and tents, specie for purchase money, (which was obtained with much trouble,) those of the board of commissioners and their associates, who resided in New York, and many who were going to attend the treaty from motives of curiosity ; among whom was Count Monsbiers, the then French minister, and his sister.

The board of commissioners and their retinue, started from Albany on the 23d of August, (the goods and baggage going up the Mohawk in batteaux that had been built for the purpose,) and did not arrive at Fort Schuyler until the 28th.

A wild, romantic scene was soon presented. The veteran soldier, George Clinton, pitched his marquee, and was as much the General as if he had headed a military instead of a civil expedition. Among his associates in the commission, and his companions, were many who had with him been conspicuous in the Revolution, and were the leading men of the then young State. They were surrounded by the camp fires of the numerous representatives of the Six Nations, amounting to thousands, who had been attracted to the spot, some from an interest they felt in the negotiations, but far the largest proportion of them had been attracted from their scattered wilderness homes, by the hopes and promises of feasts and carousals. Indian traders from all their localities in New York and Canada, with their showy goods and trinkets, and "fire water," were upon the ground with the mixed objects of a sale of their goods, when money was paid to the Indians, and the espousal either of the State interests or that of the Lessees. Some of the prominent Lessees from Albany, Hudson and Canada had preceded the Governor, and were in the crowd, secretly and insidiously endeavoring

to thwart the objects of the council. Irritated by all he had heard of the machinations of the Lessees, and learning that one of their principals, John Livingston, of "Livingston Manor" was present — with the concurrence of his associates, Gov. Clinton "took the responsibility," as did Gen. Jackson at New Orleans, and ordered him in writing, to "leave in three hours," and "retire to the distance of forty miles from Fort Schuyler.

After this, Governor Clinton organized a species of court, or inquest, and summoning Indians, Indian traders, runners in the interest of both State and Lessees, took affidavits of all that had transpired in procuring the long lease. It exposed a connected scheme of bribery, threats, intimidation and deception, practiced upon the Indians. Finding that the Senecas were holding back from the treaty, and that many of the head men of the Cayugas and Onondagas were absent, and learning that there was a counter gathering at Kanadesaga, messengers were sent there, who found Dr. Benton surrounded by Indians and his agents, dealing out liquor and goods, and delivering speeches, in which he assured the Indians that if they went to Fort Schuyler the Governor of New York would either cheat them out of their lands, or failing in that, would fall upon them with an armed force. Many of the Indians were undeceived, and finally induced to go to Fort Schuyler, when they had recovered from a state of beastly intoxication they had been kept in by Dr. Benton and other agents of the Lessees. Such had been the excesses into which they were betrayed, to keep them away from the treaty, that many of them, when becoming sober were sick and unable to reach Fort Schuyler: and a Cayuga chief, Spruce Carrier, died on the road. When they were encamped at Scawyace, twelve miles east of Seneca Lake, on the eastern trail, Debartzch, a French trader at Cashong, in the interest of the Lessees, went there, and by intimidations, the use of rum, and promises of presents, induced them to turn back.

It was not until the 8th of September that the different Nations were so far represented as to warrant the proceeding to the business of the council. Governor Clinton addressed the Onondagas, informing them minutely of the positions in which the Six Nations stood in reference to their lands: that they were theirs to dispose of when they pleased, but that to protect them from frauds, the State had reserved to itself the right to purchase whenever they were

disposed to sell. He told them that the acts of the Lessees, were the acts of "disobedient children" of the State, and that they were a "cheat," and at the same time informing them that as commissioners of the State, he and his associates were there prepared to purchase. He cautioned them to keep sober, as there were strangers present, "who will laugh at us if while this business is in agitation, any of us should be found disguised." "After the business is completed," said the Governor, "we can indulge ourselves in innocent mirth and friendship together." Black Cap, in behalf of the Onondagas, replied, assuring the Governor that the Onondagas wholly disapproved of the proceedings with the Lessees, had made up their minds to sell to the State, but wanted a little farther time to talk among themselves. On the 12th, the treaty was concluded, and the deed of cession of the lands of the Onondagas, some reservations excepted, was executed. The consideration was \$1000 in hand, and an annuity of \$500 forever. After the treaty was concluded, additional provisions were distributed, presents of goods made, and congratulatory speeches interchanged. "As the business on which we had met, said the Governor, is now happily accomplished, we shall cover up the council fire at this time and take a drink, and smoke our pipes together, and devote the remainder of the day to decent mirth."

It should be observed, that this council was called for the double purpose of perpetuating friendship with the Six Nations, and purchasing lands. Though New York had ceded the pre-emption right to the lands of the Senecas, to Massachusetts, still it was desirable that the Senecas should be present. Most of their chiefs and head men were kept away, but about eighty young Seneca warriors and women were on the ground, occupying the ruins of the old Fort. The governor addressed them, distributed among them some provisions and liquor, and desired them to go back to their nation and report all they had seen, and warn their people against having any thing to do with the Lessees. A young Seneca warrior in his reply said: — "We had to struggle hard to break through the opposition that was made to our coming down, by some of your disobedient children. We will now tell you how things really are among us. The voice of the birds,* and proud, strong

* Vague rumors, and falsehoods, were called by the Senecas, "the voice of birds."

words uttered by some of our own people at Kanadesaga, overcome the sachems and turned them back, after they had twice promised to come down with us."

Negotiations with the Oneidas followed:—Gov. Clinton made a speech to them to the same purport of the one he had delivered to the Onondagas. This was replied to by "One-yan-ha, alias Beach Tree, commonly called the "Quarter Master," who said an answer to the speech should be made after his people had counselled together. The next day, just as the council had assembled, word came that a young warrior was found dead in Wood Creek. It was concluded after some investigation, that he had been drowned accidentally, in a state of intoxication. The commissioners insisted upon going on with the treaty, but the Indians demanded a postponement for funeral observances. At the burial, A-gwel-en-ton-gwas, alias, Domine Peter, or Good Peter, made a pathetic harrangue, eloquent in some of its passages. It was a temperance, but not a total abstinence discourse.

The funeral over, the business of the council was resumed. Good Peter replied to the speech of the Governor:—He reminded him of a remark made by him at Fort Herkimer in 1785, in substance, that he should not ask them for any more lands. The chief recapitulated in a long speech, with surprising accuracy, every point in the Governor's speech, and observed that if any thing had been omitted, it was because he had not "the advantage of the use of letters." He then made an apology, that he was fatigued, and wished to sit down and rest; and that in the meantime, according to ancient

NOTE.—The backwoods spiritual and temporal adviser, insisted that his people must abide by the resolution of their chief, which forbade any of them asking the Governor or commissioners for rum, but only to take it when it was offered and measured out to them. "We are not fit," said he, "to prescribe as to this article. Some who are great drinkers have once given in both women and children in their list, and drawn for the whole company as warriors, and thereby increased the quantity beyond all reasonable bounds. Let the Governor therefore determine, if he sees fit to give a glass in the morning, and at noon, and then at night; and if any remain after each one is served, let it be taken off the ground. This was the ancient custom at Albany in the days of our forefathers, when a great number of Indians were assembled on the hill above the city. The rum was brought there and each one drank a glass and was satisfied. No true Indian who had the spirit of a man, was ever known at that day to run to a commissioner and demand a bottle of rum, on the ground that he was a great man, and another too, for the same reason, which is the practice now-a-days; no such great men were known in ancient happy times."

[Good Peter's temperance exhortation, is similar to that of the Scotch divine:—"My dear hearers," said he, "it is a' well to take a drap on getting up of a mornin, a little afore dinner and supper, and a little on gangin' to bed; but dinna be 'drum, dram, drumming!']

custom, another speaker would arise and raise the spirit of their deceased sachem, the Grasshopper. But before he sat down, he informed the Governor, that the man bearing the name of Oe-dat-segh-ta, is the first name know in their national council, and had long been published throughout the confederacy ; that his friend, the Grasshopper, was the counsellor for the tribe, to whom that name belonged, and that therefore, they replaced the Grasshopper with this lad, whom you are to call Kan-y-a-dal-i-go ; presenting the young lad to the Governor and Commissioners ; and that until he arrives at an age to qualify him to transact business personally, in council, their friend, Hans Jurio, is to bear the name of O-jis-tal-a-be, alias Grasshopper, and to be counsellor for this young man and his clan, until that period.

The Governor made a speech, in which he disclaimed any desire on the part of the State to purchase their lands ; but strenuously urged upon them that the State would not tolerate the purchase or leasing by individuals. He told them that when they chose to sell the State would buy more for their good than anything else, as the State then had more land than it could occupy with people.

Good Peter followed, said the Governor's speech was excellent, and to their minds. " We comprehend every word of your speech, it is true indeed ; for we see you possessed of an extensive territory, and but *here and there a smoke*." " But," said he, " we, too, have disorderly people in our nation ; you have a keg here, and they have their eyes upon it, and nothing can divert them from the pursuit of it. While there is any part of it left, they will have their eyes upon it and seek after it, till they die by it ; and if one dies, there is another who will not be deterred by it, will still continue to seek after it. It is just so with your people. As long as any spot of our excellent land remains, they will covet it, and will never rest till they possess it." He said it would take him a long time to tell the Governor " all his thoughts and contemplations ; they were extensive ; my mind is perplexed and pained, it labors hard." In a short digression, he spoke of the Tree of Peace, and expressed his fears that, " by-and-by, some twig of this beautiful tree will be broken off. The wind seems always to blow, and shake this beloved tree." Before sitting down, Good Peter observed that they had all agreed to place the business of the council, on their part, in the hands of two of their people, Col. Louis and Peter Ot-se-quette,

who would be their "mouth and their ears." * There was, also, appointed, as their advisers, a committee of principal chiefs.

The negotiation went on for days: speeches were interchanged; propositions were made and rejected, until finally a deed of cession was agreed upon and executed by the chiefs. It conveyed all their lands, making reservations for their own residence around the Oneida castle, or principal village, and a number of other smaller ones for their own people, and such whites as had been their interpreters, favorite traders, or belonged to them by adoption. The consideration was \$2,000 in money, \$2,000 in clothing and other goods, \$1,000 in provisions, \$500 in money for the erection of a saw-mill and grist-mill on their reservation, and an annuity of "six hundred dollars in silver," for ever. Congratulatory addresses followed; the Governor making to the Oneidas a parting address, replete with good instruction and fatherly kindness: the Oneidas replying, assuring him of the satisfaction of their people with all that had taken place; and thanking the Governor and his associate commissioners for the fairness of their speeches and their conduct. It would be difficult to find a record of diplomacy between civilized nations more replete throughout with dignity, decorum and ability, than is that of this protracted treaty.

After dispatching the Rev. Mr. Kirkland (who had been present throughout the treaty, and materially aided the commissioners: thus making full amends for the mischief he had helped to produce in connection with the long lease,) to the Cayugas and Senecas, charged with the mission of informing them of all that had transpired, the Governor and his retinue set out on their return to Albany. The council had continued for twenty-five days.

The next meeting of the commissioners was convened at Albany, December 15, 1788. Governor Clinton read a letter from Peter Ryckman and Seth Reed, who were then residents at Kanadesaga; Reed at the Old Castle, and Ryckman upon the Lake shore. The

* Col. Louis was a half blood, French and Oneida. He had held a commission under Gov. Clinton, in the Revolution. Peter Otsse-quatte, in a speech he made in the council, said that he had just returned from France, where he had been taken and educated by La Fayette. He said that when he arrived in France, he "was naked, and the Marquis clad him, receiving and treating him with great kindness;" that for a year, he was restless; and "when the light of knowledge flowed in on his mind, he felt distressed at the miserable situation of his countrymen;" that after four years' absence, he had returned with the intention of enlightening and reforming them.

28 See Appendix, No. 4.

letter was forwarded by "Mr. Lee and Mr. Noble," who had been residing for the summer at Kanadesaga. The writers say to the Governor, that the bearers of the letter will detail to him all that has transpired in their locality ; and add, that if required, they can induce the Cayugas and Senecas to attend a council. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland gave, in writing, an account of his mission. He stated that on arriving at Kanadesaga, he ascertained that to keep the Cayugas back from the treaty at Fort Schuyler, two of the principal lessees and their agents, had "kept them in a continued state of intoxication for three weeks;" that "Dr. B. and Col. M. had between twenty and thirty riflemen in arms for twenty-four hours ; and gave out severe threats against P. Ryckman and Col. Reed, for being enemies to their party, and friends to the government, in persuading the Indians to attend the treaty at Fort Schuyler." Mr. Kirkland stated that he had been as far as Niagara, and seen Col. Butler ; and that at the Seneca village, on Buffalo Creek, he had seen Shen-dy-ough-gwat-te, the "second man of influence among the Senecas;" and Farmer's Brother, alias "Ogh-ne-wi-ge-was;" and that they had become disposed to treat with the State. Before the Board adjourned, it was agreed to address a letter to Reed and Ryckman, asking them to name a day on which they could procure the attendance of the Cayugas and Senecas, at Albany. Reed and Ryckman, on the reception of the letter, despatched James Manning Reed with an answer, saying that they would be at Albany, with the Indians, on the 23d of January ; and adding, that the lessees kept the Indians "so continually intoxicated with liquor, that it is almost impossible to do any thing with them."

It was not until the 11th of February however, that Mr. Ryckman was enabled to collect a sufficient number of Indians, and reach Albany. Several days were spent in some preliminary proceedings, and in waiting for the arrival of delegations that were on the way. On the 14th, James Bryan and Benjamin Birdsall, two of the Lessees appeared before the commissioners and delivered up the "long leases" that had occasioned so much trouble. On the 19th

NOTE.—Gov. Clinton and many of the commissioners resided in New York. As an illustration of the then slow passage down the Hudson, they resolved at Albany to charter a sloop, and thus be enabled to settle their accounts and arrange their papers on their way down the river.

the council was opened with the Cayugas, many Senecas, Onondagas and Onidas, being present. Good Peter in behalf of the Cayugas, made a speech. He said his brothers, the Cayugas and Senecas had "requested him to be their mouth." As upon another occasion his speech abounded in some of the finest figures of speech to be found in any preserved specimens of Indian eloquence. In allusion to the conduct of the Lessees, and a long series of precedent difficulties the Indians had had with the whites, he observed: — "Let us notwithstanding, possess our minds in peace; we can see but a small depth into the heart of man; we can only discover what comes from his tongue." Speaking of the relations that used to exist between his people and the old colony of New York, he said, they "used to kindle a council fire, the smoke of which reached the heavens, and around which they sat and talked of peace." He said in reference to the blessings of peace, and the settled state of things that was promised by fixing the Indians upon their Reservations, under the protection of the state: — "Our little ones can now go with leisure to look for fish in the streams, and our warriors to hunt for wild beasts in the woods." Present at the council, was a considerable number of their women, whom Good Peter called "Governesses," and gave the reasons why they were there. — "The Rights of women," found in him an able advocate: — "Our ancestors considered it a great transgression to reject the counsel of the women, particularly the Governesses; they considered them the mistresses of the soil. They said, who brings us forth? Who cultivates our lands? Who kindles our fires, and boils our pots, but the women? Our women say let not the tradition of the fathers, with respect to women, be disregarded: let them not be despised; God is their maker."

Several other speeches intervening, the Governor answered the speech of Good Peter; — He reviewed the bargain the Indians had made with the Lessees, and told them that if carried out it would be to their ruin; explained the laws of the state, and their tendency to protect them in the enjoyment of a sufficient quantity of land for their use; and to guard them against speculation and fraud. In replying to that part of Good Peter's speech in reference to the women and their rights, the venerable Governor was in a vein of gallantry, eloquently conceding the immunities that belonged to the "mothers of mankind." He told them they should have re-

servations "large enough however prolific they might be; even if they should increase their nation to its ancient state and numbers." He apologised to the dusky sisterhood by saying that he "was advanced in years, unaccustomed to address their sex in public;" and therefore they "must excuse the imperfections of his speech."

Other speeches, and days of negotiation followed. On the 25th of February, all the preliminaries being settled, the Cayugas ceded to the state all of their lands, excepting a large reservation of 100 square miles. The consideration was \$500 in hand, \$1,628 in June following, and an annuity of \$500 for ever.

In a congratulatory address, after the treaty was concluded, Gov. Clinton recapitulated all of its terms, and observed: — "Brothers and sisters! when you reflect that you had parted with the whole of your country, (in allusion to the long lease.) without reserving a spot to lay down, or kindle a fire on: and that you had disposed of your lands to people whom you had no means to compel to pay what they had promised, you will be persuaded that your brothers and sisters whom you have left at home, and your and their children, will have reason to rejoice at the covenant you have now made, which not only saves you from impending ruin, but restores you to peace and security."

The three treaties, that had thus been concluded, had made the state the owners of the soil of the Military Tract, or the principal amount of territory now included in the counties of Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca, Tompkins, Cortland, and parts of Oswego and Wayne. Other cessions followed until the large reservations were either ceded entirely away, or reduced to their present narrow limits.

The deed of cession of the Cayugas stipulated that the state should convey to their "adopted child," Peter Ryckman, "whom they desire shall reside near them and assist them," a tract on the

NOTE. — This tract was bounded on the Lake and extended back to the old pre-emption line, embracing most of the present site of Geneva. By sale, or some other arrangement, the patent was issued to "Reed and Ryckman." It would seem by this cession that the Cayugas claimed west as far as the old pre-emption line, but their ownership, as it was afterwards shown, did not extend west of Seneca Lake. Their ancient boundary was a line running due south from the head of Great Sodus Bay. Good Peter, as the "mouth" of the Cayugas, alluding to the obligations they were under to Peter Ryckman, said they "wanted his dish made large," for they expected "to put their spoons in it when they were hungry." This probably had reference to some promises on the part of Ryckman.

west side of Seneca Lake, which should contain sixteen thousand acres, the location being designated.

Soon after the treaty of Albany, the superintendency of Indian affairs principally devolved upon John Taylor, as the agent of the board of commissioners. Although the treaty had seemed amicable and satisfactory, a pretty strong faction of all three of the nations treated with, had kept back, and became instruments for the use of designing whites. Although the Lessees had surrendered their leases, they did not cease, through their agents and Indian traders in their interest to make trouble, by creating dissatisfaction among the Indians; probably, with the hopes of coercing the State to grant them remuneration. Neither Brant, Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, and in fact but few of the influential chiefs had attended the treaties. Harrassed for a long period, a bone of contention, first between the French and the English, then between the English and colonists of New York during the Revolution, and lastly, between the State of New York and the Lessees, the Six Nations had become cut up into contending factions, and their old land marks of government and laws, the ancient well defined immunities of their chiefs, obliterated. Dissatisfaction, following the treaties, found ready and willing promoters in the persons of the government officers of Canada, and the loyalists who had sought refuge there, during the border wars of the Revolution. When the first attempt was made to survey the lands, a message was received by Gov. Clinton, from some of the malecontents, threatening resistance, but an answer from the Governor, stating the consequence of such resistance, intimidated them. At an Indian council at Niagara, Col. Butler said the Oneidas were "a poor despicable set of Indians, who had sold all their country to the Governor of New York, and had dealt treacherously with their old friends."

When the period approached for paying the first annuity, the Onondagas through an agent, represented to Gov. Clinton, that they had "received four strings of wampum from the Senecas, forbidding their going to Fort Stanwix to receive the money; and informing them that the Governor of Quebec, wanted their lands; Sir John, (Johnson, it is presumed,) wanted it; Col. Butler wants the Cayuga's lands; and the commanding officer of Fort Niagara wants the Seneca's lands." The agent in behalf of the Governor, admonished them to "keep their minds in peace," assured them of

the Governor's protection; and told them the Lessees were the cause of all their trouble.

The Cayugas sent a message to the Governor, informing him that they were "threatened with destruction, even with total extermination. The voice comes from the west; its sound is terrible: it bespeaks our death. Our brothers the Cayugas, and Onondagas are to share the same fate." They stated that the cause of complaint was that they had "sold their lands without consulting the western tribes. This has awakened up their resentment to such a degree, that they determined in full council, at Buffalo creek, that we shall be deprived of our respective reserves, with our lives in the bargain. This determination of the western tribes, our Governor may depend upon. It has been communicated to the superintendent of Indian affairs at Quebec, *who as we are told, makes no objections to their wicked intentions, but rather countenances them.*" They appealed to the Governor to fulfill his promises of protection.

Replies were made, in which the Indians were told they should be protected. As one source of complaint was, that some Cayugas who resided at Buffalo creek, had not been paid their share of the purchase money. The Governor advised that they should make a fair distribution; and warned them against the Lessees, and all other malign influences.

Among the mischief makers, was a Mr. Peter Penet, a shrewd, artful Frenchman, who had been established among the Oneidas as a trader; and whom Gov. Clinton had at first favored and employed in Indian negotiations. But ingratiating himself in the good will of the natives, he became ambitious, represented himself as the ambassador of France, as the friend of La Fayette, charged by him with looking to the interest of the Indians; and finally, got the

NOTE.—The part that the Senecas were persuaded to take in promoting these embarrassments, was glaringly inconsistent. They had sold a part of their lands to Mr. Phelps the fall before, without consulting other nations, to say nothing of their having consented to the "lease" which was a far worse bargain than those made by the State. But the main promoters of the troubles, were the Lessees and the British agents; the latter of whom, were soured by the result of the Revolution, and were yet looking forward to British re-possession of all Western, and a part of Middle New York. In all this matter the conduct of Brant, did not correspond with his general reputation for fairness and honesty. He helped to fan the flames of discontent, while at the same time he was almost upon his own hooks, trying to sell to the State the remnant of the Mohawk's lands. Interfering between the State and the Indians, he got some dissatisfied chiefs to join him in an insolent letter to the Governor, which was replied to with a good deal of severity of language.

promises of large land cessions. Thwarted mainly in his designs, he became mischievous, and caused much trouble.

A mere skeleton has thus been given of the events connected with the extinguishment of Indian titles, and the measures preliminary to the advancement of settlement westward, after the Revolution. It was only after a hard struggle, much of perplexity and embarrassment, that the object was accomplished. For the honor of our whole country, it could be wished, that all Indian negotiations and treaties, had been attended with as little of wrong, had been conducted as fairly as were those under the auspices and general direction of George Clinton. No where has the veteran warrior and statesman, left better proof of his sterling integrity and ability, than is furnished by the records of those treaties. In no case did he allow the Indians to be deceived, but stated to them from time to time, with unwearied patience, the true conditions of the bargains they were consummating. The policy he aimed at was to open all of the beautiful domain of western New York, for sale and settlement — to prepare the way for inevitable destiny — and at the same time secure the Indians in their possessions: give them liberal reservations; and extend over them as a protection, the strong arms of the State.

The treaties for lands, found the Six Nations in a miserable condition. They had warred on the side of a losing party, for long years, the field and the chase had been neglected: they were suffering for food and raiment. Half famished, they flocked to the treaties, and were fed and clothed. One item of expense charged in the accounts of the treaty at Albany in 1789, was for horses paid for, that the Indians had killed and eaten, on their way down. For several years, in addition to the amount of provisions distributed to them at the treaties, boat loads of corn were distributed among them by the State.*

In tracing the progress of settlement westward, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the disposition the State made of lands acquired of the Six Nations, bordering upon the Genesee Country. They constituted what is known as the Military Tract. To protect

* The years 1789, '90, is supposed to have been a period of great scarcity. The record of legislation shows that large amounts of provisions were paid for by the State, and distributed, not only among the Indians, but among the white indigents of several counties.

the frontiers of this State from the incursions of the British and their Indian allies, the State of New York, thrown upon its own resources, in 1779 and '80, enlisted two regiments to serve three years, unless sooner discharged. They were to be paid and clothed at the expense of the United States; but the State pledged to them a liberal bounty in land. To redeem this pledge, as soon as Indian titles were extinguished, the surveyor General was instructed to survey these bounty lands and prepare them for the location of warrants. The survey was completed in 1790. It embraced about two million eight hundred thousand acres, in six hundred acre lots. The tract comprised all the territory within the present boundaries of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Cortland, and a part of Oswego, Wayne and Tompkins. A large district of country adjoining on the east, was thus put in the way of being settled, about the same period that sales and settlement commenced west of the pre-emption line, though it did not progress as rapidly. Land titles were in dispute, and emigrants chose to push on farther, where titles were indisputable. Speculation and fraud commenced as soon as the patents were issued, a majority of those who it was intended the bounty of the State should benefit, sold their right for a trifle,* and some were defrauded out of the whole. By the time that settlement commenced, there were few lots, the title to which, was not contested. In addition to other questions of title, the officers' and soldiers' wives, held in a large majority of cases, the right of dower. Land titles upon the whole military tract, were not finally settled until about 1800, when a committee appointed by the Legislature, one of whom was the late Gen. Vincent Matthews, accomplished the work.

In 1784, Hugh White and his family progressed beyond the settlements on the Mohawk, and located at what is now Whitestown. In the same year, James Dean located upon a tract given him by the Indians, in consequence of some services rendered them as an interpreter, near the present village of Rome. In 1787, Joseph

NOTE.—In a letter from Mr. Moriss to Mr. Colquhoun, dated in June 1791, he says that notwithstanding all these questions of title, land on the military tract had risen to 18d per acre; and that a tract of 50,000, which he had bought of the State of New York in 1786, in Otsego county, which by a fortunate use of some public securities, cost him but 6d per acre, had risen to 10s per acre, New York currency.

* "Many patents for 600 acres, were sold at prices in some instances as low as eight dollars.—[Maude, an English Journalist.]

Blackmer, who was afterwards a pioneer in Wheatland, Monroe county, advanced and settled a short distance west of Judge Dean. In May, 1788, Asa Danforth, with his family, accompanied by Comfort Tyler, progressed far on beyond the bounds of civilization, locating at Onondaga Hollow. There being then no road, they came by water, landing at the mouth of Onondaga Creek. The very earliest pioneers of all this region, speak of "Major Danforth" and the comforts of his log tavern, as compared with their camps in the wilderness. Another name has been introduced, that should not be passed over by the mere mention of it. Comfort Tyler was conspicuously identified in all early years with the history of the western portion of this State. He was teaching a school upon the Mohawk at the close of the Revolution, and also engaged in the business of a surveyor. He was with Gen. James Clinton, in the establishment of the boundary line between this State and Pennsylvania. He felled the first tree, (with reference to improvement,) assisted in the manufacture of the first salt,* (other than Indian manufacture,) and built the first turnpike in Onondaga county. He also constructed the first "stump mortar," or hand-mill, of which the reader will be told more in the course of our narrative. He filled many important offices in Onondaga county, and was one of the original projectors of the Cayuga bridge. He was the friend of the early pioneers; and many in all this region, will remember his good offices. The Indians, who were his first neighbors, respected him, and his memory is now held in reverence by their descendents. His Indian name was "To-whan-ta-gua" — meaning that he could do two things at once; or be, at the same time, a gentleman and a laboring man. While a member of the Legislature in 1799, he made the acquaintance of Aaron Burr. A charter having been procured for building the bridge, Col. Burr and Gen. Swartout subscribed for the whole of the stock; and at that time, Col. Burr had other business connections in this region.

* Tyler and Danforth, both engaged in making a little salt for new settlers in early years. A letter published in a Philadelphia paper, in 1792, says, that "sixteen bushels of salt are manufactured daily at Col. Danforth's works." It is mentioned in the history of Onondaga, that Col. Danforth commenced the business of salt boiling by carrying a five-pail iron kettle from Onondaga Hollow to the Salt Springs upon his head. Lest this should be looked upon as incredible by the younger class of readers, the fact may be mentioned, that it was a very common practice of the pioneers to carry their five-pail kettles into the woods for sugar-making in this way.

"Thus commenced the intercourse of Aaron Burr with the people of Western New York, many of whom," with Col. Tyler, "were drawn into the great south-west expedition." Col. Tyler and Israel Smith were commissaries of the expedition; went upon the Ohio river, purchased provisions, and shipped them to Natches. Col. Tyler was arrested and indicted, but never tried. With fortune impaired by all this, in a few years after, Col. Tyler removed to Montezuma, and became identified in all early enterprises and improvement at that point. In the war of 1812, he acted as Assistant Commissary General to the northern army. He was an early promoter of the canal policy, and his memory should be closely associated with all that relates to the early history of the Erie Canal. He died at Montezuma, in 1827.

There followed Danforth and Tyler, in the progress of settlement westward, John L. Hardenburgh, whose location was called, in early years, "Hardenburgh's Corners," now the city of Auburn. In 1789, James Bennett and John Harris, settled on either side of Cayuga Lake, and established a ferry. This was about the extent of settlement west of the lower valley of the Mohawk, when settlements in the Genesee country began to be founded.* The venerable Joshua Fairbanks, of Lewiston, who with his then young wife, (who is also living,) came through from Albany to Geneva in the winter of 1789, '90; were sheltered the first night in the "unfinished log house" of Joseph Blackmer, who had become a neighbor of Judge Dean; and the next night at Col. Danforth's;

NOTE.—For the principal facts in the above brief notice of one whose history would make an interesting volume, the author is indebted to the "History of Onondaga." The connection, in all this region, of prominent individuals with Col. Burr, in his south-western scheme, was far more extensive than has generally been supposed. It embraced names here, the mention of which would go far to favor the conclusion which time and its developements have been producing, that the scheme, as imparted by Col. Burr to his followers, had nothing in it of domestic treason. There were no better friends to their country, or more ardent devotees to its interests, than were many men of western New York, who were enlisted in this scheme. In after years, when in familiar conversation with an informant of the author, (a resident of western New York,) Col. Burr spoke even with enthusiasm of his associates here — naming them, and saying that among them, were men whom he would choose to lead armies, or engage in any high achievement that required talents and energy of character. At the risk of extending this note to an unreasonable length, the author will add the somewhat curious historical fact, that the maps and charts, by which the British fleet approached New Orleans in the war of 1812, were those prepared in western New York, by a then resident here, for the south-western expedition of Col. Burr. The circumstance was accidental; the facts in no way implicating the author or maker of the maps.

* Other than the settlement of Jerusalem.

there being no intermediate settler. They camped out the third night ; and the fourth, staid with John Harris on the Cayuga Lake. The parents of Gen. Parkhurst Whitney, of Niagara Falls, came through to Seneca Lake, in February, 1790, "camping out" three nights west of Rome. It is mentioned, in connection with some account of the early advent of Major Danforth, in May, 1788, that his wife saw no white woman in the first eight months. These incidents are cited, to remind the younger class of readers that the pioneers of this region not only came to a wilderness, but had a long and dreary one to pass through before arriving at their destination.

The first name we find for all New York west of Albany, was that bestowed by the Dutch in 1638 : — " Terra Incognita," or " unknown land." It was next Albany county ; in 1772 Tryon county (named from the then English Governor,) was set off, embracing all of the territory in this state west of a line drawn north and south that would pass through the centre of Schoharie county. Immediately after the Revolution the name was changed to Montgomery. All this region was in Montgomery county when settlement commenced. In 1788, all the region west of Utica was the town of Whitestown. The first town meeting was held at the "barn of Captain Daniel White, in said District, in April, 1789 ; Jedediah Sanger, was elected Supervisor. At the third town meeting, in 1791, Trueworthy Cook, of Pompey, and Jeremiah Gould of Salina, Onondaga county, and James Wadsworth of Geneseo, were chosen path masters. Accordingly, it may be noted that Mr. Wadsworth was the first path master west of Cayuga Lake. It could have been little more than the supervision of Indian trails ; but the "warning" must have been an onerous task. Mr. Wadsworth had the year previous, done something at road making, which probably suggested the idea that he would make a good path master.* At the first general election for Whitestown, the polls were opened at Cayuga Ferry, adjourned to Onondaga, and closed at Whitestown. Herkimer county was taken from Montgomery in 1791, and included all west of the present county of Montgomery.

* "The first road attempted to be made in this country, was in 1790, under the direction of the Wadsworths, from the settlement at Whitestown to Canastota, through a country then very little explored, and then quite a wilderness." — [History of Onondaga.

CHAPTER III

THE GENESEE COUNTRY AT THE PERIOD WHEN SETTLEMENT COMMENCED — ITS POSITION IN REFERENCE TO CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY —
CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY GENERALLY AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

AT Geneva, (then called Kanadesaga) there was a cluster of buildings, occupied by Indian traders, and a few settlers who had come in under the auspices of the Lessee Company. Jemima Wilkinson, with her small colony, was upon her first location upon the west bank of Seneca Lake, upon the Indian Trail through the valley of the Susquehannah, and across Western New York to Upper Canada; the primitive highway of all this region; one or two white families had settled at Catherine's Town, at the head of Seneca Lake. A wide region of wilderness, separated the most northern and western settlements of Pennsylvania from all this region. All that portion of Ohio bordering upon the Lake, had, of our race, but the small trading establishment at Sandusky, and the military and trading posts upon the Maumee. Michigan was a wilderness, save the French village and the British garrison at Detroit, and a few French settlers upon the Detroit River and the River Raisin. In fact, all that is now included in the geographical designation — the Great West — was Indian territory, and had but Indian occupancy, with similar exceptions, to those made in reference to Michigan. In what is now known as Canada West, there had been the British occupancy, of a post opposite Buffalo, early known as Fort Erie, and a trading station at Niagara, since the expulsion of the French, in 1759. Settlement, in its proper sense, had its commencement in Canada West during the Revolution; was the offspring of one of its emergencies. Those in the then colonies who adhered to the King, fled there for refuge: for the protection offered by British dominion and armed occupancy. The termination of the struggle,

in favor of the colonies, and the encouragement afforded by the colonial authorities, gave an impetus to this emigration; yet at the period of the first commencement of settlement in Western New York, settlement in Canada West was confined to Kingston and its neighborhood. Niagara, Queenston, Chippewa, along the banks of the Niagara River, with a few small settlements in the immediate interior. Upon Lakes Erie and Ontario, there were a few British armed vessels, and three or four schooners were employed in the commerce, which was confined wholly to the fur trade, and the supplying of British garrisons.

Within the Genesee country, other than the small settlement at Geneva, and the Friend's settlement, which has been before mentioned, there were two or three Indian traders upon the Genesee River, a few white families who were squatters, upon the flats; one or two white families at Lewiston; one at Schlosser; a negro, with a squaw wife, at Tonawanda; an Indian interpreter, and two or three traders at the mouth of Buffalo creek, and a negro Indian trader at the mouth of Cattaraugus creek. Fort Niagara was a British garrison. All else was Seneca Indian occupancy.

In all that relates to other than the natural productions of the soil, there was but the cultivation, in a rude way, of a few acres of flats, and intervals, on the river and creeks, wherever the Indians were located; the productions principally confined to corn, beans and squashes. In the way of cultivated fruit, there was in several localities, a few apple trees, the seeds of which had been planted by the Jesuit Missionaries; and they were almost the only relic left of their early, and long continued occupancy. At Fort Niagara and Schlosser, there were ordinary English gardens.

The streams upon an average, were twice as large as now; the clearing of the land, and consequent absorption of the water, having diminished one half, and perhaps more, the quantity of water then carried off through their channels. The primitive forests—other than those that were deemed of second growth—that are standing now, have undergone but little change, that of ordinary decay, growth, and re-production, but there are large groves of second growth, now consisting of good sized forest trees, that were sixty years ago but small saplings. The aged Senecas point out in many instances, swamps that are now thickly wooded, that they have known as open marshes, with but here and there a copse of under-

wood. The origin of many marshes, especially upon the small streams, may be distinctly traced to the beaver; the erection of their dams, and the consequent flooding of the lands, having destroyed the timber. As the beaver gradually disappeared, the dams wore away, the water flowed off, and forest trees began to grow.

And here it may not be out of place to remark, that a very common error exists in reference to the adaptedness of certain kinds of forest trees to a wet soil. We find the soft maple, black ash, a species of elm, the fir, the spruce, the tamarack, the alder, and several other varieties of trees and shrubs growing in wet soils, and then draw the inference that wet soils are their natural localities. Should we not rather infer, that all this is accidental, or rather, to be traced to other causes, than that of peculiar adaptation? Take the case of land that has been flooded by the beaver:—the water has receded, and the open ground is prepared for the reception of such seeds as the winds, the floods, the birds and fowls, bring to it. It will be found that the seeds of those trees which predominate in the swamps, are those best adapted to the modes of transmission. The practical bearing of these remarks, has reference to the transplanting of trees from wet grounds. Wherever the ash, the fir, spruce, tamarack, high bush cranberry, soft maple, &c. have been transplanted upon up lands, and properly cared for, they furnish evidence that it was a casualty, not a peculiar adaptation, that placed them where found, generally stunted and unhealthy.

But little was known in the colonies of New York, and New England of Western New York, previous to the Revolution. During the twenty-four years it had been in the possession of the English, there had been a communication kept up by water, via Oswego and Niagara, to the western posts; and a few traders from the east visited the Senecas. The expeditions of Prideux and Bradstreet were composed partly of citizens of New England and New York, but they saw nothing of the interior of all this region. A few years previous to the Revolution, in 1765, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, whose name will appear in connexion with Indian treaties, in subsequent pages, extended his missionary labors to the Indian village of Kanadesaga, where he sojourned for several months, making excursions to the Genesee River, Tonawanda and Buffalo Creeks. He was the first protestant missionary among the Senecas, and with the exception of Indian traders, probably gave the people

of New England, the first account of the Genesee country.* But the campaign of Gen. Sullivan, in 1779, more than all else perhaps, served to create an interest in this region. The route of the army, after entering the Genesee country, was one to give them a favorable impression of it. They saw the fine region along the west shore of the Seneca Lake : and passing through what are now the towns of Seneca, Phelps, Gorham, Canandaigua, Bristol, Bloomfield, Richmond, Livonia, Conesus, they passed up and down the flats of the Genesee and the Canaseraga. To eyes that had rested only upon the rugged scenery of New England, its mountains and rocky hill sides, its sterile soil and stunted herbage, the march must have afforded a constant succession of beautiful landscapes : and what was of greater interest to them, practical working men as they were, was the rich easily cultivated soil, that at every step caused them to look forward to the period when they could make to it a second advent—a peaceful one—with the implements of agriculture, rather than the weapons of war. Returning to the firesides of Eastern New York, and New England, they relieved the dark picture of retaliatory warfare—the route, the flight, smouldering cabins, pillage and spoiliations—with the lighter shades—descriptions of the Lakes and Rivers, the rolling up-lands and rich valleys—the Canaan of the wilderness, they had seen. But it was a far off land, farther off than would seem to us now, our remote possessions upon the Pacific ; associated in the minds of the people of New England, with all the horrors of a warfare they had known upon their own extreme borders ; the Revolution was not consum-

* The young missionary had first seen some of the young men of the Six Nations, at the mission school of the Rev. Mr. Wheelock at Lebanon, Connecticut, where they were his fellow students, among whom was Joseph Brant. Taking a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of these people, he got introduced to them as a missionary of Sir William Johnson. With Indian guides carrying a pack containing his provisions, travelling upon snow shoes, and crossing at night upon and under bear's skin boughs he reached the Indian settlement at the foot of Seneca Lake, or rather at the Seneca Castle. He was well received by the chief sachem of the village, and invited to remain ; but another chief of the Peace party of the village, soon made him much trouble, and in hot controversy he fell by accusing him of witchcraft—of being the cause of the sudden death of one of their people. He was tried and acquitted through the influence of his friend the chief sachem, and a trader from the Mohawk, by the name of Wemple, the father of Mrs. Gilbert Berry, and grandfather of Mrs. George Hosson.* After this he was interrupted in his missionary labors. Mr. Kirkland's influence with the Indians enabled him to do essential service during the Revolution, in directing them from Tawley and Brant.

* See Appendix, No. 5.

mated ; long years it must be, as they thought, if ever, before the goodly land, of which they had thus had glimpses, could become the abode of civilization. The consummation was not speedy, but it came far sooner than in that dark hour, they allowed themselves to anticipate. In less than four years after Sullivan's expedition, the war of the Revolution was ended by a treaty of peace ; but almost ten years elapsed before the conflicting claims of Massachusetts and New York were settled, and Indian titles had been extinguished, so as to admit of the commencement of settlement.

The tide of emigration to the Genesee county, was destined to come principally from New England. A brief space, therefore, may be appropriately occupied in a sketch of the condition of the citizens of that region, after the Revolution, in the vortex of which they had been placed ; and in this, the author has been assisted by the venerable Gen. Micah Brooks, whose retentive memory goes back to the period, and well informs us in reference to the men who were the foremost Pioneers of the Genesee country. The sketch is given as it came from his hands : —

“ It was my lot to have my birth under the Colonial Government. In childhood, I saw our fathers go to the field of battle, and our mothers to the harvest field to gather the scanty crops. Food and clothing for the army was but in part provided ; and at the end of the war, the soldiers, who had suffered almost beyond endurance, were discharged without pay ; the patriots, who had supplied food and clothing for the army, had been paid in Government paper, which had become worthless ; the great portion of laborers drawn from the farms and the workshops, had reduced the country to poverty ; and commerce was nearly annihilated. The fisheries abandoned, the labor and capital of the people diverted into other channels, and the acts of peace had not returned to give any surplus for exportation. A national debt justly due, of \$100,000,000, and the Continental Congress no power to collect duties on imports, or to compel the States to raise their quotas. The end of the war brought no internal peace. In 1785, Congress attempted to make commercial treaties with England, France, Spain and Portugal ; each refused ; assigning as a reason, that under the Confederacy, Congress had no power to bind the States. Spain closed the Mississippi against our trade, and we were expelled from the Mediterranean by Barbary pirates ; and we were without the means to

fight them, or money to buy their peace. The attempt of the States to extend their commerce was abortive; salt rose to \$5 and \$8 per bushel; and packing meat for exportation ceased. Massachusetts prohibited the exportation of American products in British bottoms; and some of the States imposed a countervailing duty on foreign tonnage. Pennsylvania imposed a duty on foreign goods, while New Jersey admitted them free of duty.

"During the war, various causes had operated to make a new distribution of property:—those equally friendly to the British had secretly traded with the enemy, and supplied them with fresh provisions, while their troops were quartered in various parts of the country; thus filling their pockets with British gold. At the close of the war, a large amount of British goods were sent into the country, absorbing much of its precious metals; tending to render us still dependent on British favor. While all those whose time and property had been devoted to the cause of liberty and independence, were scarcely able to hold their lands, taxation brought distress and ruin on a great portion of our most worthy citizens. Time was required by those who had lost their time and property, to re-establish themselves in their former occupations; yet, some of the States resorted to vigorous taxation, which created discontent and open resistance. The great and general pressure, at this time, seemed to create a universal attempt of all creditors to enforce in the courts of law all their demands before they should be put at hazard by the sweeping taxation, which was evidently coming.

"It may be well to call to mind the condition of the country, as to law and government. At the period of the Declaration of Independence, we had neither constitutions nor government, and the people took the power into their hands to conduct the affairs of the nation. The people, in their primary assemblies, attempted to carry out the recommendations of the American Congress: and that in many instances, by town committees: and to furnish recruits for the army. The citizens of a town would form themselves into classes; each class to furnish a man, equipped for service. The towns punished treason, arrested and expelled tories, levied taxes, and cordially co-operated in all the leading measures of that day, so far as related to our National Independence.

"In 1786, '7, a boy, I saw the Revolutionary fathers in their

primary assemblies. The scene was solemn and portentous! They found their common country without a constitution and government, and without a union. The supposed oppressive measures of an adjoining State had so alarmed the people of a portion of it, that open resistance was made for self-protection, and the protection of property. An army, in resistance to a proceeding of the courts of law in Massachusetts, had been raised, and had taken the field. Col. P., a man of gigantic stature, and a soldier of the Revolution, with his associates in arms, entered the court-house at Northampton, silenced the court; and in a voice of thunder, ordered it out, closing the doors, and using the court-house as his castle. In the county of Berkshire, a General, with three hundred volunteers, had taken the field, in open resistance to State authority; and the blood of the citizens had been shed, and the execution of State laws had been suspended. Other sections of our country were in a state of insurrection, and no prospect of relief from any source of mediatorial power then existing. The appalling scenes that followed, filled the American people with fear and dread. The distress that existed, might be an apology for the resistance of the laws, which was afterwards regretted by those who partook in it, a number of whom I saw who had left their homes and wandered as fugitives to evade the punishment that the law would inflict on them.

“A new field was now opened to exhibit the powers, genius and energies of the American people. They soon discovered what was essential to their security and prosperity; and in their deliberations, moved and adopted an ordinance, or constitution, which they declared to be ‘in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, and provide for the general defence; promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity;’ and, although defects and doubts of its renovating power existed, yet, in a spirit of conciliation, they adopted it.

At the time the new constitution went into effect, a new class of laborers appeared. These sturdy boys, who were taught in business habits during the war, had grown to manhood, and with redoubled energy, repaired the depredations which contending armies had spread. And many of those soldiers who composed Sullivan’s army, and who had penetrated the western wilds of this

State, to chastise the savages for cruelties inflicted on their friends and relations; those who had viewed the beauties of the Genesee, and the rich table lands of Western New York, resolved to leave the sterile soil, the worn and exhausted lands of New England, and with their families, under the guidance and protection of a kind Providence, gathered their small substance, pioneered the way through a long wilderness, to the land of promise — the Genesee country.

In 1796, in common with the sons of New England, I had a strong disposition to explore the regions of the west, and avail myself if possible, of a more productive soil, where a more bountiful reward would relieve the toil of labor. I traversed the Mohawk, the Susquehannah, the Seneca and the Genesee. I saw the scattered Pioneers of the wilderness in their lonely cabins, cheered by the hope and promise of a generous reward, for all the temporary privations they then suffered. Their hearts were cheered with the sight of a stranger, and they greeted him with a welcome. I found in most of the pioneer localities, that three-fourths of the heads of families had been soldiers of the Revolution. Schooled in the principles that had achieved that glorious work, they only appreciated the responsibilities they had assumed, in becoming founders of new settlements, and the proprietors of local, religious, educational and moral institutions. These Pioneers inherited the principles and firmness of their forefathers; and whatever in reason and propriety they desired to accomplish, their energy and perseverance carried into effect. They subdued the forest, opened avenues of intercourse, built houses and temples for worship, with a rapidity unknown in former ages. For intelligence and useful acquirements they were not out done in any age; and were well skilled in all the practical duties of life. In seven or eight years from the first entrance of a settler, a number of towns in Ontario county, were furnished with well chosen public libraries."

CHAPTER IV.

PHELPS AND GORHAM'S PURCHASE OF MASSACHUSETTS — OLIVER PHELPS,
HIS ADVENT TO THE GENESEE COUNTRY, AND HIS TREATY
WITH THE SENECA: — NATHANIEL GORHAM.

OLIVER PHELPS was a native of Windsor, Connecticut. Soon after he became of age, the resistance to British oppression commenced in the colony of Massachusetts, and he became an active partizan, participating in the revolutionary spirit, with all the zeal of youth and ardent patriotism. He was among the men of New England, who gathered at Lexington, and helped to make that early demonstration of intended separation and independence. Soon after, without the influence of wealth or family distinction — with nothing to recommend him but uncommon energy of character, and a reputation he had won for himself — though but a youth, he was enrolled as a member of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. When the troops of Connecticut were first organized, and had taken the field, he entered the service of a contractor of the army, and soon after had an appointment in the commissary department, the duties of which he continued to discharge until the close of the Revolution.

On the return of peace, he settled in Suffield, Massachusetts. He held in succession, the offices of member of Assembly, Senator, and a member of the Governor's council. Robert Morris having been at the head of financial affairs during the Revolution, Mr. Phelps had made his acquaintance, and for a few years after its close, business relations brought them frequently together. Maj. Adam Hoops, who had been the aid of Gen. Sullivan, in his expedition to the Genesee country, was a resident of Philadelphia, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Morris. It was during interviews with them, that Mr. Phelps was confirmed in a favorable opinion of

this region, and the inducements it held out to enterprise, which had been acquired by the representations of his New England neighbors, who had been in Sullivan's expedition.

Soon after Massachusetts became possessed of the pre-emption right by deed of cession from New York, he resolved upon being interested in the purchase of one million of acres: and for this purpose associated himself with Judge Sullivan, Messrs. Skinner and Chapin, William Walker, and several of his friends in Berkshire. Before they had matured their plans however, Nathaniel Gorham had made proposals to the Legislature for the purchase of a portion of the Genesee lands. Mr. Phelps had a conference with Mr. Gorham, and to prevent coming in collision, they mutually agreed, that Mr. Gorham should merge himself with the association, and consider his proposition as made for their common benefit. He had proposed the purchase of one million of acres, at one and sixpence currency per acre, payable in the "public paper of the commonwealth." The House of Representatives acceded to the proposition, but the Senate non-concurred. In a letter to one of the associates, announcing the result, Mr. Phelps observes:—"We found such opposition in the Senate, and so many person's ears and eyes wide open, propagating great stories about the value of those lands, that we thought best to postpone the affair until the next session." This was at the session of 1787.

The effect of Mr. Gorham's offer was to bring competitors into the field, and others had resolved upon making proposals before the legislature again convened in April, 1788. Another compromise was made which admitted new partners, and embraced all who had any intention of purchase, in one association, of which Messrs. Phelps and Gorham were constituted the representatives. They made proposals for all the lands embraced in the cession of Massachusetts, which were acceded to: the stipulated consideration being \$100,000, payable in the public paper of Massachusetts: the price

Note.—In addition to the knowledge Mr. Phelps had acquired of the country as above indicated, some early explorer had given him a written account of it from which the following is an extract:—"The country is so favorable to fruit, that the apple trees destroyed in the late war, have sprung up and already bear fruit. The fields and intervals of which there are a great quantity, are superior to any on Connecticut River. There are many salt springs: an Indian was working at one of them last summer, when I was in the country, with an old broken pot-ash kettle and he never made less than a bushel a day."

of which being much depressed, it was selling at a high rate of discount.

So much accomplished, the share holders held a meeting, appointed Gen. Israel Chapin to go out and explore the country; Mr. Phelps the general agent, whose first duty was to hold a treaty with the Indians, and purchase the fee or right of soil; Mr. Gorham as an agent to confer with the authorities of New York, in reference to running the boundary or pre-emption line; and Mr. William Walker, as the local agent of surveys and sales.

The Lessees and their "long lease," was an obstacle duly considered by the purchasers, for they were aware of the exertions they were making to thwart the commissioners of New York, and had no reason to anticipate any thing less from them, in their own case. Massachusetts had joined New York, in declaring the leases illegal and void, but the association were well advised that they could not succeed in a treaty with the Senecas, against the powerful influences the Lessees could command, through their connection with Butler, Brant, Street, and their associates in Canada, and the Indian traders and interpreters in their interest. A compromise was resolved upon as the cheapest and surest means of success. Proceeding to Hudson, Mr. Phelps met some of the principal Lessees, and compromised with them upon terms of which there are no records, but there is evidence which leads to the conclusion, that they were to become shareholders with him and his associates. The Lessees on their part, contracted to hold another treaty with the Indians at Kanadesaga, surrender their lease of all the lands west of the Massachusetts pre-emption line, and procure for the same, a deed of cession, Phelps & Gorham, for themselves and associates, to be the grantees.

Mr. Phelps returned to New England and made preparations for attending the treaty at Kanadesaga, which was to be convened and carried on under the general supervision of John Livingston, the principal agent of the Lessees. In all confidence that the arrangement would be consummated, Mr. Phelps started upon his advent to the Genesee country with a retinue of agents, surveyors, and assistants, prepared to take possession of the country and commence operations. Arriving at Schenectady on the 8th of May, the party put their baggage on board of batteaux and arranged to go on horseback to Fort Stanwix, as far as there was any road, and from there

embark in their batteaux. Mr. Phelps wrote from Schenectady that they were likely to be delayed there by the non-arrival of Mr. Livingston; that he had met many unfavorable rumors, the purport of one of which was that the Indians had refused to treat with Livingston, and that they had "taken up and whipped several persons" in his interests who had preceded him at Kanadesaga. On the 13th he wrote to Col. Wadsworth, of Hartford, that Livingston had arrived, with his provisions and goods for the treaty, that all was on board of batteaux, and the expedition was about to move on; but he adds, that an Oneida Indian had just arrived from the west with the information that Brant has "got the Indians collected at Buffalo creek, and is persuading them to take up the hatchet, and if possible not to treat with us." He expresses his fears that the treaty will fail; and adds his regrets, as he thinks it will "keep back settlement a whole year."

Mr. Phelps did not arrive at Kanadesaga, (Geneva,) until the first of June. On the 4th he wrote to one of his associates, Samuel Fowler, informing him that the Indians had not collected, that Butler and Brant had collected them at Buffalo creek and persuaded them not to treat with Livingston. But inasmuch as Livingston had sent out runners and interpreters, he is in hopes they will yet be collected. "I am well pleased," he says, "with what I have seen of the country. This place is situated at the foot of Seneca Lake, on a beautiful hill which over looks the country around it, and gives a fine prospect of the whole lake, which is about forty miles in length. Here we propose building the city, as there is a water carriage from this to Schenectady; with only two carrying places of one mile each. I design to set out to-morrow to view the Genesee Flats."

After waiting at Kanadesaga until the 17th of June, Mr. Phelps made up his mind that the Lessees would be unable to fulfil their contract, and informed their agent, Mr. Livingston, that he should proceed independent of them or their lease, to treat with the Indians.

NOTE.—In addition to other letters of introduction he had provided himself with in case of necessity, he procured one at Kanadesaga from Dominique Deharach, the French Indian trader at Cashong, who wielded more influence than among the Senecas than any one man had, since the days of the Jesuit Fathers, and Jeneure. He had essentially aided the Lessees as the reader has observed, and now as zealously espoused the interests of Mr. Phelps. Among Indian traders, interpreters, and as may almost be said, missionaries, at that period, "every man had his price," and it was generally payable in land, in case it should be obtained.

He had by this time discovered that there was a "screw loose" between the "New York Genesee Company" and the "Niagara Genesee Company" and that they were pulling in different directions. Inferring that the balance of power was in the hands of the Niagara Company, Mr. Phelps taking the Indian trail, proceeded to Niagara, where he met Butler, Brant and Street. He secured their co-operation, and they agreed to procure a gathering of the Indians at Buffalo creek for the purpose of holding a treaty with him. Mr. Phelps, rejoined his friends at Kanadesaga where he remained until a deputation of chiefs waited upon him to conduct him to the council fire they had lighted at Buffalo creek,* where he and his party arrived on the 4th of July.

Negotiations were commenced. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland was present, appointed by a law of Massachusetts to superintend the treaty and see that no injustice was done to the Indians, and his assistant, superintendent, Elisha Lee, Esq. of Boston. The interpreters were James Deane and Joseph Smith, William Johnstone, Mr. Kirkland and several others. Besides these, there were also present, John Butler, Joseph Brant, Samuel Street, the officers of Fort Niagara. The Lessees, following up Mr. Phelps, were represented by John Livingston, Caleb Benton and Ezekiel Gilbert. Chiefs of the Onondagás, Cayugas, and the Mohawks were also present.

On the opening of the council, Mr. Phelps produced the commission given him by the Governor of Massachusetts: † had it interpreted; and made a speech, explaining the object of the treaty; the right he had purchased of Massachusetts, &c. Most of the Seneca chiefs, of which there was a pretty full delegation present, were for selling a portion of their lands. They, however, stood out as to the quantity. They had come to the treaty, determined upon making the Genesee river the eastern boundary of their cession, and they stoutly resisted innovation west of it for several days: but finally yielded, and fixed the western boundary as it was

* Red Jacket was at the head of this deputation. Afterwards, in 1790, at a council at Tioga, when complaining to Mr. Pickering of some wrong in reference to Mr. Phelps's treaty, he said:—"Then I, Billy, and The Heap of Dogs, went to Kanadesaga and took Mr. Phelps by the hand, and led him to our council fire at Buffalo creek."

† Says Red Jacket, in his complaints to Mr. Pickering, at Tioga:—"Then all know, and Mr. Street knows, that Mr. Phelps held up a paper, with a seal to it, as big as my hand. When he opened his mind to us, we took it hard."

afterwards established. Mr. Phelps, in a statement he made of the transactions, says, "the council was conducted in a friendly and amicable manner." The negotiation then turned upon the price to be paid; and Mr. Phelps and the Indians failing to agree, they mutually appointed John Butler, Joseph Brant, Elisha Lee, as referees, who agreed that Mr. Phelps should pay for the tract purchased, five thousand dollars, and an annuity of five hundred dollars for ever. The Indians had consented to take for the quantity of land they were conveying, a sum which would amount to a fair proportion of what the Lessees had agreed to pay for their whole country, and this was the basis upon which the price was fixed.

The lands thus ceded, constituted what is now known as Phelps and Gorham's Purchase; its eastern boundary, the Massachusetts' pre-emption line; and its western boundary, a line "beginning in the northern line of Pennsylvania, due south of the corner or point of land made by the confluence of the Genesee river and the Canaseraga Creek; thence north on said meridian line to the corner, or point, at the confluence aforesaid; thence northwardly along the waters of the Genesee river, to a point two miles north of Canawagus village; thence running due west twelve miles; thence running northwardly, so as to be twelve miles distant from the western bounds of said river to the shores of Lake Ontario." Within these boundaries, were contained, by estimation, 2,600,000 acres.

Soon after arriving at Buffalo Creek, Mr. Phelps saw that the Lessee agents would embarrass his negotiations — at least, cause delay — and he, therefore, made a compromise, stipulating the conveyance to them of the four townships named in another connection; besides, as may well be inferred, paying their immediate agents well for a forbearance in the work of mischief, in which they were so persevering. Their release of so much as was included in his purchase, was interpreted to the Indians.

The Niagara Genesee Company, Butler and his associates, in addition to their interests in common with all the Lessees, had an independent claim for conveying the Indians; and by their influence,

NOTE. — With the story of the "Mill Site," the reader will be familiar. The author finds no record of it; but it may well be presumed, that Mr. Phelps, in urging the extension of his purchase beyond the Genesee river, spoke of building a mill at the Falls, and in all probability, promised to do so for the mutual benefit of the Indians and the white settlers; for immediately after the treaty, he gave the 100 acres to Ebenezer Allan, upon condition that he would erect a saw-mill and grist-mill.

in fact, enabling Mr. Phelps to accomplish his purpose. This was, probably, arranged by a promise on the part of Mr. Phelps, to give them an interest in common with himself and associates.*

Mr. Phelps, before leaving the country, set surveyors to work, under the direction of Col. Hugh Maxwell, to divide the newly acquired country into townships; and, having fixed upon Canandaigua as the primitive locality, the focus of intended enterprise, returned to Suffield. All retired as winter approached, and left the whole region in possession of its ancient owners.† Arrived at home, Mr. Phelps reported, by letter to his principal associates, the result of his embassy. "You may rely upon it," says he "that it is a good country; I have purchased all that the Indians will sell at present; and, perhaps, as much as it would be profitable for us to buy at this time." Mr. Walker, after having remained in the country until nearly the setting in of winter, returned and was present at a meeting of the associates in January. He reported that he had sold and contracted about thirty townships. At this meeting, a division of the land took place; a large proportion of the shares were but small ones, the largest portion of the lands falling into the

* Such would seem to have been the arrangement, though a misunderstanding and litigation ensued. Soon after Mr. Phelps' large sale to Robert Morris, "Samuel Street and others," (the Niagara Lessee Company,) filed a bill in chancery, setting forth that they were entitled to the proceeds of sales of "fifteen one hundred and twentieth parts" of all of Phelps' and Gorham's Purchase, by virtue of an agreement made by Mr. Phelps at the treaty of Buffalo Creek. Upon the bill of complaint, an injunction was issued against Phelps and Gorham, their associates in interest, and their grantees; but how the matter was arranged, the author is unable to state. An interminable quarrel arose between the two lessee companies; and the Canada company had but little, if any, of the avails of the four townships. Some of their correspondence reminds one of the anecdote of the gambler, who, after pocketing cards, and practicing the arts of his profession for a whole evening, very gravely complained that there "was cheating about the board."

† Kanadesaga (Geneva) excepted. Mr. Phelps' intentions of founding a settlement at Geneva, which the reader will have noticed, was of course changed, when he found that according to the original survey of the pre-emption line, the locality was off from his purchase. Canandaigua was his next choice.

NOTE.—There has been a very common mistake as to where Mr. Phelps held his Indian treaty; and this work will, probably, fall into the hands of those who will insist that it was at Canandaigua, pointing out the very spot upon which it was held. The error has been perpetuated by historians and essayists, who have added a fancy sketch of a scene at the treaty ground;—Red Jacket eloquently invoking the war cry, the tomahawk and scalping knife, and Farmer's Brother opposing him. The whole story is spoiled by Red Jacket's own assertion, that he and "Billy, and the Heap of Dogs," led Mr. Phelps from Kanadesaga to the treaty at Buffalo Creek. There was no opposition to the Phelps' treaty at the time; but one afterwards appeared. The idea of a land treaty of Mr. Phelps with the Indians, at Canandaigua, must have come from a gathering which was had there in 1789, when Mr. Phelps' payments became due.

hands of Phelps and Gorham and a few associates. The most of the early sales of townships, was to those who held shares. *

Early in the spring of 1789, under the general auspices of Mr. Phelps, arrangements were made, and a pretty formidable expedition started out to the new Genesee country to commence a settlement, the general details of which will be found in another connection. Mr. Phelps was during that and succeeding years, alternating between Canandaigua and his home in New England. Before the close of 1789, he had jointly, with John Taylor, an agent of the State, contracted with Ephraim Blackmer, who has before been named, for the cutting out of a road, two rods wide from Fort Stanwix to Seneca Lake. While in the Genesee country this year, in the absence of any local laws, he entered into a written compact with some Seneca chiefs, of a reciprocal character, each party promising to punish offences committed by their own people.

After all this had transpired, at the session of the Massachusetts legislature in 1789, Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, and their associates, found themselves unable to fulfil the engagements they had made for the payment of the purchase money. They had predicated payment upon the supposition, that they could purchase the public paper of Massachusetts, at its then market value, which was but about fifty cents on the dollar. In the interval, before pay day arrived, the prospect of success in the formation of a Federal government, and a consequent funding of the debts of the States, the paper they had stipulated to make payment in, had nearly a par value in market. Thus situated, and having failed to extinguish the native right to the whole, they memorialized the legislature and got released from their obligations in reference to what remained, paying only for what was included in their Indian treaty. The legislature, the more readily perhaps, acceded to their request, inasmuch as they were pretty sure of finding a purchaser for what remained, in the person of Robert Morris.

New difficulties however, soon presented themselves. The Indians who had seemed almost universally satisfied with the sale to Mr. Phelps, became divided upon the subject; the mischievous

* The low prices named in connection with some of the early sales, is explained by this. The purchasers were shareholders; the price paid, about what it had cost the association. For instance, Robinson and Hatlaway were original shareholders; and the price they paid for Jerusalem, was fixed upon the basis named.

traders and some interpreters among them, promoted the trouble, and in that then retreat of disturbed spirits, and haters of every thing that was American — the refugees of the Revolution, and British officers and agents — Fort Niagara and its precincts — there were disturbers other than those that had been compromised with. The Indian chief Cornplanter, was the principal representative of the malcontents.

In August, 1790, Mr. Phelps being in the Genesee country, wrote to the elder Mr. Gorham in Boston, and after giving a somewhat discouraging account of the almost universal prevalence of disease among the new settlers,* informs him that the Indians had been at Canandaigua, and refused to receive any farther payments, alledging that the amount of purchase money, aside from the annuity, was to have been ten, instead of five thousand dollars. He adds, that some recent murders of Indians committed at Tioga, by whites, had helped to exasperate them; that he was about to set out to visit their principal villages to appease them; and that if he did not succeed, he feared they would retaliate by a general attack upon the whites.

At an Indian council by Mr. Pickering at Tioga, in November, Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother made speeches, in which they both claimed that the sum to be paid by Mr. Phelps, was ten instead of five thousand dollars; alledged that they had been cheated; that their "heads had been confused" by treaties with the "thirteen Fires," with "Fires kindled by the Governor of New York," and by "Livingston." Speaking of the payment from Mr. Phelps, Red Jacket said: — "When we went to Canandaigua to meet Mr. Phelps, expecting to receive ten thousand dollars, we were to have but five thousand. When we discovered the fraud, we had a mind to apply to Congress, to see if the matter could not be rectified. For when we took the money and shared it, every one herè knows, that we had but about one dollar a piece. All our lands came to, was but the worth of a few hogsheads of tobacco. Gentlemen who stand by, do not think hard of us for what has been said. At the time of the treaty, twenty broaches would not buy half a loaf of bread;

* He says: — "We have suffered much for the want of a physician: Atwater has not yet arrived; we have now a gentleman from Pennsylvania attending on the sick, who seems to understand his business. The two Wadsworths, who came from Durham, have been very sick, are now recovering, but are low spirited; they like the country but their sickness has discouraged them."

so that when we returned home, there was not a bright spot of silver about us."

In December, Cornplanter, attended by other Seneca chiefs, met President Washington at Philadelphia, and delivered to him a speech, in which he represented that the treaty at Buffalo creek, had been fraudulently conducted: that Mr. Phelps represented himself as the agent of the "thirteen Fires," that he told them that the country had been ceded to the thirteen Fires by the British King; that if he could not make a bargain with the Indians, he could take their lands by force; and that generally, it was by threats and deceptions he had obtained the Indian lands. He added that Mr. Street, whom they supposed their friend, "until they saw him whispering with Phelps," had been bribed by the promise of a large tract of land. The President heard the complaints, promised an investigation of the matter, and to see the Indians redressed if they had suffered wrong.

Soon after all this, Mr. Phelps addressed the President, giving a detailed history of the treaty, denying the allegations of Cornplanter, and asserting that he caused the Indians at the treaty, to be well informed of his errand, their rights to their lands; that he used no threats, or coercion to accomplish his object, and that the sum he was to advance to the Indians, was but five thousand dollars. He accompanied his statement, by depositions from the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, James Dean, Judge Hollenbeck, and others, who were present at the treaty, in substance, to the effect that the treaty was conducted honorably, and fairly, and that Cornplanter was mistaken as to the amount of the purchase money.

In February, '91, Joseph Brant addressed a long letter to the superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern district of the United

NOTE.—It is to be inferred from what followed, that Cornplanter was more eloquent than honest in his speech to the President. Speaking of the consequences of the President turning a deaf ear to the complaints of the Senecas, he said:—"You have said that we were in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do." In this case one that has said he would ask you to get him out of pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father, has said he will retire to Chautauque, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers in peace." This was an allusion to the beautiful Seneca tradition, that a young square once cut of a root she dug on the banks of the Chautauque Lake, which created thirst: to slake it, she stooped down to drink of the waters of the Lake, and disappeared forever. Thence the name of the Lake:—"Ja-da-gai," or the place of easy death,—where one disappears, and is seen no more.

States, in which he attacks Cornplanter with severity; alleging that "influenced by bribes and other selfish views, he prevailed on the chiefs who were sent to cover up the council fire at Kanadesaga, kindled by John Livingston, to lease the whole of the Five Nation's country, for a consideration of twenty thousand dollars, and an annual rent of two thousand; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that the Five Nations were able to move that lease, from off a portion of the country." He recapitulates the bargain made by Mr. Phelps, agreeing with other witnesses. He says that the Lessees were only released from the payment of five thousand of the twenty thousand they had agreed to pay for the whole country, and a pro rata amount of their stipulated annual rent.* This was to show, that the bargain with Mr. Phelps, was a better one even than Cornplanter had promoted with the Lessees.

When Mr. Pickering held his council at Newtown, in July, '91, he examined several Cayuga and Onondaga chiefs, who stated that Cornplanter's allegations were untrue; and some of the principal Seneca chiefs, stated to him that all was fair on Mr. Phelps' part, in reference to the treaty.

But all this did not entirely quell the dissatisfaction, and the alleged wrong was mixed up with other elements, to render the earliest relations of Pioneers of the Genesee country and the Indians, equivocal; in a condition to keep up alarm and apprehensions of evil. If the Senecas themselves were mainly disposed to be friendly, their jealousies and resentments were kept alive, by the western Indians, and their British prompters, and British agents at Niagara. ¶ See Mr. Phelps' speech to the Indians. Appendix, No. 6.

The whole history of the early Indian treaties in this State, is a complex one; there was a disjointed state of things existing among our own people; the treaties began without any clear and definite understanding, of what were the respective rights of the State and the general government. The Indians, after they had heard of "one big fire being lighted for all the thirteen States," could not understand why they should be invited to attend "so many little fires,"

* The reader need hardly be told, that the poor Indians never realized the sum promised by the Lessees, except in the form of bribes to some of their chiefs; and in that form but a small portion of it. And yet the Lessees in one form and another, realized a large amount for their illegal "long lease."

or councils. The almost interminable mischief, the Lessee movement, was thrust in to add to embarrassment. The close of the Revolution had left them with distracted councils, cut up into factions themselves. No wonder that when they were pulled and hauled about from one treaty to another, beset by State commissioners, Lessee companies, speculators and "their old friends at Niagara," they should on several occasions have complained that their "heads were confused."

But the crowning curse, the source of nearly all other evils that beset them, and nearly all that embarrassed our early relations and intercourse with their race, was the use of spirituous liquors. In the absence of them, the advent of our race to this continent, would have been a blessing to theirs, instead of what it has proved to be, the cause of their ruin, and gradual extermination. No where in a long career of discovery, of enterprize and extension of empire, have Europeans found natives of the soil, with as many of the noblest attributes of humanity; moral and physical elements, which, if they could not have been blended with ours, could have maintained a separate existence, and been fostered by the proximity of civilization and the arts. Every where, when first approached by our race, they welcomed it, and made demonstrations of friendship and peace. Savage, as they were called, savage as they may have been in their assaults and wars upon each other, there is no act of theirs recorded in our histories, of early colonization, of wrong or outrage, that was not provoked by assaults, treachery or deception — breaches of the hospitalities they had extended to the strangers. Whatever of savage character they may have possessed, so far as our race was concerned, it was dormant until aroused to action by assaults or treachery of intruders upon their soil, whom they had met and treated as friends.

This was the beginning of trouble; the cupidity of our race perpetuated it by the introduction of "fire water," which, vitiating their appetites, cost them their native independence of character, made them dependents upon the trader and the agents of rival governments; mixed them up with factious and contending aspirants to dominion; and from time to time, impelled them to the fields of blood and slaughter, or to the stealthy assault with the tomahawk and scalping knife. For the ruin of his race, the red man has a fearful account against us, since we assumed the responsibility

of intercourse with it, as a separate and independent people; but as in another instance, where another race is concerned, we may plead with truth and justice, that we were inheritors of the curse; and that our predecessors are chargeable with having fixed the plague spot and stain upon us, indelibly, long before the responsibility devolved upon us.

From the hour that Henry Hudson toled the Indians on board of his vessel, on the river that bears his name, and gave them the first taste of spirituous liquors, the whole history of British intercourse with them is marked by the use of this accursed agent as a principal means of success. The example of Hudson was followed up by all the Dutch and English traders upon the Mohawk, and when Sir William Johnson had settled as a British agent in the Mohawk valley, he had unfortunately learned the potent influence of spirituous liquors in Indian traffic and negotiation. He is probably the first that made use of them at Indian councils; thus setting a vicious example that has been perpetuated. The early French traders upon the St. Lawrence, and in all this region, commenced the traffic not until after they had ascertained that they could in no way compete with the English traders than by using the same means. The early Jesuit Missionaries checked them in their work of evil, but the English trader was left unrestrained, even encouraged by English colonial authority. The Senecas, especially, naturally inclined to the French. There was something in the French character that was congenial to their natural preferences; the two races met and flowed into each other, (if the expression is admissable,) like kindred, or easily assimilating elements; with the English it was different; there was a natural repugnance, it may almost be said; the blowze, turgid Englishman, and the Seneca who possessed generous and even romantic and poetic elements, were in caste and inclination, antipodes. It was with his keg of rum, that the Englishman could alone succeed; and with a morbid, sordid perseverance, he plied it in trade as well as diplomacy. It was rum that first enabled the Englishman

NOTE.—From the first advent of the French Franciscan and Jesuit Missionaries in this region, they were the determined opposers of the introduction of spirituous liquors among the Indians. They would suppress it in the trading houses of their own countrymen, and at the risk of their lives, knock out the heads of English rum casks. They became, in some instances, martyrs in endeavoring to suppress the traffic. The first temperance essay the world ever saw other than the precepts of the Bible, was written in this region by a Jesuit Missionary, and published in Paris.

to get a foothold upon the Hudson, upon the Mohawk, along the shores of Lake Ontario; in the absence of its use, bold as the assertion may appear, he would not have succeeded in putting an end to French dominion in America.

At a later period, when the storm of the Revolution was gathering, the English resorted to the old weapon they had used against the French, to use against the colonies. The Indians had undoubtedly resolved upon neutrality; unsophisticated, unlearned in all the grievances of oppressed colonies, in the intricacies of taxation, representation, and the immunities under other structures of government than their own, they could not understand why the bonds of kindred should be sundered; why those they had just seen fighting side by side against the French should be arrayed against each other so suddenly. The aspect of the quarrel was not suited to their tastes or inclinations, and they resolved upon standing aloof; the Senecas at least. Invited to Oswego, by the English refugees from the Mohawk, kept intoxicated for days and weeks, promised there that the accursed "fire water" of England's King, should be as free to them "as the waters of Lake Ontario," their good intentions were changed, and their tomahawks and scalping knives were turned against the border settlers; a series of events ensued, the review of which creates a shudder, and a wonder that the offences were so easily forgiven; that we had not taken their country after subduing it with our arms, instead of treating for it. But well and humanely did the Father of his Country consider how they had been wiled to the unfortunate choice of friends which they made. English rum was not only freely dealt out at Oswego, during the Revolution, but at Fort Niagara, where it paid for the reeking scalp, and helped to arouse the fiercest passions of Indian allies, and send them back upon their bloody track.

When peace came, and our State authorities began to cultivate an acquaintance with the Indians, they found them deserted by their late British employers, with nothing to show for the sanguine aid they had given them, but appetites vitiated by the English rum cask, and a moral and physical degeneracy, the progress of which could not have been arrested; and lingering yet among them, in all their principal localities, was the English or tory trader, prolonging his destructive traffic. It was American, New York legislation, that made the first statutes against the traffic of spirituous liquors

among the Indians. It was American legislation, after the incubus of British dominion was shaken off, that first checked the slave trade. Two enormous offences have been committed against two races, both of which had been alike perpetuated under English dominion.

Mr. Phelps, although his residence in all the earliest years of settlement, was still in Massachusetts, spent most of his time in Canandaigua, and was the active and liberal patron and helper in all the public enterprises of the region where he had been the pioneer. Of ardent temperament, ambitious in all that related to the prosperity of the new country, the Pioneer settlers found in him a friend; and when disease, privation, Indian alarms, created despondency, he had for them words of encouragement, and prophecies of a "better time." He was useful to a degree that no one can realize who has not seen how much one man can do in helping to smoothe the always rugged paths of backwoods life.

A considerable shareholder in the original purchase of Massachusetts and the Indians, he eventually became a principal owner, by purchase of shares, reversions and other means. In a few years after the settlement of the Genesee country was fairly under way, he was regarded as one of the most successful and wealthy of all the many founders of new settlements of that period. In 1795, he regarded himself as worth a million of dollars. There are no business enterprises which, if successful, are better calculated to lead to excess and rash venture, than that of speculation in lands. A mania of land speculation, as will be seen in another connection, commenced along in '95 and '6, and extended through all the then settled parts of the Union. Philadelphia was the principal focus, its leading capitalists, among whom was Mr. Morris, were the principal operators. Among the devices of the times, was a gigantic "American Land Company." Elected to Congress, Mr. Phelps, elated with his success in the Genesee country, was thrown into the vortex of rash adventure, and became deeply involved, as all were who made any considerable ventures at that unfortunate period. One of his ventures was in connection with the "Georgia Land Company;" with the fate of which, most readers will be familiar. Liabilities abroad made him a large borrower, and obliged

him to execute mortgages upon his Genesee lands. In all this, the titles of purchasers under him became involved, which created distrust and excitement among a portion of the settlers, and brought upon him a good deal of censure. His reverses, and the apprehensions, perhaps, that others were to be involved in them, preying upon a sensitive mind, his health gradually declined, and he died in 1809, aged 60 years. In 1802, he had removed to Canandaigua : and from the commencement of his reverses up to the period of his death, had been struggling to extricate himself, and others involved with him, from embarrassment. In allusion to all this, an inscription upon his tomb-stone contains the following sentence : —

"Enterprise, Industry and Temperance, can not always secure success; but the fruits of those virtues, will be felt by society."

The State of Connecticut having been a principal creditor of Mr. Phelps, and holding a large mortgage upon his lands, the Hon. Gideon Granger became its agent, and ultimately the settlement of the estate devolved upon him. When he entered upon the task, he was assisted in some of its preliminary investigations by the late Jesse Hawley, Esq., who, in a memorandum which the author has in his possession, remarks that the estate was involved in "complexity, perplexity and confusion." The superior business faculties of Mr. Granger, however, made "crooked things straight;" debts were cancelled, land titles cleared from incumbrances; no purchasers under Mr. Phelps, it is believed, ultimately suffered loss; and a considerable estate was saved to his heirs. Among the surviving early Pioneers, it is common now to hear expressions of respect for the memory of Oliver Phelps, and regrets, that the last years of his active and enterprising life was so clouded by misfortune. Jesse Hawley wrote that he was "the Cecrops of the Genesee country. Its inhabitants owe a mausoleum to his memory, in gratitude for his having pioneered for them the wilderness of this Canaan of the west."

Mr. Phelps was first judge of Ontario, on the primitive organization of its courts; and was an early Representative in Congress, from the then western district of this State.

He left a son and daughter. His son, Oliver Leicester Phelps, was educated at Yale College, married a grand-daughter of Roger Sherman, and became a resident of Paris, France. Returning to this country, after the death of his father, he became the occupant

of the old Phelps' mansion at Canandaigua; was at one period Maj. General of the 22d Division of New York Infantry. He died in 1813. His surviving sons are:— Judge Oliver Phelps, of Canandaigua, who resides at the old homestead, a worthy representative of his honored ancestor; William H. Phelps, of Canandaigua; and Francis Phelps, an inmate of the Infirmary at Brattleborough, Vermont. The daughter of Oliver Phelps became the wife of Amasa Jackson, of the city of New York, and is now a resident of Canandaigua. A daughter of hers, is the wife of Gen. John A. Granger; and another, is the wife of Alexander H. Howell, a son of the Hon. N. W. Howell. The wife of Oliver Phelps, who was the daughter of Zachariah Seymour, died in 1826, aged 74 years.

Nathaniel Gorham, the elder, who was the associate of Mr. Phelps, was never a resident upon the Purchase. He resided in Charlestown, Mass. His son, Nathaniel Gorham, jr., his local representative, came to Canandaigua in 1789, and was of course one of the earliest pioneers. He was an early Supervisor of Canandaigua, a Judge of the county courts, and the President of the Ontario Bank, from its first organization, until his death. He died in 1826, aged 62 years. His surviving sons are:— Nathaniel Gorham, merchant, of Canandaigua; William Gorham, of Canandaigua; and David Gorham, of Exeter, New Hampshire. Mrs. Dr. A. G. Bristol, of Rochester, is a daughter; and an unmarried daughter resides at the old homestead at Canandaigua. The mother died in 1818, at the advanced age of 83 years.

And in this connection, lest he should be omitted in a work like this—as he should not be—some mention should be made of the venerable William Wood, who, if not a pioneer himself, is especially the friend of the pioneers; and among his other good works, takes a lively interest in perpetuating their memories. Mr. Wood is a veteran bachelor, the brother of the late Mrs. Nathaniel Gorham. His native place is Charlestown, Massachusetts. At one period of his life, he was an importing merchant in the city of Boston; after that, a cotton dealer in New Orleans, where he was known for his deeds of philanthropy and benevolence. Becoming a resident of Canandaigua, by quiet unostentatious charities, by

being "present in every good work," he has well entitled himself to be called the Howard of his local region. The public edifices of Canandaigua, the rural church-yard, the streets and side-walks, the public libraries, bear testimonials of his public spirit. If no other good work is in hand, he will carry apples, books, and other acceptable presents, to the inmates of the jail, and cheer them by kind words. In cities and villages of this country and in England, he has established libraries and literary institutions, principally for the benefit of mechanics, apprentices and clerks. Well may it be said, that the world would be better, the picture of humanity would have in it more of lighter coloring, if there were more like William Wood. But, principally, it has been intended to notice him in connection with a Gallery of Portraits—mostly of Pioneers of the Genesee country—that he is collecting and suspending in their well-chosen and appropriate place, the court-house at Canandaigua. It contains already the portraits of—

OLIVER PHELPS,	AUGUSTUS PORTER,
PETER B. PORTER,	JOHN GREIG,
PHILIP CHURCH,	JAMES WADSWORTH,
WM. WADSWORTH,	RED JACKET,
MICAH BROOKS,	NATHANIEL ROCHESTER,
VINCENT MATHIEWS,	JASPER PARRISH,
ABNER BARLOW,	JUDGE FITZRUGH,
WALTER HUBBELL,	AMBROSE SPENCER,
JOHN C. SPENCER,	WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
MOSES ATWATER,	N. W. HOWELL.

And a correspondent adds:—"WILLIAM WOOD, the noblest Roman of them all."

CHAPTER V

JEMIMA WILKINSON.

THIS eccentric founder of a religious sect, and her followers, having been the Pioneers of the entire Genesee country, preceding even the Indian treaties for acquiring land titles; and having constituted in early days a prominent feature in all this region; some account of them, it may well be supposed, will be looked for in a work of this character.

Jemima Wilkinson, or, as she was called by her followers, "The Friend," or "The Universal Friend," was a daughter of Jeremiah Wilkinson of Cumberland, Rhode Island. She was one of a family of twelve children. The father was a respectable ordinary New England farmer. When Jemima was in her 20th year, the entire family, except her, had a severe attack of fever; and after their recovery, she was attacked, and her sickness was severe and protracted, at times her life being despaired of. In the extremity of her illness, her friends had assembled around her bed side to witness her death, when, as she affirmed, it was suddenly revealed to her that she must "raise her dead body." She arose from her bed, and kneeling by its side, made a fervent prayer, called for her clothing, and announced that her carnal existence had ended; henceforward she was but divine and spiritual; invested with the gift of prophecy.* She soon commenced travelling and exhorting, and with a considerable degree of success; followers multiplied, some of them good New England farmers. They soon furnished all her wants, and would accompany her sometimes to the number of twenty, on her missions. She travelled through New England, Eastern New York, and spent several years in the neighborhood of Philadelphia

* This is briefly, her own account of her sudden transformation, as related to an informant of the author, who knew her well, before and after her advent to this region.

and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, accompanied by most of her followers: and she had proselytes wherever she went. Her authority over them was absolute. Upon one occasion, at New Milford, in Connecticut, she proclaimed a fast for thirty days on bread and water. Most of them strictly obeyed; some of them becoming almost what Calvin Edson was in later years. After remaining in New England and Pennsylvania about twenty years, she came to Western New York; she was then near forty years of age. The author has a copy of the "New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine," of date, March 1787, that has a letter in it from a Philadelphia correspondent, written at the time "The Friend," and her followers were in Philadelphia, on their way to this region. Her personal appearance is thus described:—"She is about the middle size of woman, not genteel in her person, rather awkward in her carriage; her complexion good, her eyes remarkably black and brilliant, her hair black and waving with beautiful ringlets upon her neck and shoulders; her features are regular, and the whole of her face thought by many to be perfectly beautiful. As she is not to be supposed of either sex, so this neutrality is manifest in her personal appearance:—She wears no cap, letting her hair hang down as has been described. She wears her neckcloth like a man; her chemise is buttoned around the neck and wrists. Her outside garment is a robe, under which it is said she wears an expensive dress, the fashion of which is made to correspond neither with that of a man nor woman. Her understanding is not deficient, except touching her religious fanatacism. She is very illiterate, yet her memory is very great; artful in discovering many circumstances which fall out among her disciples. On all occasions she requires the most extraordinary attentions that can be bestowed upon her; one or more of her disciples usually attend upon her, and perform the most menial service. Her pronunciation is after the peculiar dialect of the most illiterate of the country people of New England. Her preaching has very little connexion, and is very lengthy: at times cold and languid, but occasionally lively, zealous and animated."

Enlarging upon the account she first gave of her rising from a bed of sickness—dead in the flesh—she assumed that there was once such a person as Jemima Wilkinson, but that "she died and went to heaven; after which the Divine Spirit re-animated that same body, and it arose from the dead; now this divine inhabitant

is Christ Jesus our Lord, the friend to all mankind, and gives his name to the body to which he is united, and therefore, body and spirit conjointly, is the "Universal Friend." She assumed to have two "witnesses," corresponding in all respects to those prophecied in Rev. Chap. xi, from 3d to 13th verse. These were James Parker and Sarah Richards.

But the reader will be principally interested in the advent of this singular personage and her followers to the Genesee country:—Previous to 1786, they were living in detached localities. In that year, they met in Connecticut, and resolved upon finding some "fertile unsettled region, far from towns and cities, where the 'Universal Friend' and her followers, might live undisturbed in peace and plenty, in the enjoyment of their peculiar religion.' They delegated three of their number, Abraham Dayton, Richard Smith and Thomas Hathaway to look for such a location. They went to Philadelphia and traversed on horseback the interior of Pennsylvania. Passing through the valley of Wyoming, they came across a backwoodsman by the name of Spalding, who furnished them with a glimpse of the region around Seneca Lake, and gave them directions how to find it. Following his directions, they went up the river, and falling upon the track of Sullivan's army, reached the foot of Seneca Lake, and from thence proceeded to Cashong creek, where they found two French traders, (De Bartzch and Poudry,) who told them that they had travelled through Canada, and through the Western territory, and had seen no where so fine a country as the one they were in. A few days exploration, satisfied the land lookers, and they returned by the route they came, to inform the Friend of the result of their travels.

In June 1787, twenty five of the Friends, among whom were

NOTE.—At a time when the Friend and her followers, were likely to loose their first location upon the banks of the Seneca Lake, and were having some difficulty with their neighbors, Abraham Dayton was deputed to go to Canada, and negotiate with Gov. Simcoe, for a grant of land for a new location. Gov. Simcoe acceded, and made a grant in the present township of Burford, C. W. Preparations were made to emigrate, when the Governor annulled his grant. He gave as an excuse that he had supposed them to be Quakers, of whom he had acquired a good opinion in England; but learning that they were a new sect, he did not wish to encourage their emigration. He however made the grant to Col. Dayton individually, upon such terms,—settlement duties &c.—as he was then in the habit of making land grants. Col. Dayton settled upon the land, died in early years, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Benjamin Mallory. The aged widow of Col. Dayton, who became the wife of Col. Joel Stone, the founder of the village of Gananoque, below Kingston, died but a few years since.

Abel Botsford, Peleg and John Briggs, and Isaac Nichols, with their families, met at Schenectady, and embarked on board of batteaux for the promised land. At Geneva they found but a solitary log house, and that not finished, "inhabited by one Jennings." They went up the east side of the Lake to "Apple Town," where they remained several days searching for a mill site. The noise of the falling water, of the outlet of Crooked Lake, attracted them to the west shore of Seneca Lake. Passing up the outlet they came to the Falls, and exploring the neighborhood, fixed upon it as their location. They began their settlement in Yates County, about one mile south of the present village of Dresden. It was August when they arrived. They prepared ground and sowed a field of wheat in common, and the next season, 1789, several small fields of wheat were sown.*

The first land purchase was made of the State upon the "Gore," previous to the running of the new pre-emption line. It was a tract of 14,000 acres, situated in the east part of the present town of Milo, and south east part of Starkey. William Potter and Thomas Hathaway were delegated to make the purchase. They applied to Governor George Clinton for a grant of land, which was refused of course, but he assured them that if they would attend the public sale in Albany, they would be able to obtain land at a satisfactory price. They attended the sale and bought the tract above named for a little less than 2s per acre. Benedict Robinson and Thomas Hathaway, soon after bought of Phelps and Gorham the town of Jerusalem for 1s 3d per acre.†

The first grist mill in Western New York, was built by three of the society:—Richard Smith, James Parker and Abraham Dayton. The site was the one now occupied by the "Empire Mills," two and a half miles from Penn Yan. It was built in the summer and fall of 1789 and flour was made in it in that year. Here also was

* This corrects the very common impression, that the first wheat was harvested at Canandaigua, and Victor, in the fall of 1790. The wheat sown by the Friends must have been harvested in 1789.

† It was a rule at that early period, with Messrs. Phelps & Gorham, in selling a picked township, to require the purchaser to draw for another township at the same price. Robinson and Hathaway after purchasing Jerusalem, drew what is now the town of Genesee. The Friend objected to her people "trading and buying property at a distance," and bearing her displeasure, they prevailed upon Mr. Phelps to release them from the bargain, which he was quite willing to do, as he had ascertained the value of the township.

opened the first public house by David Waggener. A son of his, Abraham Waggener of Penn Yan, now 76 years of age, well remembers seeing the French Duke, Liancourt, at his father's inn.* The first framed house in the Genesee country, was built by Enoch and Elijah Malin, as a residence for "The Friend." The house is still standing, and is occupied by Charles J. Townsend. It is a mile north of Dresden, and a half a mile east of S. B. Buckleys. The first school in the Genesee country, was opened by Rachel Malin in a log room attached to this house. In 1789, a log meeting house was built in which "The Friend" preached, and met with her followers. This house stood a few rods south of the residence of S. B. Buckley. But this is anticipating pioneer events that belong in another connexion.

Major Benajah Mallory, well known in all this region during the war of 1812, is yet living, in Lockport, Niagara County. He is spoken of in a preceding note as having married the daughter of Abraham Dayton. This family connexion, (or then anticipated one,) brought him to the Friend's settlement at an early period after it was founded. He was the first merchant there; and in fact, opened the first store in the Genesee Country, other than those connected with the Indian trade. From him the author has obtained many reminiscences, some of which are applicable to the subject in hand. He gives the names of principal heads of families who were followers of "The Friend," and located in the settlement during the earliest years: — Abraham Dayton, William Potter, (father of Arnold Potter) Asahel Stone, John Supplee, Richard Smith, David Waggener, James Parker, Samuel Lawrence, Benj. Brown, Elnathan and Jonathan Botsford, Jessee Brown, Jessee Holmes, Joshua Brown, Barnabus Brown, Nathaniel Ingraham, Eleazor Ingraham, David Culver, David Fish, Beloved Luther, John Gibbs, Jacob Waggener, Wm. Sanford, John Barnes, Elijah Brown, Silas Hunt, Castle Dean, Jonathan Dean, Benedict Robinson, Thomas Hathaway. Besides these there were unmarried men, and men and women who had been separated in adhering to the Friend. The followers were mostly

* "The inn" says the Duke in his Travels which contained but two rooms, we found already full; some person who intended to buy land near the Great Sodus, and Capt. Williamson's agent who was to sell it to them, had taken possession before our arrival. After an American supper consisting of coffee and boiled ham, we all lay down to rest in the same room. There was only two beds for ten persons; in consequence, these two beds were occupied by four of us, and the others lay down in their clothes upon the straw."

respectable men of small property ; some of them had enough to be called rich in those days. Those who had considerable property gave her a part, or were at least liberal in supplying her wants. Man and wife were not separated ; but they were forbidden to multiply. A few transgressed, but obtained absolution by confessing and promising not to disobey again. It was generally a well regulated community, its members mostly lived in harmony, were temperate and industrious. They had two days of rest in the week, Saturday and Sunday. At their meetings the Friend would generally speak, take a text preach and exhort and give liberty to others to speak. The Friend appeared much devoted to the interests of her followers, and especially attentive to them in sickness. Major Mallory insists that the old story of her promising to "walk on the water" is wholly false. When Col. Pickering held his treaty with the Indians at Newtown Point, nearly five hundred Senecas encamped at Friends' Landing on Seneca Lake. They were accompanied by Red Jacket, Cornplanter, and Good Peter. (the Indian preacher.) the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish. Good Peter wanted an interview with the "Universal Friend." She appointed a meeting-with the Indians and preached to them, Good Peter followed her, and the Friend wanted his discourse interpreted. Good Peter objected, saying : — "if she is Christ, she knows what I said." This was the meeting upon the bank of Seneca Lake, that gave rise to the report alluded to.

The Friend did not join her colony until the spring of 1789. She then came with a reinforcement, a somewhat formidable retinue.* Benedict Robinson, the most considerable property holder among her followers, gave her 1000 acres of land, upon which she resided.†

* William Hencher, the Pioneer at the mouth of the Genesee River, then lived at Newtown Point, and helped her on with his teams through the woods, to Catharinestown. His surviving son, who accompanied the expedition, well remembers "The Friend," her singular dress, and singularity as it seemed to him, of a woman controlling and directing men in all things appertaining to the journey. It seemed to him a "one woman power," if the form of expression may be changed with the sex ; yet he gratefully remembers her kindness and hospitality, when his father's family came through the wilderness, and stopped at her residence, on their way to the Genesee River.

† The author has several letters of Mr. Robinson, written to Messrs. Wadsworth, Williamson, and others, and he is often alluded to in early reminiscences. The Duke, Liancourt visited him in 1795, and says of him : — "This Benedict Robinson is a mild, sensible and well behaved man, resides on an estate of 500 acres, 450 of which are improved." "Last year he sold a thousand pounds of cheese at a shilling a pound." "He does not plough his land, but contents himself with breaking it up with a harrow. Although he says that Mr. Robinson had been a "zealous disciple of the "All Friend," he inferred from his conversation that his confidence in her divine mission

Her business would seem to have been conducted by her female witness, Sarah Richards, who did not arrive at the settlement until June, 1789. Some correspondence of hers, and memorandums, have been preserved :—

"JERUSALEM, 1st of 6th mo., 1791.

"I arrived with Rachel Malin, Elijah Malin, E. Mchitable Smith, Maria, and most of the Friend's family, and the goods which the Friend sent Elijah to assist in bringing on. We all arrived on the west side of Seneca Lake, and reached the Friend's house, which The Universal Friend had got built for our reception; and with great joy, met The Friend once more in time, and all in walking health, and as well as usual.

"SARAH RICHARDS."

"In the year '91, settled with Elijah Malin, being in trust for The Universal Friend. At this time, reckoned and settled with him for building The Friend's house, and passed receipts the 24th of the sixth month, 1791.

SARAH RICHARDS."

"Reckoned and settled with Richard Hathaway for goods which the carpenters took up at his store for building The Friend's house in Jerusalem. Settled, I say, this 3d of the 7th month, 1791.

SARAH RICHARDS."

"About the 26th of the 7th month, 1791, I and Rachel Malin were taken sick about the time of wheat harvest, and remained sick, and were not able to go out of the house until the ground was covered with snow; but entirely confined to our chamber, which finished up the year 1791.

SARAH RICHARDS."

Sarah Richards died in '94 or '5, and was succeeded in all her relations to The Friend, by Rachel Malin. The father of The Friend never became her convert, but her brother, Stephen, and sisters, Mercy, Betsey and Deborah, followed her in her advent to this region.

The meetings of this singular sect, were conducted very much

was somewhat weakened. The Duke might have added a circumstance that had somewhat interfered with the relations of the Friend and one of her most prominent disciples. He had infringed one of her rules, by marrying. He was in this way, the first transgressor among the followers. Susannah Brown had been his housekeeper. Thos. Hathaway having business with Benedict early one morning, went to his house where he found Mr. Williamson, who told him that Benedict being unwell was yet in bed. Mr. Williamson leading the way, they both went up stairs and found Benedict in bed with his housekeeper, Susannah; "Good Lord! Benedict, what does this mean?" was the ejaculation and interrogation of Thomas, accompanied by an uplifting of his hands, in token of astonishment and horror, at what he called "shameful, sinful, and disgraceful." Mr. Williamson replied:—"Why, Benedict got tired of sleeping alone, and crept in bed with Susannah." Thomas hastened to inform The Friend, who was displeased, but avoided an open rupture, with one whose position and influence made him too valuable to admit of excommunication. The harsh features of the affair were soon softened, by Mr. Williamson, who announced that he was then on his way from Canandaigua, where he had taken out his commission as a Judge of Ontario county, and had legally married Benedict and Susannah before they had ventured to place themselves in the position in which Thomas had found them. The eccentric marriage proved a happy one to the parties, whatever it may have been with the offended Jemima. The living descendants in the first degree, of the offending Benedict and Susannah, are:—Dr. Daniel Robinson of Farmington, Ont. county; Mrs. Dr. Hatmaker of Milo, Yates county; James C. Robinson, P. M., Penn Yan; and Phoebe, a maiden daughter, who resides at the old homestead.

after the manner of the legitimate Society of Friends. The congregation would sit in silence until some one would rise and speak. While The Friend lived, she would generally lead in the public speaking, and after her, Rachel Malin. In addition to this, and the usual observance of a period of silence, with each family, upon sitting down to their meals, "sittings" in each family, upon Sunday evenings, was common. The family would observe perfect silence for an hour or more, and then rise and shake hands. "I remember," says Mr. Buckley, "when I was a boy, many such 'sittings' at my grand-father's, and I always rejoiced when they commenced shaking hands to end the tiresome stillness."

It has already been observed, that the French Duke, Liancourt, visited The Friend's settlement in 1795. He became much interested in the new sect, made the acquaintance of The Friend, was a guest, with his travelling companions, at her house, and attended her meetings. For one so generally liberal and candid, he writes of all he saw there in a vein of censure, in some respects undeserved. She and her followers, were then at variance with their neighbors, and the Duke too readily listened to gossip that implicated the private character of this founder of a sect, and added them to his (justifiable, perhaps,) denunciations of religious imposture. Her real character was a mixed one:—Her first incentives were the imaginings of a mind highly susceptible of religious enthusiasm, and strongly tinctured with the supernatural and spiritual, which, in our own day, has found advocates, and has been systematized into a creed. The physical energies prostrated by disease, the dreamy mind went out, and, following its inclinations, wandered in celestial spheres, and in a "rapt vision," created an image, something to be or to personate. Disease abating, consciousness returning, this image had made an impress upon the mind not to be readily effaced. She became an enthusiast; after events, made her an impostor. All founders of sects, upon new revelations, have not had even so much in the way of induction to mitigate their frauds. A sect that has arisen in our own day, now counting its tens of thousands, the founders of a State, have nothing to show as their basis, but a bald and clumsy cheat; a designed and pre-meditated fraud. It had no even distempered religious enthusiasm; no sick man or sick woman's fancy to create a primitive semblance of sincerity or integrity of purpose. The trance or dream of Jemima Wilkinson,

honestly enough promulgated at first, while the image of its creation absorbed all her thoughts and threw around her a spell that reason could not dissipate, attracted the attention of the superstitious and credulous, and, perhaps, the designing. The motives of worldly ambition, power, distinction; the desire to rule, came upon her when the paroxysm of disease in body and mind had subsided, and made her what history must say she was, an impostor and false pretender.

And yet there were many evidences that motives of benevolence, a kindly spirit, a wish to promote the temporal welfare of her followers, was mixed up with her impositions. Her character was a compound. If she was conscious herself of imposition, as we must suppose she was, her perseverance was most extraordinary. Never through her long career did she for one moment yield the pretensions she made upon rising from her sick bed and going out upon her mission. With gravity and dignity of demeanor, she would confront cavillers and disbelievers, and parry their assaults upon her motives and pretensions; almost awing them to a surrender of their doubts and disbelief. Always self-possessed, no evidence could ever be obtained of any misgivings with her, touching her spiritual claims. Upon one occasion James Wadsworth called to see her. At the close of the interview, she said:—"Thou art a lawyer; thou hast plead for others; hast thou ever plead for thyself to the Lord?" Mr. Wadsworth made a courteous reply, when requesting all present to kneel with her, she prayed fervently, after which she rose, shook hands with Mr. Wadsworth, and retired to her apartment.

The reader must make some allowances for the strong prejudices of the French Duke, who upon the whole, made but poor returns for the hospitalities he acknowledges. He says:—"She is constantly engaged in personating the part she has assumed; she desecrated in a sanctimonious, mystic tone, on death, and on the happiness of having been an instrument to others, in the way of their salvation. She gave us a rhapsody of prophecies to read, ascribed to Dr. Love, who was beheaded in Cromwell's time. Her hypocrisy may be traced in all her discourses, actions and conduct, and even in the very manner in which she manages her countenance."

The Friend's community, at first flourishing and successful, began to decline in early years. The seclusion and separation from the

world, contemplated by its founders was not realized. They had selected too fine a region to make a monopoly of it. The tide of emigration reached them, and before they had got fairly under way, they were surrounded with neighbors who had little faith in *The Friend*, or sympathy with her followers. The relations of neighborhood, town and county soon clashed, militia musters came, and the followers refused the service; fines were imposed and their property sold. *The Friend* was a long time harrassed with indictments for blasphemy, but never convicted. While she could keep most of her older followers in the harness, the younger ones reminded of the restraints imposed upon them, by contrasting their privileges with their disbelieving neighbors, would unharness themselves; one after another following the early example of Benedict Robinson. Two of that early class of methodist circuit preachers,* that were so indefatigable in threading the wood's roads of this western forest, as were their Jesuit predecessors a century before them, found the retreat, and getting a foothold, in a log school house, gradually drew many of the young people to their meetings. Many of the sons and daughters of the followers abjured the faith.

Jemima Wilkinson died in 1819, or departed, went away, as the implicit believers in her divine character would have it. Rachel Malin, her successor in spiritual as well as worldly affairs, died about three years since. She kept up the meetings until a few years previous to her death. James Brown, and George Clark, who married heirs of Rachel Malin, own the property that she inherited from *The Friend*. The peculiar sect may be said to be extinct, not more than three or four are living who even hold lightly to the original faith. Even the immediate successors of Jemima and Rachel, the inheritors of the property, and those who should be conservators of their memories, if not of their faith, are forgetful of their teachings. The old homestead, the very sanctuary of the *Universal Friend*, once with all things appertaining to it, so chastened by her rigid discipline; is even desecrated. During this present winter the sounds of music and dancing have come from within its once consecrated and venerated walls. ¶ For an interesting sketch of Jemima Wilkinson and her followers, copied from the manuscripts of Thomas Morris, see Appendix, No. 7.

* Revs. James Smith and John Broadhead.

PART THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

COMMENCEMENT OF SURVEYS, AND SETTLEMENT OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

[Pioneer settlements will be taken up in this connection, by counties, as they now exist. The arrangement will not allow of strict reference to the order of time in which events occurred; but it will be found more convenient for the reader than any other that could be adopted.]

After Mr. Phelps had concluded the treaty,—before leaving the country he made arrangements for its survey into Ranges and Townships. This was done under contract, by Col. Hugh Maxwell, who completed most of the northern portion of it previous to the close of the year 1788; and in the year 1789, with the assistance of Judge Porter, he completed the whole. The survey of townships into farm lots, in cases where whole townships were sold, was done at the expense of the purchasers. Judge Porter, Frederick Saxton, — Jenkins, were among the earliest surveyors of the subdivisions.

Mr. Phelps having selected the foot of Canandaigua Lake, as a central locality in the purchase, and as combining all the advantages which has since made it pre-eminent, even among the beautiful villages of western New York, erected a building for a store house on the bank of the Lake. The next movement was to make some primitive roads, to get to and from the site that had been selected. Men were employed at Geneva, who underbrushed and continued a sleigh road, from where it had been previously made on Flint creek, to the foot of Canandaigua Lake, following pretty much the old

Indian trail. When this was done, a wagon road was made near where Manchester now is, the head of navigation on the Canandaigua outlet. No one wintered at Canandaigua in 1788, '9. Early in the spring of 1789, before the snow was off the ground, Joseph Smith, moved his family from Geneva, and occupied the log store house; thus making himself the first settler west of Seneca Lake. Soon after his arrival he built a block house upon Main street, upon the rise of ground from the Lake, where he opened a tavern. His first stock of liquors was obtained from Niagara, U. C. He went after them from the mouth of Genesee river, in a canoe: on his return, his frail craft was foundered in a gale, at the mouth of the Oak Orchard creek; but he saved most of his stock, and carried it to Canandaigua on pack horses. This primitive tavern, and the rude store house on the Lake, furnished a temporary stopping place for those who arrived in the spring and summer of 1789.

Early in May 1789, Gen. Israel Chapin arrived at Canandaigua, and selected it as his residence, erecting a log house near the outlet; — connected with him, and with surveys and land sales that were contemplated, were some eight or ten others, who came at the same time. They came by water, even into the lake, though this was about the only instance that batteaux went higher up the outlet than Manchester. There were, of these early adventurers, besides Gen. Chapin: — Nathaniel Gorham jr., Frederick Saxton, Benjamin Gardner, and Daniel Gates. Soon after Mr. Walker, an agent of Phelps and Gorham arrived with a party, built and opened a log land office on the site which Mr. Phelps afterwards selected for his residence. Others came during the summer, who will be named in another connection, and before the sitting in of winter there was a pretty good beginning of a new settlement. Judge John H. Jones, a brother of Capt. Horatio Jones, — who still survives to remember

NOTE.—Joseph Smith was captured by the Indians at Cherry Valley, during the Border Wars. Like others he had chosen to remain among them. His stay at Canandaigua was but a brief one, as he was soon employed as an Indian interpreter. At the Morris treaty at Genesee, the Indians gave to him and Horatio Jones six square miles of land on the Genesee river. They sold one half of the tract to Oliver Phelps and Daniel Penfield, and Smith soon after parted with his remaining quarter. He was an open hearted generous man, possessed in fact of many good qualities; endeared for his friends, was somewhat improvident, and soon lost most of the rich gift of the Indians. He was well known upon the river in some of the earliest years of settlement. He died in early years; his death was occasioned by an accident at a ball play, in Leicester. A daughter of his—a Mrs. Dutton, resides at Utica with her son-in-law, Dr. Bissell, late Canal Commissioner.

with great distinctness, early events, was one of the party who opened the road from Geneva to Canandaigua, and from Canandaigua to the landing place on the outlet, in 1788, revisited the locality again in August, in 1799. He says: — "There was a great change. When we left in the fall of '88 there was not a solitary person there; when I returned fourteen months afterwards the place was full of people:— residents, surveyors, explorers, adventurers; houses were going up; it was a busy, thriving place."

Mrs. Hannah Sanborn, is now the oldest surviving resident of the village; and with few exceptions, the oldest upon Phelps and Gorham's purchase. She is now in her 88th year, exhibiting but little of the usual infirmities of that advanced age, with faculties, especially that of memory of early events, but slightly impaired. The author found her in high spirits, even gay and humorous, enjoying the hearty laugh of middle age, when her memory called up some mirthful reminiscence. Upon her table were some of the latest publications, and she alluded in conversation to Headly's fine descriptions in his "Sacred Mountains," as if she had enjoyed them with all the zest of her younger days. She had just finished a letter in a fair hand, shewing but little of the tremor of age, which was to be addressed to a great grand daughter. To her, is the author largely indebted for reminiscences of early Pioneer events at Canandaigua.

Early in the spring of 1790, Mr. Sanborn came with his wife and two young children to Schenectady, where he joined Judah Colt, and the two chartered a boat, with which they came to the head of navigation on the Canandaigua outlet.* Mr. Sanborn moved

NOTE.—Nathaniel Sanborn, the husband of Mrs. Sanborn, died in 1811. There is scarcely a pioneer settler in the Genesee country, that did not know the early landlord and landlady. Mrs. S. was the daughter of James Gould, of Lyme Conn., is the aunt of James Gould of Albany. Her son John and William reside in Illinois. Her eldest daughter — the first born in Canandaigua, — now over 60 years of age, is the wife of Dr. Jacobs of Canandaigua; another daughter is the wife of Henry Fellows Esq. of Penfield; another, is Mrs. Erastus Granger of Buffalo; and a fourth is a maiden daughter, residing with her mother.

*Mrs. S. gives a graphic account of this journey. The last house the party slept in after leaving Schenectady until they arrived at the cabin on the Canandaigua outlet, was the then one log house in Utica. It was crowded with boatmen from Niagara. Mrs. S. spread her bed upon the floor for herself, husband and children, and the wearied boatmen begged the privilege of laying their heads upon its borders. The floor was covered. After that they camped wherever night overtook them. On the Oswego River they took possession of a deserted camp, and just as they had got their supper prepared two stout Indians came who claimed the camp and threatened a sum-

into the log hut that he had built in the Robinson neighborhood, where they staid but a short time, the place looking "forbidding and lonesome." Mrs. S. chose to go where she could have more than one neighbor within eight miles. They removed to Canandaigua. Mrs. S. says she found there in May, 1790, Joseph Smith, living on bank of Lake, Daniel Brainard in a little log house near the present cemetery, Capt. Martin Dudley, in the house built by Mr. Walker, James D. Fish in a log house down near the Lake; Gen. Chapin who had been on the fall before had built a small framed house for his family, a few rods below Bemis' Bookstore. Mr. Sauborn moved into it until a small framed house was erected on the Atwater corner, of which he became the occupant, opening a tavern, which with the exception of what Joseph Smith had done in the way of entertainment, was the first tavern west of Seneca Lake, and was the only one for four years. It was the home of the young men who came to Canandaigua for settlement: of adventurers, emigrants, who would stop at Canandaigua with their families a few days to prepare for pushing here and there into the wilderness; land surveyors and explorers; Judges of the early courts, and lawyers: the Indian chiefs Red Jacket, Brant, Farmer's Brother, Cornplanter, who were called to Canandaigua often in early years to transact business with Gen. Chapin, the Superintendent; in short the primitive tavern that now would be deemed of inadequate dimensions for an inn at some four corners in the country, had for guests all the prominent men of that early period: and of many eminent in their day, and even now blended with all the early history of the Genesee Country. Mrs. Sauborn enumerates among her early guests, many of them as boarders:—Oliver Phelps, Charles Williamson, Aaron Burr, Thomas Morris, Rev. Mr. Kirkland, Augustus and Peter B. Porter, James and William Wadsworth, the early Judges of the Supreme court of this State, Bishop Chase, Joseph and Benj. Ellicott, Philip Church, Louis Le Couteux, Charles and Dugald Cameron, Vincent Matthews, Nathaniel W. Howell, John Greig, Horatio and John H. Jones, Robert Troup, Jeremiah Mason, Philetus and John Swift, Wm Howe Cuyler, Elias Cost, Herman Bogert, Samuel Haight, Timothy Hosmer,

many element. The conflicting claim was amicably adjusted, but Mrs. S. says it was the first of the race she had ever seen, and they cost her a little fight. The party saw none but Indians and boatmen in all of the long journey west of Utica.

Arnold Potter, Benedict Robinson, Jemima Wilkinson, Samuel B. Ogden, John Butler, Samuel Street, and Timothy Pickering. Few of all of them are now living, and yet the busy stirring landlady, of whom they were guests, most of them in their early years, lives to remember them and speak familiarly of their advents to this region.

Mrs. Sanborn well remembers the Pickering treaty of '94. As it was known that Col. Pickering, the agent, would come prepared to give them a grand feast, and distribute among them a large amount of money and clothing, the attendance was very general. For weeks before the treaty, they were arriving in squads from all of their villages and constructing their camps in the woods, upon the Lake shore, and around the court house square. The little village of whites, was invested, over run with the wild natives. It seemed as if they had deserted all their villages and transferred even their old men, women, and children, to the feast, the carousal, and the place of gifts. The night scenes were wild and picturesque; their camp fires lighting up the forest, and their whoops and yells creating a sensation of novelty, not unmingled with fear, with the far inferior in numbers who composed the citizens of the pioneer village, and the sojourners of their own race. At first, all was peace and quiet, and the treaty was in progress, beeves had been slaughtered sufficient to supply them all with meat, and liquor had been carefully excluded; but an avaricious liquor dealer, secretly dealt out to them the means of intoxication, and the council was interrupted, and many of the Indians became troublesome and riotous. Gen. Chapin however suppressed the liquor shop, harmony was restored, and the treaty concluded and the gifts dispensed. A general carousal followed, but no outrages were committed. They lingered for weeks after the council, displaying their new broadcloths and blankets, silver bands and broaches.*

Samuel Gardner was the first merchant in Canandaigua; he married a sister of Wm Antis; his store was in a log building. Thaddeus Chapin was the next.

* Judge Porter was then in Canandaigua acting as the agent of Phelps and Gorham, in the name of his principals, he had to make them presents of provisions and whiskey when they came to Canandaigua, and that was pretty often. On the occasion alluded to he denied an Indian whiskey, telling him it was all gone. "No, no," replied the Indian, "Genesee Falls never dry." This was a shrewd allusion to the gift to Phelps and Gorham of the enormous "Mill Lot," which embraced the Genesee Falls.

During the summer of 1790, Caleb Walker, the brother of the agent, who had been down and made a beginning in Perinton, died. It was the first death and funeral in Canandaigua. The nearest physician was a Dr. Adams of Geneva, who came but was destitute of medicine; some was obtained by breaking open a chest that had been left by a traveller. At the funeral, the physician being an Episcopalian, the church service was read, which was the first religious exercises after settlement had commenced, in the Genesee Country. In the same year religious meetings were organized, using Judge Phelps's barn for the meetings. Sermons were read by John Call; Mr. Sanborn led the singing: — prayers were omitted, there being no one to make them. After the sermon of Rev. Mr. Smith,* who is mentioned in connection with the Pitts family, the next was preached by the Rev. Mr. Guernsey.

In all early years at Canandaigua, the forest afforded a plenty of venison, and the Lake and small streams a plenty of fish. The hills on either side of the Lake, abounded in deer, which were easily driven into the Lake and caught. Some hunters would kill from eighty to an hundred in a season: and the Indians, when they visited the place, would generally have venison to barter for flour or bread. Wild fruits — whortleberries, blackberries, wild plums, crab-apples, cranberries, strawberries, raspberries — were plenty in their seasons, and furnished a pretty good substitute for cultivated fruits. The Indian orchard on Canandaigua Lake, at the Old Castle near Geneva, at Honeoye and Conesus, afforded a stinted supply of poor apples. Apples and peaches in small quantities, began to be produced from the young orchards, in '95 and '96. The first dish of currants produced in the Genesee country, were served in a tea-saucer, by Mrs. Sanborn, in 1794, at a tea-party, and was a thing much talked of; it marked an era.

Ebenezer Allan is well remembered at Canandaigua, as he is in all the Pioneer settlements. Mrs. Sanborn speaks of his being her guest on his way to Philadelphia, after the Morris treaty, to place his two half-blood daughters in school. He had his waiter along, and was at that period what the Senecas would have called a

* On the second visit to the country, in 1791, Mr. Smith called together such as were members of churches in all the Genesee Country organized a church and administered the sacrament. The first church organization and the first celebration of the Lord's supper, in the Genesee Country. The church organization was, however, not a permanent one.

"Shin-ne-wa-na," (a gentleman;) but stories of his barbarity in the Border Wars, were then so rife, that he was treated with but little respect. Sally, the Seneca mother, with all a mother's fondness, came as far as Canandaigua to bid her daughters good bye.

In July, 1790, the heads of families in T. 10, R. 3, (Canandaigua) were as follows: — Nathaniel Gorham, jr., Nathaniel Sanborn; John Fellows, James D. Fish, Joseph Smith, Israel Chapin, John Clark, Martin Dudley, Phineas Bates, Caleb Walker, Judah Colt, Abner Barlow, Daniel Brainard, Seth Holcomb, James Brocklebank, Lemuel Castle, Benjamin Wells, John Freeman. Before the close of 1790, there was a considerable accession to the population.

The first town meeting of the town of Canandaigua, was held in April, 1791. It was "opened and superintended by Israel Chapin," who was chosen Supervisor; and James D. Fish was chosen Town Clerk. The other town officers were as follows: — John Call, Enos Boughton, Seth Reed, Nathan Comstock, James Austin, Arnold Potter, Nathaniel Potter, Israel Chapin, John Coddington, James Latta, Joshua Whitney, John Swift, Daniel Gates, Gamaliel Wilder, Isaac Hathaway, Phineas Bates, John Coddington, Nathaniel Sanborn, Jared Boughton, Phineas Bates, Othniel Taylor, Joseph Smith, Benjamin Wells, Hezekiah Boughton, Eber Norton, William Gooding, John D. Robinson, Jabez French, Abner Barlow.

"*Voted*, That swine, two months old and upwards, going at large, shall have good and sufficient yokes."

"*Voted*, That for every full-grown wolf killed in the town, a bounty of thirty shillings shall be paid."

The reader, with names and locations that have occurred and will occur, will observe that these primitive town officers were spread over most of all the eastern portion of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase. It was the first occasion to bring the Pioneers together. Mutual acquaintances were made; friendship, good feeling, hilarity, athletic games, (says Mrs. Sanborn,) were the order of the day.

NOTE. — When the Senecas, at the Morris treaty, deeded four square miles at Mount Morris, to Allan, in trust for Chloe and Sally Allan, one condition of the trust was, that he should have them taught "reading and writing, sewing, and other useful arts, according to the custom of white people."

In April, 1792, the town meeting was "opened and inspected by Israel Chapin and Moses Atwater, Esqs." Most of the officers were re-elected. Eighty pounds were raised to defray the expenses of the town. In this year, the record of a road was made, which ran from "Joseph Kilbourn's house to the shore of the Lake;" and another, from "Swift's ashery to west line of No. 12, R. 2, near Webb Harwood's;" another, "from Swift's to Canandaigua;" and others, leading "from the square in Canandaigua," in different directions.

Town meeting, 1793, it was voted that fence viewers "examine the size and dimensions of hog yokes;" the wolf bounty was raised to \$5. In this year, twelve scalps were produced; among the names of those who claimed bounty, were:—Thaddeus Chapin, William Markham, Benjamin Keys, Gamaliel Wilder, Daniel Chapin, Israel Reed. Roads from "Canandaigua to John Coddings;" "from Nathan Comstock's to Webb Harwood's;" "from old pre-emption line to Canandaigua Mills;" "from Mud Creek Hollow to Capt. Peter Pitts;" and many others, were surveyed this year. The early road surveyors were:—Gideon Pitts, Jairus Rose, Jonathan Edwards, Jabez French.

By the town records of 1794, it would seem that Annanias M. Miller had a mill in operation on Mud Creek. Roads were recorded this year, "from Canandaigua to Jerusalem;" "from Jerusalem to Gerundegut." This year, Othniel Taylor presented six wolf scalps.

Gen. Israel Chapin was Supervisor till 1795, when he was succeeded by Abner Barlow. There is recorded this year, the sale of several slaves, the property of the citizens of Canandaigua.

Although the county of Ontario, embracing all of the Genesee country, was set off from Montgomery, during the session of the legislature in 1789, '90, no organization of the courts was had until 1793. In June of that year, a court of Oyer and Terminer was held at "Patterson's Tavern in Geneva." The presiding judge was John Stop Hobart, one of the three Supreme Court judges appointed after the organization of the Judiciary in 1777. A grand jury was called and charged, but no indictments preferred. The first court of Common Pleas and General Sessions, was held at the house of Nathaniel Sanborn in Canandaigua, in November, 1794. The presiding judges were, Timothy Hosmer and Charles Williamson, associated with whom, as assistant justice, was Enos Bough-

ton. Attornies, Thomas Morris, John Wickham, James Wadsworth, Vincent Matthews. There was a number of suits upon the calendar, but no jury trial. The organization of the court would seem have been the principal business. There was, however, a grand jury, and one indictment was found.

The next session of the court was in June, 1795. James Parker was an associate justice. Peter B. Porter and Nathaniel W. Howell, being attornies of the Supreme Court, were admitted to practice in the courts of Ontario county. Stephen Ross and Thomas Mumford were also admitted. At this court, the first jury trial was had west of the county of Herkimer. It was the trial of the indictment that had been preferred at the previous session, for stealing a cow bell. John Wickham, as County Clerk, was ex-officio District Attorney, but the management of the prosecution devolved upon Nathaniel W. Howell. Peter B. Porter and Vincent Matthews managed the defence.

In November, 1795, Moses Atwater was added to the bench. It was ordered that "Nathan Whitney be appointed the guardian of Parkhurst Whitney, an infant at the age of eleven years." David Saltonstall, Herman Bogert, David Jones, Ambrose Hall, Peter Masterton, John Nelson, Major Bostwick, George D. Cooper, H. K. Van Rensselaer, were admitted as attornies, [most of them non-residents.]

From Book of "Miscellaneous Records," 1797:—Peter B. Porter as county clerk, records the medical diplomas of Daniel Goodwin, Ralph Wilcox, Jeremiah Atwater, Moses Atwater, Augustus Williams and Joel Prescott. 1799—Chiefs of Seneca Nation acknowledged the receipt of \$8,000 from Gen. Chapin, as a dividend upon the sum of \$100,000, which the United States government had received of Robert Morris, as purchase money for the Holland Purchase and Morris Reserve, and invested in the stock of the United States Bank. The medical diplomas of Drs. John Ray, Samuel Dungan, David Fairchild, Arnold Willis, are recorded. Peter B. Porter appoints Thomas Cloudesly, deputy clerk. Theophilus Cazenove and Paul Busti appoint Joseph Ellicott and James Wadsworth, their lawful attornies. 1800—Robert Troup as general agent for Sir William Pultney, appoints Robert Scott local agent. De Witt Clinton executes a mortgage to Oliver Phelps, on an "undivided fourth part of 100,000 acres lying west of the Genesee River." 1801,

Peter B. Porter as clerk, makes Augustus Porter his deputy. 1803—Benj. Barton and Polydore B. Wisner are made appraisers of damages incurred by the construction of the Seneca Turnpike. 1804—Sylvester Tiffany as county clerk appoints Dudley Saltonstall his deputy. Thomas Morris appoints John Greig his lawful attorney. Harry Hickox files certificate of license to practice medicine. 1806—John Hornby of the county of Middlesex, Kingdom of G. B. appoints John Greig his lawful attorney. T. Spencer Colman is appointed deputy clerk. Phineas P. Bates is succeeded as Sheriff by James K. Guernsey. 1807—Oliver Phelps appoints Virtue Bronson his lawful attorney. 1808—Stephen Bates as Sheriff appoints Nathaniel Allen deputy. James B. Mower succeeded Sylvester Tiffany as clerk. 1810—Myron Holley is county clerk. Canandaigua Library organized. 1811—James B. Mower as clerk appoints Daniel D. Barnard his deputy.

In all the earliest years, the Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca Indians received their annuities at Canandaigua, which made it the place of annual gatherings of those nations, and the centre of the Indian trade.

Although not entitled to it from population, in 1791, by a special act, Ontario was entitled to be represented in the Assembly. This was not known in the new settlements of Canandaigua, Geneva, and their neighborhoods, but in a small settlement that had commenced on the Canisteo in what is now Steuben Co., they were in possession of the secret. Col. Eleazor Lindley, under whose auspices the settlement was made, collected together a few back woodsmen, held an election, got a few votes for himself, carried them to New York and was admitted a member of the Legislature. The whole proceeding was irregular, but there was no one to contest the seat, and the Legislature did not wish to deprive the backwoods of a representative. General Israel Chapin was its representative in 1792.

In a letter to Sir Wm. Pultney, in 1791. Robert Morris had declared his intention of settling his son Thomas in the Genesee country, as an evidence of his faith in its value and prospects. He states that Thomas was then reading law with Richard Harrison Esq. by whom he was deemed a "worthy young man." In August 1791, Thomas Morris with some companions, passed through the country, visited Niagara Falls, and on his return, made a considera-

ble stay at Canandaigua.* He returned and became a resident of Canandaigua, marrying a daughter of Elias Kane, of Albany. His father having become the purchaser of the pre-emption right of what was afterwards the Holland Purchase and Morris' Reserve, it was probably intended that he should be the local agent. That interest however being parted with, he had much to do with closing up his father's affairs in this region, and in all the preliminary measures adopted by the Holland Company, in reference to their purchase. His father having in his sale to the Holland Company, guarantied the extinguishment of the Indian title, he acted in all that affair as his agent. He was the first representative in Congress from all the region west of Seneca Lake; and as a lawyer, land proprietor, and agent, was intimately blended with all the local history of this region. Becoming through his father, an early proprietor of the Allan tract at Mount Morris, that locality derives its name from him. He was the intimate friend of Mr. Williamson; and in fact, enjoyed the confidence and esteem of all the early Pioneers. Like others of that early period, he over-traded in lands, shared in his father's reverses, and as early as 1803 or '4, retired to the city of New York, where he practiced law, until his death, in 1848. The author knows nothing of his family, save the fact, that Mr. Morris an Engineer upon the southern rail road, and Lieut. Morris of the Navy are his sons.

* Major Hoops, who was then surveying for the father, Robert Morris, in Steuben, writes to him, Sept. 1791:—"Your son Thomas is an excellent woodsman. He got lost about a mile from Canandaigua, night came on; he made his way through swamps and over hills, and at length espied a solitary light at a distance. Entering the hut from whence it proceeded, he asked for lodging, but he appeared in such a questionable shape that it was denied. Upon being told who he was, the occupant made amends for his incivility by turning half a dozen boys and girls out of their bed into his own. Tom turned in, slept till morning among flees and bed bugs, &c., &c.; then rose and trudged on six miles, to Canandaigua, arriving before sun rise."

And another case of a benighted traveller, of greater note perhaps, but of far less real merit, had happened years before settlement commenced:—John Jacob Astor, with a pack of Indian goods upon his back, wandered from the Indian trail, got lost in the low grounds at the foot of Seneca Lake, in an inclement night, wandered amid the howl and the rustling of wild beasts, until almost morning, when he was attracted by the light of an Indian cabin, near the old castle, and following it, obtained shelter and warmth.

NOTE.—Mr. Morris, in his manuscripts which were prepared in 1844, says:—"The excursion that has been spoken of was undertaken by me, partly from a desire to witness an Indian treaty, and see the Falls of Niagara; and partly with a desire to see a country in which my father, at that time had so extensive an interest; and with the determination to settle in it if I liked it. I was pleased with it, and made up my mind to settle at Canandaigua, as soon as I should have attained the age of 21, and my admission to the bar. Accordingly, in the early part of March, 1792, I left New

John Fellows, who is named among the residents in Canandaigua in 1790, was in the Massachusetts line during the Revolution, with the rank of Brig. General. He was a resident of Sheffield, Mass., was sheriff of Berkshire county, and its representative in the State legislature. He was one of the associates of Bacon and Adams, in the purchase of East Bloomfield; drawing his share — 3,000 acres, — on Mud creek, he erected a saw mill there in 1790, in company with the late Augustus Porter. Besides this tract, he had lands in Canandaigua and Honeoye. He never became a permanent resident of the country — got discouraged, or rather looked upon the dark side of things; said there was no use of having good wheat lands, if they never were to have any market. He resold the 3,000 acres on Mud creek for 18d. per acre. He died in his native town, Sheffield, in 1808. He was the father of Henry Fellows, Esq. of Penfield, and of Mrs. Daniel Penfield.

James D. Fish, was first town clerk; his wife's death was the second one in Canandaigua; and he died in early years.

John Clark came with Mr. Phelps to the treaty. His trade being that of a tanner and currier, he manufactured the first leather in the Genesee country. This was from the hides of the cattle driven on to furnish beef for the Indians at the treaty. His vats were made by sawing off sections of hollow trees. From this small beginning, his business was extended, and in early years his shoe and leather establishment was well known throughout a wide region. His wife was the daughter of the early pioneer, Lemuel Castle. Mr. Clarke died in 1813, and Mrs. Clark in 1842. They were the parents of Mrs. Mark H. Sibley of Canandaigua, and Mrs. W. H. Adams of Lyons.

Luther Cole came into the country with Gen. Israel Chapin. He was the first to carry the mail from Whitesboro to Canandaigua; on horseback when the roads would allow of it, and often on foot.* In winters he would travel with a sleigh, buy goods in Whitesboro

York for Canandaigua. I was induced to fix on that place for my residence, from the character and respectability of the families already established there. In the course of that year I commenced building a framed house, filled in with brick, and which was finished in the early part of the year 1793. That house still subsists, and even in that handsome town, where there are so many beautiful buildings, is not considered as an eye sore. When it was completed, that and the house built by Oliver Phelps were the only framed houses west of Whitesboro." The house is now owned and occupied by Judge Wells.

* See Post Office Canandaigua, Appendix, No. 8.

and sell them in Canandaigua. From this small beginning he became an early and prominent merchant. His wife was a niece of Mrs. Phineas Bates. He died many years since. His sons, Henry and James, emigrated to Detroit; James will be remembered as an early and highly gifted poet.

Dr. Hart was another early physician, and died in early years. He married the widow of Hezekiah Boughton, a brother of Jared and Enos Boughton, and father of Claudius V. and George H. Boughton.

William Antiss emigrated from Pennsylvania, and established himself in Canandaigua as a gun smith, at an early period. He was employed by Gen. Chapin to make and repair rifles for the Indians, and the white hunters and sportsmen, over a wide region, were for a long period, the customers of his establishment. He died in early years, and was succeeded by his son William Antiss 2d, who continued in the business until his death in 1813. The sons of Wm. Antiss 2d, are William Antiss of Canandaigua, Robert Antiss, who is the successor of his father and grand-father in business. Mrs. Byron Hays and Mrs. Wm. Reed of Canandaigua, are daughters of Wm. Antiss 2d.

In his rambles in June, 1795, the Duke, Liancourt, went from Bath to Canandaigua. He staid all night at "Capt. Metcalf's," and mentions the fact that a few years before the Capt. had bought his land for 1s. per acre, and sold a part of it for \$3 per acre. He says the settlement was "called Watkinstown, from several families of that name who possess the greatest property here." * "Capt. Metcalf besides his lands and Inn, possesses a saw mill, where 4500 feet of boards are cut daily. These boards he sends on the lake to Canandaigua, where they are sold for 10s. per 100 feet." "There is a school master at Watkinstown, with a salary of twelve dollars per month." Speaking of Canandaigua he says:—"The houses, although built of wood, are much better than any of that description I have hitherto seen. They consist mostly of joiner's work, and are prettily painted. In front of some of them are small courts, surrounded with neat railings. There are two Inns in the town, and several shops, where commodities are sold, and shoes and other

* The Duke was in Naples. Phelps and Gorham sold the township to "Watkins, Hariss & Co."

articles made. The price of land here is three dollars per acre without the town, and fifteen dollars within. Speaking of a visit to "Mr. Chipping,"* (Chapin) he says he found him surrounded by a dozen Seneca Indians, (among whom was Red Jacket,) who had come to partake of his whiskey and meat." The Duke was evidently in bad humor at Canandaigua. His friend Blacons had selected the "second Inn, which was far inferior to the first," and he says their dissatisfaction was greatly increased, when they were "shewn into a corn loft to sleep, being four of us, in company with ten or twelve other men," and after he had got to sleep, he says he was disturbed by a recruit of lodgers, an old man and a handsome young woman, who I believe was his daughter." At the idea of a young woman occupying the same room, with twelve or fifteen of the other sex, he thinks his European readers "will scoff, or laugh," but he thinks it showed in "an advantageous light, the laudable simplicity and innocence of American manners."

Phineas Bates was a native of Durham, Conn. He came to the Genesee country in early summer in 1789, with the early Pioneer, Gamaliel Wilder, and remained with him until the fall of the year, making the commencement at Wilder's Point, in Bristol. He returned to Connecticut in the fall, making the journey on foot. Early in the spring of 1790, accompanied by his eldest son, Stephen, his son-in-law, Orange Brace, and several others, he returned, starting with a yoke of oxen and sled, the party bringing with them a year's provision, and some household goods. Arriving at Schenectady, they put every thing they could not conveniently carry in their knapsacks, on board of a batteaux, left their sled, unyoked their oxen, travelled up the Mohawk, and struck off into the wilderness, preceding the Wadsworths a few weeks. At Onondaga, Mr. Bates bought half a bushel of potatoes, slung them across the neck of one of his oxen, brought them to Canandaigua, and planted them upon some village lots he purchased. During the summer, he cleared ten acres, and sowed it to wheat.

Returning to Connecticut late in the fall, in company with Amos Hall, — Sweet, Samuel Knapp; soon after the party left, they encountered a severe snow storm, the snow falling to such a depth

* The translator of the Duke's "Travels," made bad work with names. William Wadsworth for instance, is called Capt. Watworth."

as to render their progress extremely slow. Walking in single file, one would go forward to break the path, until he wearied out, when another would take his place. Anticipating no such delay, they had provided themselves with an inadequate stock of provisions, and long before they reached Whitestown, the suffering of hunger was added to that of cold and fatigue. The carcass of an otter, their dog killed in the Nine Mile Creek, was a substitute for more palatable food.

Undismayed by the scene of suffering and privation he had passed through, Mr. Bates on reaching home, made preparations for the removal of his family, and in February, 1791, brought them by sleighing to Canandaigua, making the seventh in the new settlement.

He opened a public house at an early day, near the upper end of Main-street, which was continued by him and his son for many years. He was an early Justice of the Peace, and in all respects, a worthy citizen. He died in 1829, at an advanced age. Bringing with him into the country at so early a period, active and enterprising sons, the family occupied a prominent position for a long series of years. His eldest son, Stephen, marrying the daughter of Deacon Handy of W. Bloomfield, became a successful farmer in Gorham, was sheriff of Ontario, a member of Assembly, and a Senator. In 1845, he emigrated to Sauk, Wisconsin, where he died the year following; and of a large family of children, but few survive. Asher Bates married the daughter of Elisha Steel, of East Bloomfield; in 1803, moved west of the Genesee river, and opened a public house on the main road between Caledonia and Le Roy; was one of the earliest sheriffs of Genesee; died in 1810. An only son studied law with Spencer and Sibley in Canandaigua, settled in Detroit, and is now a resident at Honolulu, one of the Sandwich Islands, acting in the capacity of the King's attorney or counsellor. His first wife was the daughter of Thomas Beals of Canandaigua; the second, is a sister of Dr. Judd, the physician of the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands. The widow of Asher Bates is now the wife of Dr. Wm. Sheldon of Le Roy. Phineas P. Bates succeeded his father as a landlord in Canandaigua, and was for many years a deputy sheriff and sheriff of Ontario. He is the only one of a large family that survives: is the occupant of a fine farm adjoining the village of Canandaigua. David C.

Bates was a farmer near Canandaigua; died in 1849. A daughter of the elder Phineas Bates became the wife of John A. Stevens, the early Printer, and Editor of the *Ontario Messenger*. An elder daughter was the wife of Orange Brace, who has been named in connection with the early advent of the family; in 1806, he became one of the earliest settlers upon the purchase of Phelps and Chipman, in Sheldon, Wyoming county. *

Phineas P. Bates, Esq., the survivor of the family, who has been named, in 1800, was the mail boy from Canandaigua to Fort Niagara. The mail route had been established about two years previous, and was carried through by Jasper Marvin, who sometimes dispensed with mail bags, and carried the contents in a pocket book. Mr. Bates observes that when he commenced carrying it for his brother Stephen, who was the mail contractor, it used to take six days to go and return. His stopping places over night, were at Mrs. Berry's, among the Indians at Tonawanda, and at Fort Niagara.

In some reminiscences of Mr. Bates, he observes, that "in 1793, one of those fatal accidents occurred at Canandaigua, which always cast a gloom over small communities. A Mr. Miles, from what is now Lima, and a citizen of Canada, were on their way to Massachusetts. Riding into the village, when they were within a few rods of Main-street, a tree turned out by the roots, fell upon the travellers, killing them both, and one of their horses. What made the affair a very singular one, was the fact, that although it was raining moderately at the time, there was not the least wind to cause the fall of the tree."

Dr. Moses Atwater settled in Canandaigua as a physician, at the early period of 1791. In some correspondence that passed between Gen. Chapin and Judge Phelps, there was much gratification manifested that their new settlement was to have the benefit of a physician. Dr. Atwater enjoyed for a long period an extensive practice, and made himself eminently useful in the new country.

* The Pioneer and a son, both died on the frontier, where they had gone under Smyth's proclamation, in the war of 1812. Another son and a daughter died about the same period. Toward the close of the war, a son-in-law, Ardin Merrill, was killed on board of a ferry boat, at the Canada landing, opposite Black Rock. Many households of all the Genesee country were thinned by disease, and deaths upon battle grounds, during the war; but there were few, if any, heartstones made as desolate as was theirs. Leicester Brace of Buffalo, late sheriff of Erie county, is a surviving son of Orange Brace, and a surviving son and daughter reside in Illinois.

He was an early Judge of Ontario county. He died in 1848, at the advanced age of 82 years. Samuel Atwater of Canandaigua, and Moses Atwater of Buffalo, are his sons; a daughter became the wife of Robert Pomeroy, of Buffalo; and another, the wife of Lewis Jenkins, formerly a merchant of Canandaigua, now a resident of Buffalo. Dr. Jeremiah Atwater, a brother of Moses, settled in Canandaigua in early years. He still survives at the age of 80 years, laboring, however, under the infirmity of a loss of sight.

Mr. Samuel Dungan was a native of Pennsylvania, a student with the celebrated Dr. Wistar. He settled in practice in Canandaigua in 1797. He possessed extraordinary skill as a surgeon, and in that capacity, was known throughout a wide region. He died nearly thirty years since. He left a son and a daughter, both of whom are still living.

Dr. William A. Williams was from Wallingford, Conn. He entered Yale College at the close of the Revolution, and graduated at the early age of sixteen. After passing through a regular course of medical studies, he commenced practice in Hatfield, Mass.; but in a few years, in 1793, emigrated to Canandaigua, established himself in a large and successful practice, which he retained until near the close of a long life. One who was his neighbor for near forty years, observes:—"He was a man of plain and simple manners, amiable and kind hearted; at the bed side of his patients, he mingled the consolations of friendship with professional advice; in day or night time, in sunshine or in storm, whether his patients were rich or poor, he was the same indefatigable, faithful physician and good neighbor. He died in 1833 or '4. Col. George Williams, of Portage, and Charles Williams, of Nunda, are his sons. His daughters became the wives of the late Jared Wilson, Esq., and John A. Granger, of Canandaigua, and ——— Whitney, the present P. M. at Canandaigua, and Editor of the Ontario Repository.

NATHANIEL W. HOWELL.

The venerable Nathaniel W. Howell, now in his 81st year, is the oldest resident member of the Bar of Western New York. His native place is Blooming Grove, Orange County, N. Y. The son

of a farmer, at a period when farmer's sons were early inured to toil, a naturally robust and vigorous constitution was aided by the healthy labors of the field. At the age of thirteen he was placed in an Academy in Goshen, founded by Noah Webster, the widely known author; where he remained for nearly two years; after which he entered the Academy at Hackensack, N. J., the Principal of which was Dr. Peter Wilson, formerly Professor of languages in Columbia College. In May, 1787, he entered the junior class in Princeton College, and graduated, in Sept. 1788. A few months after graduating, making choice of the legal profession, he commenced the study of law in the office of the late Gen. Wilkin, in Goshen. Remaining there but a short period, he accepted a call to take charge of an Academy at Ward's Bridge in Ulster Co., where he continued for over three years; after which, he resumed the study of law in the office of the late Judge Hoffman, in the city of New York. He was admitted an Attorney of the Supreme Court in May, 1794.

In May, 1795, he opened an office in the town of Union, near the now village of Binghampton, in Tioga county. The late Gen. Matthews was then practicing law in Newtown, now Elmira. The two were the only Supreme court lawyers then in the county.

Judge Howell was admitted as an Attorney of the court of common pleas in Ontario in June, 1795, and in the following February, removed to Canandaigua, where he has continued to reside until the present time. The records of the courts bear evidence of his having acquired a large practice in early years. He was one of the local legal advisers of Mr. Williamson, and was employed by Joseph Ellicott in his earliest movements upon the Holland Purchase. Laying before the author at this present writing, are copies of his letters to Mr. Williamson written in 1795, and a letter written within the present year, in a fair hand, but little marked by the tremor of age. Fifty six-years have intervened!

In 1799, he was appointed by the council of appointment, on the nomination of Gov. Jay, assistant Attorney General for the five western counties of this state, the duties of which office he continued to discharge until his resignation in 1802. In 1819 he was appointed by the council of appointment, on the nomination of Gov. Dewitt Clinton, First Judge of the county of Ontario, which office he filled for thirteen years. He was an early representative in the

state legislature, and in 1813, '14, he represented in Congress, the double district, composed of Ontario and the five counties to the west of it. On retiring from the Bench, he retired from his profession, employing himself in the superintendence of a farm and garden, enjoying good health, with slight exceptions; in summers laboring more or less with his own hands.

In a previous work, the author has observed, that there are few instances of so extended a period of active participation in the affairs of life; and still fewer instances of a life that has so adorned the profession to which he belongs, and been so eminently useful and exemplary. To him, and to such as him—his early cotemporary, General Matthews, for instance—and others of his cotemporaries that could be named, is the highly honorable profession of law in Western New York indebted for early and long continued examples of those high aims, dignity, and exalted integrity, which should be its abiding characteristics. They have passed, and are passing away. If days of degeneracy should come upon the profession—renovation become necessary—there are no better precedents and examples to consult, than the lives and practices of the Pioneer Lawyers.

The first wife of Judge Howell was the youngest daughter of General Israel Chapin. She died in 1808, leaving two sons and a daughter. He married for a second wife, in 1809, the daughter of Dr. Coleman, of Anchram, Mass. She died in 1842, leaving three sons and a daughter. The surviving sons are:—Alexander H. Howell, Thomas M. Howell, Nathaniel W. Howell, Augustus P. Howell. Daughters became the wives of Amasa Jackson of the city of New York, and Henry S. Mulligan of Buffalo.

Dudley Saltonstall was a native of New London, Conn., a graduate of Yale College. He studied law in the celebrated law school of Judge Reeves of Litchfield, and was admitted to practice in the court of common pleas of Ontario, in 1795. He had genius, and high attainments in scholarship, commenced practice under favorable auspices; but aiming high and falling below his aim, in his first forensic efforts, he lost confidence in himself, and abandoned the profession. He engaged in other pursuits with but little better success, and in 1808, emigrated to Maryland, and soon after to Elizabeth city, N. Carolina, where he died some fifteen years since.

Dudley Marvin did not locate at Canandaigua within a pioneer

period, but his name is so blended with the locality, that a brief notice of him will perhaps be anticipated. He was a native of Lyme, Connecticut. His law studies were commenced and completed in the office of Messrs. Howell & Greig: in the absence of any classical education, but in its place was a vigorous intellect, peculiarly adapted to the profession he embraced. He had not been long admitted to the bar, when he had no superior, and few if any equals, as an advocate, in the western counties of this State; indeed, the giants of the law from the east, who used to follow the circuits of the old Supreme Court Judges in this direction, found in the young advocate of the west, a competitor who plucked laurels from their brows they had won upon other theatres of forensic strife. "When sitting as a judge," says one of his early legal mentors, "I frequently listened with admiration to his exceedingly able and eloquent summings up in jury trials. I was once present on the trial of an important and highly interesting cause, in which Mr. Marvin and the celebrated Elisha Williams were opposed to each other, and I thought the speech to the jury of Marvin, was quite as eloquent as that of Williams, and decidedly more able. He was, indeed, unsuccessful, but the failure was owing to his cause, and not to him. He might well have said with the Trojan hero: — "*Si Pergama dextra defendi possent etiam hac defensi fuissent.*"

He was twice elected to Congress, in which capacity the high expectations that were entertained of his career were somewhat disappointed. The new sphere of action was evidently not his forte — neither was it to his liking; while the free habits that unfortunately so much prevailed at our national capitol, were illy suited to help the wavering resolutions of a mind that was wrestling with all its giant strength, to throw off chains with which a generous social nature, had helped to fetter him. Years followed, in which one who had filled a large space in the public mind of this region, was almost lost sight of: his residence being principally in Maryland and Virginia. He returned to this State, and resumed practice in the city of New York, where he continued but a few years; removing to the county of Chautauque, and retiring upon a farm.

Myron Holley came from Salisbury Connecticut, in 1803, locating at Canandaigua. He had studied law, but never engaged in practice. He was an early bookseller, and for a considerable time clerk of Ontario county. He was a member of the first Board of

canal commissioners, the acting commissioner in the original construction of the western division of the Erie Canal, until the whole was put under contract. Soon after the location of the canal he became a resident of the village of Lyons. So eminently able and faithful were his services as a canal commissioner, that the grateful recollection and acknowledgement of them, outlive and palliate the mixed offence of fault and misfortune, with which his official career terminated.

Mr. Holley died in 1839, or '40; his widow, the daughter of John House, an early Pioneer at Canandaigua, resides in Black Rock, Erie county.

Isaac Davis, an early merchant at Canandaigua, and subsequently at Buffalo, married another daughter of Mr. House. She resides with her two sons in Lockport. Wm. C. House, a surviving son of John House, was an early merchant in Lockport, and lately the canal collector at that point; his wife, the daughter of John G. Bond, an early merchant in Rochester.

Thomas Beals became a resident of Canandaigua, engaging in the mercantile business, in 1803. In early years his trade extended over a wide region of country, in which he was highly esteemed as an honest and fair dealing merchant. The successor of Thaddeus Chapin as treasurer of Ontario county, in 1814, he continued to hold the office for twenty eight years. As Trustee and Secretary, he has been connected with the Canandaigua Academy forty years. He was one of the trustees, and a member of the building committee of the Congregational Church in 1812; and was one of the county superintendents of the poor, when the Poor House was first erected. He is now, in his 66th year, engaged in the active pursuits of life; the Treasurer of the Ontario Savings Bank, a flourishing institution of which he was the founder. Mrs. Beals, who was the daughter of the early settled clergyman at Canandaigua, the Rev. Mr. Fields, still survives. There are two surviving sons, one a resident of New York, and the other in Indiana. Surviving daughters are:—Mrs. Alfred Field, and Mrs. Dr. Carr, of Canandaigua, and Mrs. James S. Rogers, of Wisconsin.

In 1798, a formidable party of emigrants arrived and settled near Canandaigua. It consisted of the families of Benjamin Barney, Richard Daker and Vincent Grant. They were from Orange county; and were all family connexions. With their six or seven teams,

and a numerous retinue of foot passengers, and stock, their advent is well remembered. They practiced one species of travelling economy, that the author has never before heard of among the devices of pioneer times:—the milk of their cows was put into a churn, and the motion of the wagon produced their butter as they went along.* The journey from Orange county consumed twenty-six days. The sons who came with Benj. Barney, were:—Thomas, John, Nicholas, Joseph and Henry. Thomas was the head of a family when they came to the Genesee country; a surviving son of his, is Gen. V. G. Barney of Newark Wayne county; a surviving daughter is the wife of Elisha Higby, of Hopewell, Ontario county:—and in this connection it may be observed, that Mr. Higby erected the first carding machine in the Genesee country, in 1804, in what is now the town of Hopewell, to which he soon added a cloth dressing establishment.

James Sibley, the early and widely known silver smith, watch repairer, and jeweler, of Camandaigua, still survives, retired from business, a resident of Rochester. His son, Oscar Sibley, pursuing the business of his father, is the proprietor of a large establishment in Buffalo. By the aid of a singularly retentive memory—especially in reference to names and localities—he has furnished the author with the following names of all the heads of families in Camandaigua, village, in 1803:—

Seth Thompson,	Widow Waring,	Sylvester Tiffany,
Abner Bunnell,	Phineas Bates,	Wm. A. Williams,
Elijah Moulton,	Augustus Potter,	James Halsey,
Henry Chapin,	Zachariah Seymour,	Nath. W. Howell,
Samuel Latta,	Nathaniel Sandown,	Samuel Durgan,
Deaneys Sanderson,	Timothy Durt,	Robert Sawyer,
Leander Foster,	Thomas Morris,	Hannah Windley,
Luther W. Huxford,	Thomas Deeds,	Leopold F. Norton,
John Hall,	Moses Atwater,	John Thompson,
John House,	Timothy Chapin,	Abner Barber,
Martin Dudley,	Isaac Canin,	Nathan A. Richards,
Gen. Wells,	Gould & Post,	Nathaniel Gordon,
Jasper Parish,	James Dewey,	William Shepley,
Mr. Cunn,	Frederick Taylor,	Freeman Atwater,
David Dimes,	Wm. Antoss,	William Chapman,
Mr. Sampson,	John Clark,	Col. Hale,
Timothy Younglove,	James Smalley,	Vernon Benson,
Samuel Abbey,	Joseph Baskell,	James B. Mower,
John Shuter,	Rev. Timothy Field,	Oliver Phelps,
John Bockellmark,	Joshua Eaton,	Perce H. Cobb,
Jeremiah Atwater,	Samuel Bruck,	Luther Cobb,
General Taylor,	Moses Cleveland,	Asah Bouché.

* But this device found more than its match with an old lady who was fleeing from the frontier in the war of 1812. An alarm found her with her dough mixed for baking.

The first permanent church organization in Canandaigua, of which the author finds any record, was that of St. Mathew's church of the town of Canandaigua, February 4th, 1799. "A meeting was held at the house of Nathaniel Sanborn; Ezra Platt was called to the chair to regulate said meeting." The following officers were chosen:—Ezra Platt, Joseph Colt, Wardens; John Clark, Augustus Porter, John Hecox, Nathaniel Sanborn, Benjamin Wells, James Fields, Moses Atwater, Aaron Flint, Vestrymen.

The Rev. Philander Chase, the present Bishop of the United States, then in Deacon's orders, presided at this organization; remained and officiated as clergyman for several months.

About the same period, "the first Congregational church of the town of Cannandaigua," was organized. "All persons who had stately worshipped in said congregation," met "at the school house," and chose as Trustees:—Othniel Taylor, Thaddeus Chapin, Dudley Saltonstall, Seth Holcomb, Abner Barlow, Phineas Bates. The first settled minister of this church, was the Rev. Mr. Field.

The first record of election returns that the author has been enabled to obtain, is that of the election of Senators and Assemblymen in 1799. This was before Ontario was dismembered, or rather before Steuben had a separate organization, and the returns of course embrace the whole region west of Seneca Lake. Vincent Matthews, Joseph White, Moss Kent, were the candidates for Senators. The candidates for Assembly were, Charles Williamson and Nathaniel Norton, opposed by Lemuel Chipman and Dudley Saltonstall. Williamson and Saltonstall were elected. The entire vote is given:—

Bloomfield	-	-	-	168	Jerusalem	-	-	-	101
Northfield	-	-	-	59	Hartford	-	-	-	70
Charleston	-	-	-	125	Palmyra	-	-	-	55
Easton	-	-	-	58	Geneseo	-	-	-	44
Augusta	-	-	-	58	Sodus	-	-	-	46
Sparta	-	-	-	82	Seneca	-	-	-	55

She rolled it up in a bed, and sitting upon it, kept it warm, pulling it out and baking as she stopped along the road.

NOTE.—There was a little feeling of rivalry in the organization of these Pioneer churches: thence the anecdote of "Bishop Chase's fiddle." The then young clergyman boarded with Mrs. Sanborn, and to amuse one of her children, whittled out a shingle in the shape of a fiddle, and stringing it with silk thread, put it in the window: an Æolian harp. The trifling affair soon got noised about, and some members of the rival church organization converted it to no less offence than that of a minister of the gospel making a fiddle.

Canandaigua	-	-	-	66	Middlesex	-	-	-	52
Bristol	-	-	-	110	Frederickstown	-	-	-	46
Phelps	-	-	-	104	Painted Post	-	-	-	63
Elizabethtown	-	-	-	62	Danville	-	-	-	54
Middletown	-	-	-	86	Canistota	-	-	-	76
				978	Bath	-	-	-	106
									766
									978
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1744

In 1800, Lemuel Chipman and Nathaniel Norton were elected; number of votes, 3,582. Thomas Morris was elected to Congress, receiving almost the entire vote of the Genesee country. Canandaigua, Palmyra, Bristol, Sparta, Hartford, Easton, Charleston, Northfield, Augusta, their entire vote; and in several other towns there were but one, two and three, against him. 1801 — Peter B. Porter and Daniel Chapin were elected to the Assembly. 1802 — Steuben elected separately. Pollydore B. Wisner, Augustus Porter and Thaddeus Chapin, were elected members of Assembly from Ontario. 1803 — Batavia, which was then all of the Holland Purchase, gave less than 180 votes. In that year, Amos Hall, Nathaniel W. Howell, Pollydore B. Wisner, were elected to the Assembly. 1804 — The members of Assembly were, Amos Hall, Daniel W. Lewis and Alexander Rhea.

Jonathan Philips, an early shoemaker of Canandaigua, still survives, hammering and drawing out his waxed ends upon a seat he has occupied for 51 years; being now 75 years of age. The old gentleman observes, that in that now healthy locality, he has known it to be so sickly, that more than half the entire population would be afflicted with fevers.

Southworth Cole, an elder brother of Luther Cole, came into the country in 1797. He located on the east side of the Lake, in a then wilderness, at what was known in early days as "Corn Creek." There was an old Indian clearing of about 20 acres. Mr. Cole was for several years the only settler between the foot of the Lake and Naples. The location was famed as the favorite ground of the rattle snake: some members of this Pioneer family have killed as many as 160 in the course of a day at their den. Deer were so plenty, that a hunter of the family has killed 60 in a season. The sons of the Pioneer were Abner Cole, an early lawyer of Palmyra; Dorastus Cole, of Palmyra; Joseph Cole, of Michigan; G. W.

Cole, of Saratoga Springs; and Benjamin B. Cole, of Ogden. Mrs. Philetus Swift of Phelps, and Mrs. Kingsley Miller of Palmyra, were his daughters. Joseph Colt, the early merchant of Geneva and Palmyra, married a sister of Southworth and Luther Cole.

BLOOMFIELD.

The settlement of East Bloomfield, commenced simultaneously with that of Canandaigua. The east township was purchased by Capt. Wm. Bacon, Gen. John Fellows, Elisha Lee, Deacon John Adams, Dr. Joshua Porter (the father of Peter B. and Augustus,) Deacon Adams became the pioneer in settlement; — and the patriarch it might well be added, for he introduced a large household into the wilderness. His family consisted of himself and wife, his sons John, Jonathan, William, Abner and Joseph; his sons in laws, Ephraim Rew, Lorin Hull, and — Wilcox, and their wives, and Elijah Rose, a brother in law and his family, and three unmarried daughters. Joined with all these in the primitive advent, were: — Moses Gunn, Lot Rew, John Barnes, Roger Sprague, Asa Hickox, Benjamin Goss, John Keyes, Nathaniel Norton. Early after the opening of navigation, in 1789, the emigrants departed from Schenectady, some of the men with the household furniture and stores, by water, but most of the party upon pack horses, following principally the Indian trails. In May, they were joined by Augustus Porter, Thaddeus Keyes, Joel Steele, Eber Norton and Orange Woodruff. Judge Porter, then but twenty years of age, had been employed to make farm surveys of the township. When he arrived he found the Adams family, and those who had come in with them, the occupants of a log house, 30 by 40 feet, the first dwelling erected west of Canandaigua after white settlement commenced. To accommodate so large a family with lodgings, there were berths upon wooden pins along the walls of the house, one above another, steam, or packet boat fashion. It was the young surveyor's first introduction to backwoods life. He added to the crowded household himself and his assistants, and soon shouldered his "Jacob staff," and commenced his work. The emigrants had brought on a good stock of provisions and some cows; wild game soon began to be added, which made them very comfortable liver. The Judge, in his later years,

would speak with much animation, of the primitive log house, its enormous fire place; and especially of the bread "baked in ashes" which Mrs. Rose used to bring upon the table, and which he said was excellent.

William Bacon, a principal proprietor in Bloomfield, was a resident of Sheffield, Mass.; he never emigrated. He bore a captain's commission in the Revolution, and was a contractor for the army. After the Revolution he drove cattle through upon the old Indian trail to Fort Niagara. Deacon Adams, Nathaniel Eggleston, and several others of the early settlers in Bloomfield, first saw the Genesee Country, in connection with this cattle trade to Niagara. Col. Asher Saxton a prominent pioneer, in Bloomfield, Cambria, and Lockport Niagara co., and lastly upon the river Raisin, near Monroe, was a son in law of capt. Bacon and his local representative. He died at his residence in Michigan in 1817 at an advanced age. He married for a third wife a sister of Gen. Micah Brooks. When he left Bloomfield to go into a new region in Niagara county, he remarked to an old friend that he was going "where they live in log cabins." "I want" said he "to see more of Pioneer life." The roof of a log cabin has seldom sheltered a worthier man.

The author is unable to name the year in which all of the emigrants settled in Bloomfield after the primitive advent of the Adams household, and those who came in the same year. Those who will be named were of the earliest class of Pioneers.

Dr. Daniel Chapin was the early physician. He was the next representative of Ontario county in the Legislature after Gen. Israel Chapin. He removed to Buffalo in 1805 and died there in 1835.

Amos Bronson was from Berkshire, a persevering and enterprising man, and became the owner of a large farm. He died in 1835. His wife still survives, at the advanced age of over 90 years. Mrs. Bronson, and Benjamin Goss, are the only two surviving residents

NOTE.—There are no surviving descendants in the first degree of the early Pioneer Deacon John Adams. In the second, third and fourth degree, few families are more numerous. The three unmarried daughters mentioned above, became the wives of John Keyes, — Benjamin, and Silas Eggleston. Among the descendants are the family who gave the name to "Adams Basin," in Ogden; Gen. Wm. H. Adams of Lyons, Wm. Adams of Rochester, and Mrs. Barrett of Lockport; and the author regrets that he has not the memorandums to enable him to remember more of a name and family so prominently identified with Pioneer settlement.

of all the adult pioneers of East Bloomfield. The sons are among the wealthy and public spirited men of the town.

Benjamin Goss, who is named above, was in the country as early as 1791. He married a daughter of Deacon George Coddington, of Bristol. Theirs was the first wedding on Phelps and Gorham's Purchase. He is now 90 years of age; a Revolutionary pensioner. He was in the battle at Johnstown, at Sharon Springs, and was in the unsuccessful expedition of Col. Marinus Willett to Oswego in the winter of 1781.*

Nathaniel Norton was from Goshen, Conn. He was the founder of the mills that took his name, on the Ganargwa creek, in Bloomfield. He was an early sheriff of Ontario, and its representative in the Legislature; and an early merchant in Bloomfield and Canandaigua. He died in 1809 or '10. The late Heman Norton was his son; a daughter became the wife of Judge Baldwin of the Sup. Court of the United States; another of — Beach, of the firm of Norton & Beach. Aaron Norton, the brother of Nathaniel, settled in Bloomfield about the same time; died soon after 1815. Hon. Ebenezer F. Norton of Buffalo, and Reuben Norton of Bloomfield, are his sons. A daughter became the wife of — Kibbe, the early Bank cashier at Canandaigua and Buffalo; another, the wife of Peter Bowen. Eber Norton, another brother of Nathaniel, died in 1810; Judge Norton of Allegany is a son of his.

Roger, Azel, and Thomas Sprague, with their father and mother, and three sisters, were early pioneers. Roger succeeded Nathaniel Norton as Sheriff of Ontario, was a member of the Legislature, and supervisor. He died in Michigan, in 1848. Asahel and Thomas, both died soon after 1810. The only survivor of the family is a sister who became the wife of Dr. Ralph Wilcox.

* The old gentleman gives a relation of suffering and privation in that expedition, which exhibits some of the harshest features of the war of the Revolution. The contemplated attack upon Oswego, was undertaken in mid winter, and the army encountered deep snow. Many of the men had their feet frozen, and the relator among the number. The expedition was undertaken in sleighs, and upon snow shoes, the men going ahead upon the snow shoes, and partly beating the track. Oneida Lake was crossed upon the ice. Arriving at Fort Brewerton, a large number of the pressed militia, appalled by the suffering and danger they were to encounter, deserted and returned to the valley of the Mohawk: the remainder, an unequal force for the work that was before them, struck off into the dark forest in the direction of Oswego, were badly piloted, missed their course, and were three days wanderers amid the deep snows of the wilderness. Coming within four miles of a strong fortress, with provisions exhausted, ammunition much damaged, and men already worn out in the march, a council decided against the attack, and the expedition retreated to Fort Plain.

Moses Gunn was from Berkshire. He died in 1820; Linus Gunn of Bloomfield was a son of his; another son was an early tavern keeper on north road to Canandaigua.

As early as 1790 Daniel Gates located in the town of Bloomfield, on the Honeoye creek, at what is now known as North Bloomfield, and erected the first saw mill upon that stream. Procuring some apple sprouts from the old Indian orchard at Geneva he had one of the earliest bearing orchards in the Genesee country. His youngest son, Alfred Gates, now resides upon the old homestead.

Dr. John Barnes was an early physician, remained a few years, and emigrated to Canada.

Elijah Hamlin, Philo Hamlin, Cyprian Collins, Gideon King, Benjamin Chapman, Joel and Christopher Parks, Ephraim and Lot Rue, Alexander Emmons, Ashbel Beach, Nathan Waldron, Enos Hawley, Timothy Buel, were Pioneers in Bloomfield, but in reference to them, the author as in many other instances, has to regret the absence of datas to enable him to speak of them beyond the mention of their names. Elijah Hamlin, who was alive a short time since, in Michigan, if alive now, is the only survivor of them. He was a contractor on the Erie Canal, at Lockport, in 1822. Joel Parks, a son of one of those named, married a daughter of Dea. Gooding of Bristol. He was a pioneer at Lockport, Niagara county, a Justice of the peace and merchant; and is now a resident of Lockport Illinois.

Moses Sperry moved from Berkshire to Bloomfield, in March, 1794, with his wife and seven children. He was then but 27 years old. Remaining in Bloomfield until 1813, he removed with his family to the town of Henrietta, when settlement had but first commenced, and where he had been preceded two or three years by some of his sons. He died in the town of Gates, in 1826, aged 62 years. At the time of his death he had living, 12 children, 67 grand-children, and 7 great-grand children: nine of the sons and

NOTE.—Amos Otis Esq. of Perry, Wyoming county, who has furnished the author with some interesting reminiscences of the early settlement of his present locality, a nephew of the above named Daniel Gates, resided with him as early as 1804. He was informed by his uncle that he ploughed up many relics in the earliest years of settlement; among which was a sword blade about two feet long, and a brass kettle. The old gentleman also informed him the Indians were very troublesome previous to the Pickering treaty: so much so that they would enter the log cabins of the new settlers, insolently demanding whatever they wanted to eat or drink. Mr. Otis mentions an additional fact that the author has learned from no other source, that in the height of Indian alarm, the new settlers erected a block house, upon the Ball farm, in the north part of the town of Lima.

daughters are now living. The mother died in Randolph, Cattaraugus county, in 1840, aged 78 years; the eldest son at Council Bluff, on his way to Oregon, in 1846. The history of this family furnishes a remarkable instance of the spirit of enterprise and adventure inherited by the descendants of the early pioneers of the Genesee country. Residing in one town, in 1813, in 1842 the sons and daughters were residents of five different States. Nine of them are now living: James Sperry, in Henrietta, a well known surveyor, and a local agent of the Wadsworth estate; Moses Sperry, the present Surrogate of Monroe; Calvin Sperry, in Gates, Monroe county; Charles Sperry in Quincy, Illinois; George Sperry in Trumbull county Ohio. A sister resides in Cattaraugus county; another in Akron, Ohio; another in Missouri; another in Gates, Monroe county.

Mr James Sperry having kindly furnished the author with some interesting pioneer reminiscences, they are inserted in the form adopted in other instances.

REMINISCENCES OF JAMES SPERRY.

Among the trials of the first settlers, there were none more irritating than the destruction of sheep and swine by the wolves and bears. Often whole flocks of sheep would be slaughtered in the night by the wolves. This happened so frequently that those who determined to preserve their sheep, made pens or yards, so high and tight that a wolf could not get over or through them. If left out by accident or carelessness, they were almost sure to be attacked. The state, county and town, offered bounties, in the aggregate, amounting to \$20 for each wolf scalp. Asahel Sprague caught ten in Bloomfield, which had the effect to pretty much stop their ravages in that quarter.

Bears preyed upon the hogs, that from necessity the new settlers were obliged to let run in the woods for shack. About two years after we came to Bloomfield, when our nearest neighbor was a mile from my father's house, one dark evening in October, when we were all sitting around the table peering pumpkins to dry, (and to make *apple sauce*,) we were suddenly started by a loud squeal from the mother of the gruntings, who with her progeny, were resting in a hollow log in the woods. My father having no ammunition for his old French gun, seized an axe, and went to the rescue, unhindered by the remonstrances of my mother. The bear fled at his approach, but had so injured the hog that my father killed her and dragged in the carcass.

It was not uncommon for boys to see bears when after the cows, but I think no one of the early settlers received any injury from them, unless they had first been wounded. One of the Coddings, in Bloomfield, came pretty

near having a clinch with one, while in the woods, splitting rails. Stooping down to pick up his axe to cut a sliver, he turned around and found himself confronted by a bear standing upon its hind legs, with fore paws extended, as if to give him a hug. He declined the offer, struck the bear in the head with the axe, but making a glancing stroke, failed to penetrate the skull. The bear fled, bearing off the axe, which was held by the wounded skin and flesh.

Asahel Sprague shot one effectually in the night, while he had hold of one of his hogs in the fattening pen. James Parker drove one out of his corn field in the day time, followed close upon his heels, and broke his back with a hand-spike as he was getting over the fence. The second year of our residence in Bloomfield, one day when my father had gone to training, a bear came within six or eight rods of the house and caught a hog. My mother and eldest sister frightened him from his prey. So much for bear stories, and enough perhaps, though I could tell a dozen more of them.

Among the pleasures of Pioneer life, there was nothing I used to enjoy more than to see the flocks of deer bounding over the openings when we were out for the cows, or whenever we went a little way from the clearings. Many enjoyed the sport of hunting them, and some were successful enough to make the sport profitable; killed enough to supply themselves and their neighbors with meat, and themselves with breeches from the dressed skins. By the way, I would remark here, that at that early day, the openings about Bloomfield were so clear of trees and bushes, that in many places deer would be seen from a half to three quarters of a mile off. The openings were burned over every spring, and every season they would be green with the tender "bent grass," which made good feed for the cattle and deer. In a few years, however, improvements were so extended that the inhabitants ceased firing the openings, and soon they began to be covered with oak and hickory bushes. I know of two localities where the ground was free from trees or bushes fifty years ago, that would produce as many cords of wood now per acre, as the heaviest timbered native forests.

Although the privations of the first settlers were numerous and hard to bear, having often to go without meat and sometimes bread; obliged to go on horseback to mill, often fifteen and twenty miles; to go with poor shoes and no-moccasins in the winter, and bare-foot in the summer; yet, notwithstanding all this, to their praise be it recorded, they showed a considerable zeal in the support of schools for their children. When our family arrived in March, 1794, there was a school in the north east corner of the town, near the residence of the Adams and Nortons, kept by Liana Adams. Four of the oldest of our family entered the school as soon as we arrived. Herman Norton and Lot Roe, who afterwards "went through college," were members of this school. The next spring, a seven by ten log school house was built about one and a half miles south west of the centre, where a school was kept by Lavinia* Post, who afterwards married William H. Bush, and removed to Batavia.* During the summer of '95 and '96, Betsey Sprague

* The wife of the author is a daughter of his. After leaving Bloomfield in 1806, he built mills at a place which took his name, on the Tenawanda Creek, three miles west of Batavia. He was a Pioneer of Bloomfield, and also upon the Holland Purchase. He captid the first pound of wool by machinery; dressed the first piece of cloth, and made the first ream of paper west of Caledonia. He still survives in the 78th year of his age.

kept this school. There was then but two schools in the town. Miss Sprague kept the same school in the winter of '96 and '7. My eldest brother and myself attended this school in the winter, walking two and a half miles through the snow across the openings; not with "old shoes and clouted" on our feet, but with rags tied on them to go and come in, taking them off in school hours. The young men and boys, the young women and girls, for three miles around, attended this school. John Fairchild, west of the Centre, sent his children.

In the fall of '97, a young man with a pack on his back, came into the neighborhood of Gann, Goss, King, Lamberton, and the Bronsons, two miles east of the south west school, and one mile north of my father's, and introduced himself as a school teacher from the land of steady habits; proposing that they form a new district, and he would keep their school. The proposition was accepted, and all turned out late in the season, the young man volunteering his assistance, and built another log school house in which he kept a school in the winter of '97 and '8, and the ensuing winter. The school was as full both winters as the house could hold. Two young men, John Lamberton and Jesse Tainter, studied surveying both winters, and in 1800, Lamberton commenced surveying for the Holland Company, doing a larger amount of surveying upon their Purchase than any other man. He now lives near Pine Hill, a few miles north of Batavia. The first winter, my father sent seven to this school, and the second winter eight. In this school, most of us learned for the first time that the earth was round, and turned round upon its axis once in 24 hours, and revolves around the sun once a year. I shall never forget the teacher's manner of illustrating these facts:—For the want of a globe, he took an old hat, the crown having "gone up to seed," doubled in the old limber trim, marked with chalk a line round the middle for the equator, and another representing the ecliptic, and held it up to the scholars, with the "seed end" towards them, and turning it, commenced the two revolutions. The simultaneous shout which went up from small to great, was a "caution" to all young school masters how they introduce "new things" to young Pioneers. Although the school master was a favorite with parents and pupils, the "most orthodox" thought he was talking of some thing of which he knew nothing, and was teaching for sound doctrine what was contrary to the common sense of all; for every body knew that the earth was flat and immovably fixed, and that the sun rose and set every day. That teacher finally settled in Bloomfield, was afterwards many years a Justice of the Peace; for one term, member of the legislature; and for one term, a member of Congress; now known as Gen. Micah Brooks, of Brook's Grove, Livingston county.

The first meeting house in the Genesee country, was erected in Bloomfield, in 1801. A church and society had been formed some years before; Seth Williston and Jehoshaph Bushnell, missionaries from the east, labored occasionally and sometimes continually in Bloomfield, from 1797 to 1800. An extensive revival in that and adjoining towns continued under their labors for several years, and in 1801, they raised a large meeting house. Robert Powers was the builder. Meetings were held in it summer and winter, when it was in an unfinished condition, and without warming it, until 1807 and '8, when it was finished; Andrew Colton being the architect.

Ancient occupancy was distinctly traced at the period of early settlement

in Bloomfield. On the farm of Nathan Waldron, and on others contiguous, in the north-east corner of the town, near where the Adams, Nortons and Rues first settled, many gun-barrels, hooks and sick-barrels, of French construction, and tomahawks, were plowed up and used for making or mending agricultural implements. I have seen as many as 15 or 20 barrels at a time, at Waldron's blacksmith shop, while he and David Reese, his journeyman, were working them up. I once saw Reese pointing out in the roof of the shop, the effect of a ball fired from an old barrel while heating it in the forge; his hearers wondering how the powder retained its strength for so long a period, the barrel having lain under ground.

There were many old Indian burying grounds in Bloomfield, and many of the graves were opened in search of curiosities. In some of them, hatchets were found, but generally nothing but bones. In ploughing the ground, bones, skulls, and sometimes hatchets, were found. The stones used by the Indians for skinning their game and peeling bark, were found in various localities. These stones were very hard, worked off smooth, and brought down to an edge at one end, and generally from four to six inches long. Pestle stones used for pounding their corn were frequently found. They were from one to one and a half feet in length, round and smooth, with a round point at both ends, something like a rolling pin; and they were frequently used by the settlers for that purpose.

The venerable Deacon Stephen Dudley, who settled in Bloomfield as early as 1799, still survives. In the summer of 1848 he informed the author that there were then less than twenty persons living in Bloomfield, who were adults when he came there. He also informed the author, that Gen. Fellows built the first framed barn west of Canandaigua; and as an instance of the value of lands in an early day, he related an anecdote:—Gen. Fellows had no building spot on the road, on his large tract, but an acre of land on a lot adjoining was desirable for that purpose. Preposing to buy it, he asked the owner his price, who replied:—"I declare, General, if you take an acre right out of my farm, I think you should give me as much as *fifty cents for it.*"

In 1798 a second religious society was organized in Bloomfield, called the "North Congregational Society." The first trustees were:—Jared Boughton, Joseph Brace, and Thomas Hawley.

MICAH BROOKS.

Micah Brooks, was a son of David Brooks, A. M., of Cheshire, Conn. The father was a graduate of Yale College. He belonged

to the first quota of men furnished by the town of Cheshire; entering the service first as a private soldier, but soon becoming the quarter master of his regiment. He was a member of the legislature of Connecticut, at the period of the surrender of Burgoyne, and a delegate to the State Convention that adopted the U. S. constitution at Hartford. After his first military service, he alternated in discharging the duties of a minister and then of a soldier — going out in cases of exigency with his shouldered musket; especially at the burning of Danbury and the attack upon New Haven. After the Revolution, he retired to his farm in Cheshire, where he died in 1802.

Micah Brooks, in 1796, having just arrived at the age of twenty-one years, set out from his father's house to visit the new region, the fame of which was then spreading throughout New England. After a pretty thorough exploration of western New York, he returned to Whitestown, and visited the country again in the fall of 1797, stopping at Bloomfield and engaging as a school teacher; helping to build his own log school house. ¶ See reminiscences of Mr. James Sperry. Returning to Cheshire, he spent a part of a summer in studying surveying with Professor Meigs, with the design of entering into the service of the Holland Company. In the fall of '98, he returned, and passing Bloomfield, extended his travels to the Falls of Niagara on foot, pursuing the old Niagara trail; meeting with none of his race, except travellers, and Poudry, at Tonawanda, with whom and his Squaw wife, he remained over night. After visiting the Falls — seeing for himself the wonder of which he had read so imperfect descriptions in New England school books, he went up the Canada side to Fort Erie, crossing the river at Black Rock. The author gives a graphic account of his morning's walk from Black Rock to where Buffalo now is, in his own language, as he is quite confident he could not improve it: — "It was a bright, clear morning in November. In my lonely walk along the bank of the Lake, I looked out upon its vast expanse of water, that unstirred by the wind, was as transparent as a sea of glass. There was no marks of civilization upon its shores, no American sail to float upon its surface. Standing to contemplate the scene, — here, I reflected, the goodness of a Supreme Being has prepared a new creation, ready to be occupied by the people of his choice. At what period will the shores of this beautiful Lake be adorned with dwel-

lings and all the appointments of civilized life, as now seen upon the shores of the Atlantic? I began to tax my mathematical powers to see when the east would become so overstocked with population, as to be enabled to furnish a surplus to fill up the unoccupied space between me and my New England friends. It was a hard question to solve; and I concluded if my New England friends could see me, a solitary wanderer, upon the shores of a far off western Lake, indulging in such wild speculations, they would advise me to return and leave such questions to future generations. But I have often thought that I had then, a presentiment of a *part* of what half a century has accomplished." Walking on to the rude log tavern of Palmer, which was one of the then, but two or three habitations, on all the present site of Buffalo, he added to his stock of bread and cheese, and struck off again into the wilderness, on the Indian trail, — slept one night in the surveyor's camp of James Smedley, and after getting lost in the dense dark woods where Batavia now is, reached the transit line, where Mr. Ellicott's hands were engaged in erecting their primitive log store house.

Renewing his school teaching in Bloomfield, in '99, he purchased the farm where he resided for many years. It was at a period of land speculation, and inflation of prices, and he paid the high price of \$6 per acre. Boarding at Deacon Bronson's — working for him two days in the week for his board, and for others during haying and harvesting, he commenced a small improvement.

Returning to Connecticut, he kept a school for the winter, and in the spring came out with some building materials; building a small framed house in the course of the season. In 1801 he brought out two sisters as house keepers, one of whom as has been stated, became the wife of Col. Asher Saxton, and the other — Curtiss, a settler in Gorham. In 1802 he married the daughter of Deacon Abel Hall of Lyme, Conn., a sister of Mrs. Clark Peck of Bloomfield.

He became a prominent, public spirited, and useful Pioneer. Receiving in one of the earliest years of his residence in the new country, a military commission, he passed through the different gradations to that of Major General. Appointed to the office of justice of the peace in 1806, he was an assistant justice of the county courts in 1808, and was the same year elected to the Legislature from Ontario county. In 1800, he was an associate commissioner

with Hugh McNair and Mathew Warner, to lay out a road from Canandaigua to Olean ; and another from Hornellsville to the mouth of the Genesee River. In the war of 1812, he was out on the frontier in two campaigns, serving with the rank of Colonel. In 1814 was elected to Congress. He was a member of the State Convention in 1822, and a Presidential Elector in 1824. He was for twenty years a Judge of the Ontario county courts.

In 1823, he purchased in connection with Jellis Clute and John B. Gibson, of Mary Jemison, commonly called the White Woman, the Gardeau tract on the Genesee River. Selecting a fine portion of it for a large farm and residence, on the road from Mount Morris to Nunda, he removed to it soon after the purchase. The small village and place of his residence is called "Brook's Grove."

Gen. Brooks is now 75 years of age, retaining his mental faculties unimpaired ; as an evidence that his physical constitution holds out well, after a long life of toil and enterprise, it may be remarked that in the most inclement month of the last winter, he made a journey to New England and the city of New York. His present wife was a sister of the first wife of Frederick Smith, Esq. of Palmyra, and of the second wife of Gen. Mills, of Mount Morris. His sons are Lorenzo H. Brooks, of Canadea, and Micah W. Brooks, residing at the homestead. A daughter is the wife of Henry O'Rielly Esq., formerly the editor of the Rochester Daily Advertiser, and P. M. of Rochester ; now a resident of New York, widely known as the enterprising proprietor of thousands of miles of Telegraph lines in different States of the Union ; another, is the wife of Mr. George Ellwanger, one of the enterprising proprietors of Mount Hope Garden and Nursery ; another the wife of Theodore F. Hall, formerly of Rochester, now of Brook's Grove. He has two unmarried daughters, one of whom is a well educated mute, and is now a teacher in the deaf and dumb institution at Hartford, Conn.

The history of Micah Brooks furnishes a remarkable instance of a man well educated, and yet unschooled. The successful teacher, the competent Justice and Judge — as a member of our State and National councils, the drafter of bills and competent debater — the author of able essays upon internal improvements, and other subjects — even now in his old age, a vigorous writer, and a frequent contributor to the public press : — never enjoyed, in all, a twelve months of school tuition ! The small library of his father, a good

native intellect, intercourse with the world, a laudable ambition and self reliance, supplied the rest.

The original purchasers of that part of the old town of Bloomfield, which is now the town of West Bloomfield, (or 10,560 acres of it,) were Robert Taft, Amos Hall, Nathan Marvin and Ebenezer Curtis. All of these, it is presumed, became settlers in 1789, '90; as was also Jasper P. Sears, Peregrine Gardner, Samuel Miller, John Algur, Sylvanus Thayer.

Amos Hall was from Guilford, Conn. He was connected with the earliest military organizations, as a commissioned officer, and rose to the rank of Major General, succeeding William Wadsworth. At one period during the war of 1812, he was the commander-in-chief upon the Niagara frontier. He also held several civil offices; and in all early years was a prominent and useful citizen. He died in 1827, aged 66 years. The surviving sons are: — David S. Hall, merchant, Geneva; Thomas Hall, superintendant of Rochester and Syracuse R. Road; Morris Hall, Cass county Michigan; Heman Hall, a resident of Pennsylvania. An only daughter became the wife of Josiah Wendle, of Bloomfield.

Gen. Hall was the deputy Marshall, and took the U. S. census in Ontario county, in 1790, in July and August, it is presumed. His roll has been preserved by the family, and will be found in the Appendix, (No. 9.)

HONEOYE—PITTSTOWN—NOW RICHMOND.

In April, 1787, three young men, Gideon Pitts, James Goodwin, and Asa Simmons left their native place, (Dighton, Mass.) to seek a new home in the wilderness. They came up the Susquehannah and located at Newtown, now Elmira. Here, uniting with other adventurers they erected the first white man's habitation upon the site of the present village; and during the summer and fall planted and raised Indian corn. Returning to Dighton, their favorable representations of the country induced the organization of the "Dighton Company" for the purpose of purchasing a large tract as soon as Phelps and Gorham had perfected their title. To be in season, Calvin Jacobs was deputed to attend the treaty with Gideon Pitts and select the tract. As soon as the townships were surveyed, the com-

pany purchased 46,080 acres of the land embraced in Townships 9 in the 3d, 4th, and 5th Ranges: being most of what was afterwards embraced in the towns of Richmond, Bristol, and the fraction of number nine, on the west side of Canandaigua lake. The title was taken for the company, in the name of Calvin Jacobs and John Smith.

In 1789, Capt. Peter Pitts, his son William, Dea. George Coddington, and his son George, Calvin Jacobs, and John Smith, came via the Susquehannah route to the new purchase, and surveyed what is now the town of Richmond and Bristol. One of the party, (the Rev. John Smith,) on their arrival at Canandaigua, preached the first sermon there, and first in all the Genesee country, save those preached by Indian missionaries, by the chaplain at Fort Niagara and at Brant's Indian church at Lewiston. The lands having been divided by lottery, Capt. Pitts drew for his share, 3000 acres, at the foot of Honeoye lake, embracing the flats, and a cleared field which had been the site of an Indian village destroyed by Sullivan's army.

In the spring of 1790, Gideon and William Pitts commenced the improvement of this tract. Coming in with a four ox team, they managed to make a shelter for themselves with the boards of their sled, ploughed up a few acres of open flats, and planted some spring crops, from which they got a good yield, preparatory to the coming in of the remainder of the family. Withal, fattening some hogs that William had procured in Cayuga county, driving them in, and carrying his own, and their provisions upon his back. Capt. Peter Pitts, started with the family in October, in company with John Coddington and family. They came from Taunton River in a chartered vessel, as far as Albany, and from Schenectady by water, landing at Geneva. The tediousness of the journey, may be judged from the fact that starting from Dighton on the 11th of October they did not arrive at Pitt's flats until the 2d day of December. A comfortable log house had been provided by Gideon and William. The family consisted of the old gentleman, his wife, and ten children, besides hired help. For three years they constituted the only family in town; their neighbors, the Wadsworths at Big Tree, Capt. Taft in West Bloomfield, and the Coddingtons and Goodings, in Bristol.

The House of this early family being on the Indian trail from Canandaigua to Genesee river — which constituted the early trav-

elled road for the white settlers—"Capt. Pitts" and "Pitts Flats" had a wide notoriety in all primitive days. It was the stopping place of the Wadsworths and Jones, of Thomas Morris and in fact of all of the early prominent Pioneers of that region. Louis Phillipe, when from a wanderer in the backwoods of America, he had become the occupant of a throne, remembered that he had spent a night in the humble log house of Capt. Pitts. The Duke Liancourt, strolling every where through this region, in 1795, with his companions went from Canandaigua to make the patriarch of the backwoods a visit.*

The Indians upon their trail, camping and hunting upon their old grounds, the flats, and the up lands around the Honeoye Lake were the almost constant neighbors of Capt. Pitts, in the earliest years. Generally they were peaceable and well disposed; a party of them however, most of whom were intoxicated, on their way to the Pickering treaty at Canandaigua in 1794, attacked the women of the family who refused them liquor, and Capt. Pitts, his son's and hired men, coming to the rescue, a severe conflict ensued. The assailed attacking the assailants with clubs, shovels and tongs, soon vanquished them though peace was not restored, until Horatio Jones, fortunately arriving on his way to the treaty, interfered.

The first training in the Genesee country was held at Captain Pitt's house; a militia company, commanded by Captain William Wadsworth; and Pitt's Flats was for many years a training ground.

Captain Peter Pitts died in 1812, aged 74 years. His eldest son Gideon, who was several times a member of the Legislature, and a delegate to the state convention in 1822, died in 1829 aged 63 years. The only survivors of the sons and daughters of Capt. Pitts, are, Peter Pitts, and Mrs. Blackmer. A son, Samuel Pitts,

*The Duke has made a record of it:—"We set out with Blacons to visit an estate belonging to our Mr. Pitt, of which we had heard much talk through the country. On our arrival we found the house crowded with Presbyterians; its owner attending to a noisy, tedious harangue, delivered by a minister with such violence of elocution, that he appeared all over in a perspiration" [It was the Rev. Zadock Hunt.] "We found it very difficult to obtain some oats for our horses and a few hasty morsels for our dinner." "The Duke however admired the fine herd of cattle; and with characteristic gallantry, adds, that "a view of the handsome married and unmarried women" that he saw attending the meeting, "was even more delectable to our senses than the fine rural scenery." Rev. Zadock Hunt, who was not so fortunate as a part of his hearers in falling into the good graces of the Duke, Mrs. Blackman, a surviving daughter of Capt. Pitts, says:—"was an old man then. He held meetings at my father's house as early as '63, coming at stated times. He also held meetings in Canandaigua and Bristol." She differs with the Duke—says they "used to have good meetings, much better ones than we do now."

was an early and prominent citizen of Livonia. The descendants of Capt. Pitts are numerous. Levi Blackmer settled in Pittstown in '95, is still alive, aged 78 years, his wife, (the daughter of Capt. Pitts,) aged 72. In the summer of 1818, the boy who had driven an ox-team to the Genesee country, in 1795, was at work on the highway.

The Duke Liancourt, said that Capt. Pitts had to "go to mill with a sled, twelve miles"; this was to Norton's Mills. In '98, Thomas Morris built a grist and saw mill on the outlet of Hemlock Lake, and in 1802 Oliver Phelps built a grist mill on Mill Creek.

In '95, Drs. Lemuel and Cyrus Chipman, from Paulet, Vermont, and their brother-in-law, Philip Reed, came into Pittstown, with their families. They came all the way by sleighing, with horse and ox teams. The teams were driven by Levi Blackmer, Pierce Chamberlain, Asa Dennison, and Isaac Adams, all of whom became residents of the town. They were eighteen days on the road.

Lemuel Chipman had been a surgeon in the army of the Revolution. He was one of a numerous family of that name in Vermont, a brother of the well known lawyer, and law professor in Middlebury College. In all early years he was a prominent, public spirited and useful helper in the new settlements; one of the best specimens of that strong minded, energetic race of men that were the founders of settlement and civil institutions in the Genesee country. He was an early member of the Legislature, and a judge of the courts of Ontario county; was twice elector of President and Vice President; and was a State Senator. Soon after 1800, he purchased, in connection with Oliver Phelps, the town of Sheldon, in Wyoming county, and the town was settled pretty much under his auspices. He removed to that town in 1828, where he died at an advanced age. His sons were Lemuel Chipman of Sheldon, deceased, father of Mrs. Guy H. Salisbury of Buffalo; Fitch Chipman of Sheldon; and Samuel Chipman of Rochester, the well known pioneer in the temperance movement—now the editor of the *Star of Temperance*. A daughter became the wife of Dr. Cyrus Wells of Oakland county, Michigan, and another the wife of Dr. E. W. Cheney, of Canandaigua.

Dr. Cyrus Chipman emigrated at an early period to Pontiac, Michigan, where he was a Pioneer, and where his descendants principally reside.

In the year 1796, Roswell Turner came from Dorset, Vermont, took land on the outlet of Hemlock Lake, cleared a few acres, built a log house, and in the following winter moved on his family, and his father and mother. The family had previously emigrated from Connecticut to Vermont. After a long and tedious journey, with jaded horses, they arrived at Cayuga Lake, where they were destined to encounter a climax of hardship and endurance. Crossing upon the ice on horseback, a part of the family, the Pioneer, his mother and two small children, broke through in a cold day, and were with difficulty saved from drowning by the help of those who came to their rescue from the shore. Arrived at their new home, sickness soon added to their afflictions, and two deaths occurred in the family the first year. The residence of the family was changed in a year or two to the neighborhood of Allen's Hill, where they remained until 1804, and then, as if they had not seen enough of the hardships of Pioneer life, pushed on to the Holland Purchase, into the dark hemlock woods of the west part of Wyoming, the Pioneer making his own road, west of Warsaw, thirteen miles; he and his family being the first that settled in all the region west of Warsaw, south of Attica and the old Buffalo road, and east of Hamburg; — pages could be filled with the details of the hardships of the first lonely winter, its deep snows, the breaking of roads out to Wadsworth's Flats, and digging corn from under the snow to save a famishing stock of cattle too weak to subsist upon browse, and other incidents which would show the most rugged features of backwoods life; but it is out of the present beat. Roswell Turner died in 1809. His sons were, the late Judge Horace S. Turner of Sheldon; the author of this work; and a younger brother, Chipman Phelps Turner of Aurora, Erie county. Daughters — Mrs. Farnum of Bennington; Mrs. Sanders of Aurora; and the first wife of Pliny Sexton, of Palmyra.

PITTSTOWN — REMINISCENCES OF MRS. FARNUM.

I remember very well, that when early deaths occurred in our family, no seasoned boards could be obtained for coffins, short of taking down a partition of our log-house. The second winter, myself, a sister, and young brother, went to school two miles and a half through the woods, into what is now Livonia. We went upon the old Big Tree Road, and mostly had to

beat our own path, for but a few sleighs passed during the winter. There was but one family — that of Mr. Briggs — on the way.

I think it was in the summer of 1802, that a little daughter of one of our neighbors, Sewal Boyd, three years old, was lost in the woods. A lively sympathy was created in the neighborhood, the woods were scoured, the outlet waded, and the flood wood removed; on the third day, she was found in the woods alive, having some berries in her hand, which the instincts of hunger had caused her to pick. The musketoes had preyed upon her until they had caused running sores upon her face and arms, and the little wanderer had passed through a terrific thunder storm.

The Indians, if they were guilty of occasional outrage, had some of the finest impulses of the human heart. The wife of a son of Capt. Pitts, who had always been kind to them, was upon her death bed; hearing of it, the Squaws came and wailed around the house, with all the intense grief they exhibit when mourning the death of kindred.

Upon "Phelps' Flats," as they were called, near the Old Indian Castle, at the foot of Honeye Lake, in the first ploughing, many brass kettles, guns, beads, &c., were found. An old Squaw that had formerly resided upon the Flats, said that the approach of Sullivan's army was not discovered by them until they were seen coming over the hill near where Capt. Pitts built his house. They were quietly braiding their corn, and boiling their succotash. She said there was a sudden desertion of their village; all took to flight and left the invaders an uncontested field. One Indian admitted that he never looked back until he reached Buffalo Creek.

In the earliest years, deer would come in flocks, and feed upon our green wheat; Elisha Pratt, who was a hunter, made his home at our house, and I have known him to kill six and seven in a day. Bears would come and take the hogs from directly before the doors of the new settlers—sometimes in open day light. I saw one who had seized a valuable sow belonging to Peter Allen, and retreated to the woods, raising her with his paws clenched in her spine, and beating her against a tree to deprive her of life; persisting even after men had approached and were attacking him with clubs.


I could relate many wolf stories, but one will perhaps be so incredible that it will suffice. A Mr. Hurlburt, that lived in the west part of the town, was riding through our neighborhood, on a winter evening, and passing a strip of woods near our house, a pack of wolves surrounded him, but his dog diverted their attention until he escaped. While sitting upon his horse, telling us the story, the pack came within fifteen rods of the house, and stopping upon a knoll almost deafened us with their howl. Retreating into the woods a short distance, they seemed by the noise to have a fight among themselves, and in the morning, it was ascertained that they had actually killed and eat one of their own number! *

Capt. Harmon, built a barn in 1802 or '3; at the raising, an adopted son of his, by the name of Butts, was killed outright, and Isaac Bishop was stunned, supposed to be dead. He recovered, but with the entire loss of the fac-

* This is not incredible: other similar cases are given upon good authority. Famishing, ravenous; a fight occurs, and tasting blood, they know no distinction between their own and other species.—AUTHOR.

ally of memory. Although he had possessed a good education, he had lost it all, even the names of his children, his wife and farming utensils. His wife re-taught him the rudiments of education, beginning with the A B C, and the names of things.

Rattle snakes were too common a thing to speak of; but we had a few of another kind of snake, that I have never heard of read of elsewhere. It had a horn with which it would make a noise like the rattle of a rattle snake.

In 1796 and '7, Peter Allen and his family; his brother Nathaniel, and the father, Moses Allen, became residents of the town. The father and mother died in early years. Peter Allen was connected with early military organizations, and rose to the rank of a Brig. Gen. He was in command of a Regiment at the battle of Queenston, in which he was made a prisoner; afterwards a member of the Legislature from Ontario.  See Peter Allen and "Men. Fellows," Hammond's Political History. In 1816 he emigrated to Indiana, becoming one of the pioneer settlers of Terra Haute; a portion of his original farm, being now embraced in the village. He died in 1837, many of his descendants are residents of Terra Haute. Nathaniel Allen was the primitive blacksmith of Pittstown; working first as a journeyman in Canandaigua, and then starting a shop, first in the neighborhood of Pitts Flats, and afterwards, on the Hill, that assumed his name. He was an early officer of militia, deputy sheriff, member of the legislature. In the war of 1812, he successively filled the post of commissioner and pay master, on the Niagara Frontier. After the war, he was sheriff of Ontario county, and in later years, for two terms, its representative in Congress. He died at Louisville, Ky., in 1833, where he was a contractor for the construction of the canal around the Falls of the Ohio. Of five sons, but one survives. Dr. Orrin Allen, a resident of Virginia. An only daughter was the first wife of the Hon. R. L. Rose, who is the occupant of the homestead of the family on Allen's Hill. The family were from Dutchess county. The daughters of Moses Allen became the wives of Elihu Gifford, of Easton, Washington county, Samuel Woodworth of Mayville, Mont. co., Samuel Robinson of Newark, Wayne co., Fairing Wilson, of Stockbridge, Mass., Roswell Turner of Pittstown, Ont., and Stephen Durice of Palmyra, Wayne county.

Sylvester Curtis erected the first distillery in town; and James

Henderson who was a pioneer at the head of Conesus Lake, was an early landlord upon the Hill.

David Akin, Wm. Baker, Thomas Wilson, James Hazen, Silas Whitney, Cyrus Wells, the Johnsons, David Winton, Nathaniel Harmon, William Warner, were settlers in earliest years.

Philip Reed, who came in with the Chipmans, died about twenty years ago. His surviving sons are Col. John F. Reed, Silas Reed, Wheeler Reed, Wm. F. Reed, and Philip Reed, all residing on and near the old homestead.

As early as 1796 or '7, Elijah and Stiles Parker, Elisha Belknap, Col. John Green, John Garlinghouse, became residents of the town. The four first named, emigrated many years since to Kentucky, and in late years some of them have pioneered still further on, over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon. Joseph Garlinghouse, a son of the early pioneer, John Garlinghouse, an ex-sheriff of Ontario county, a prominent enterprising farmer, still resides in Richmond. A son of his married a daughter of Erastus Spalding, the early pioneer at the mouth of Genesee River; another, the daughter of David Stout, a pioneer in Victor and Perinton. Daughters, are Mrs. Comstock, of Avon, and Mrs. Sheldon, of Le Roy. Mrs. Briggs and Mrs. Hopkins, of Richmond, are daughters of John Garlinghouse; and a son and daughter reside in Iowa.

Asa Dennison who is named in connection with the Chipmans, still survives, a resident of Chautauque county.

GORHAM.

In all of the old town of Gorham, at first Easton, (what was is now Gorham and Hopewell,) a few settlers began to drop in along on the main road from Canandaigua to Geneva, as early as 1790. In July of that year, there were the families of Daniel Gates, Daniel Warren, — Sweets, — Platts, Samuel Day, and Israel Chapin jr. who had commenced the erection of the mills upon the outlet. Mr. Day was the father of David M. Day, the early apprentice to the printing business with John A. Stephens in Canandaigua, and the founder of what is now one of the prominent and leading newspapers of western New York, the Buffalo Commer-

cial Advertiser. Daniel Warren emigrated to Sheldon, now Wyoming co., in 1810 or '11, where he died within a few years; Pomeroy Warren, of Attica, Wyoming co., is a son of his, and Mrs. Harry Hamilton, near Little Fort, Illinois, is a daughter.

Daniel Gates and his son Daniel Gates jr. were from Stonington Conn., both were out with Mr. Phelps in his primitive advent. They purchased land in Gorham, paying 1s 6d per acre. The old gentleman died in 1831, aged 87 years. He was the first collector of taxes of the town of Gorham. His descendants are numerous, a large family of sons and daughters becoming heads of families. His daughters became the wives of Asahel Burchard, the early pioneer of Lima; Asa Benton, Shubel Clark and James Wyckoff of Gorham. Daniel Gates, jr. died in 1812; his wife was a sister of the wife of Major Miller the early pioneer near Buffalo, and of the wife of Capt. Follett; Daniel Gates of Palmyra is a son.

Those whose names will follow, were all residents of Gorham as early as 1796 or '7:—James Wood, Perley Gates, — Ingalls, Frederick Miller, Silas Reed, Capt. Frederick Follett, Lemuel, George, Isaiah and William Babcock; Joseph and James Birdseye; John Warren.

Major Frederick Miller left Gorham soon after 1800, and was a Pioneer at Black Rock, the early landlord and keeper of the ferry at that point. William Miller of Buffalo, is his son; and Mrs. Heman B. Potter is a daughter. Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Follett and Mrs. Daniel Gates, jr., were daughters of George Babcock.

Silas Reed died in 1834, at the age of 76 years; an only surviving son, is Seneca Reed of Greece; a daughter became the wife of Levi Taylor, an early Pioneer of Lockport, now a resident of Ionia, Michigan.

Frederick Follett, in 1778, was among the border settlers of Wyoming Valley. In company with Lieut. Buck, Messrs. Stephen Pettibone and Elisha Williams, on the Kingston side of the river, within sight of the Wilkesbarre Fort, the party were suddenly attacked by twenty Indians. Three of the four were murdered and scalped. Mr. Follett was pierced by two balls, one in either shoulder, and stabbed nine times with spears. Still having consciousness, he fell on his face — being unable to escape — held his breath as much as possible, and feigned death, in hopes he might escape further mutilation at the hands of his ruthless pursuers. But he was not thus

to be spared. The Indians came up to him, and without any unnecessary delay or useless ceremony, scalped him as he lay in his gore and agony; and but for the approach of assistance from the fort, would no doubt have ended his days with the tomahawk. The spear wounds were severe and deep—one of which penetrated his stomach, so that its contents came out at his side! His case was deemed hopeless, but kindness prompted all the aid that medical and surgical skill could afford. He was placed in charge of Dr. William Hooker Smith, who did all in his power to save him—and his efforts were crowned with success, and he became a hearty and well man. He was then young and full of vigor, and never experienced any particular inconvenience from these severe wounds, except occasional pain from one of the bullets, which was never extracted from his body, and extreme sensitiveness to the slightest touch, or even the air, of that portion of the head from which the scalp was removed.

He afterwards entered the naval service—was captured, and taken to Halifax, and confined in a dungeon six months; was released; entered the service again, and was twice captured by the British, and eventually returned to his native country, to Dalton, Berkshire county, Mass., from whence he removed at an early day to Gorham.

It is a somewhat singular coincidence that his eldest son—now dead—who entered the naval service as a midshipman, in 1812, was captured on board the Chesapeake in her engagement with the Shannon, and was also imprisoned in the same dungeon six months that his father had occupied during our first conflict with the powers of England.

“Capt. Follett” is frequently mentioned in the manuscripts of Charles Williamson, and would seem to have been in his employ as early as 1794. His surviving sons are, :—Orrin Follett, an early printer and editor at Batavia, and a member of the legislature from Genesee county, now a resident of Sandusky, Ohio; his second wife, a niece of James D. Bemis, of Canandaigua; Nathan Follett of Batavia; and Frederick Follett, of Batavia, the successor of his brother, as a printer and editor—for a long period honorable associated with the public press of the Genesee country—and at present, one of the Board of Canal Commissioners of this State; having in immediate charge the western division of the Erie Canal,

and the Genesee Valley Canal. A son of his, is Lieut. Frederick M. Follett, of the U. S. army, a graduate of West Point; a circumstance worthy of mention, as the patronage of that national school is not always as well bestowed, as in this instance, upon the descendant of one so eminently entitled to be remembered for services, sacrifices and sufferings, unparalleled in our Revolutionary annals.

BRISTOL.


Gamaliel Wilder and Joseph Gilbert were the Pioneers of Bristol. About the period that Mr. Phelps was holding his treaty with the Indians, in 1788, they located at the Old Indian Orchard, and commenced improvements. In 1790, Mr. Wilder built the small Pioneer Mill that has been often named in other connections. He died many years since. Joseph Gilbert was living a few months since, at the age of 93 years; if living now, he is the oldest surviving resident of the Genesee country.

Deacon William Gooding and George Coddington were among the few who wintered in the Genesee country in 1789, '90. Both families have been widely known, and few have been more useful in the work of subduing the wilderness, and promoting the healthful progress of religion, education and sound moral principles. The descendants of George Coddington are numerous, and mostly reside in the early home of their Pioneer ancestor. William T. Coddington is the only surviving son. Ebenezer Gooding, of Henrietta, is a son of the early Pioneer; another son, Stephen, resides in Illinois. Deacon John Gooding, another son, was one of the early founders of Lockport, Niagara county, where he died in 1838 or '9.

The earliest record of a town meeting in Bristol, is that of 1797. In that year, William Gooding was chosen Supervisor, and John Coddington, Town Clerk. Other town officers:—Fauner Coddington, Nathan Allen, Nathaniel Fisher, James Gooding, Jabez Hicks, Moses Porter, Amos Barber, Alden Sears, jr., George Coddington, Stephen Sisson, Amos Rice, Ephraim Wilder, Nathan Hatch, Peter Ganyard, Elizur Hills, Theophilus Allen, Elnathan Gooding, John Simmons. Other citizens of the town in that year, were:—Daniel Burt, Moses Porter, Jonathan Wilder, Theophilus Allen.

Elnathan Gooding, Chauncey Allen, Samuel Mallory, Ephraim Francis, Seth Hathaway, Constant Simmons, James Carl, Zebulon Mark.

MANCHESTER.

Township 12, R. 2, originally a part of Farmington, now Manchester; settlement commenced as early as 1793. Stephen Jared, Joel Phelps, and Joab Gillett, were the first settlers.  For Stephen Phelps, see Palmyra. Gillett, in early years, moved to No. 9, Canandaigua.

Nathan Pierce, from Berkshire, was a settler in 1795. But small openings had then been made in the forest. Mr. Pierce erected a log house, had split bass wood floors, no gable ends, doors, or windows; neither boards or glass to be had; and "wolves and bears were his near neighbors." Coming from Parker's Mills through the woods at night, with his grist on his back, a pack of wolves followed him to his door. Brice Aldrich, a Pioneer of Farmington, was taking some fresh meat to Canandaigua on horseback, when a wolf stoutly contended with him for a share of it. There were many Indian hunters camped along on the outlet; some times the whites would carry loads of venison to Canandaigua for them, where it would be bought up, and the hams dried and sent to an eastern market. Trapping upon the outlet was profitable for both Indians and whites.

Mr. Pierce was supervisor of Farmington for fifteen years, and an early magistrate; he died in 1814; his widow is now living, at the age of 87 years. His surviving sons are:—Nathan Pierce, of Marshall, Michigan, Darius Pierce, of Washtenaw, Ezra Pierce of Manchester. Daughters:—Mrs. Peter Mitchell, of Manchester, Mrs. David Arnold, of Farmington. John McLouth, from Berkshire, came in '95, was a brother-in-law of Nathan Pierce; died in 1820. Joshua Van Fleet, was one of the earliest; was an officer of the Revolution, a member of the legislature from Ontario; a judge and magistrate, and the first supervisor of Manchester. He is 90 years of age, a resident of Marion, Ohio. First merchant, Nathan Barlow, a son of Abner Barlow, of Canandaigua; resides now in Michigan. First physician, James Stewart. Nathan

Jones came in 1799, died in 1839; Samuel and Nathan Jones are his sons; Mrs. Dr. Ashley, of Lyons, and Mrs. Simmons of Phelps, are his daughters. Jedediah Dewey, from Suffield, Conn., came in '98, is still living. Hooker and Joseph Sawyer, were early. Gilbert Howland, a brother of Job Howland, of Farmington, settled in Manchester in 1800; purchasing a large tract of land. The Howlands were from Berkshire; Gilbert died in 1830. Nicholas Howland, of Farmington, and Jonathan Howland of Adrian, Michigan, are his sons. Mrs. Silas Brown of Hamburg, Erie county, is a daughter.

John Lamunion, came in early years; was from Rhode Island. He died ten or twelve years since. His wife, who was the widow of Capt. Follett, died two or three years since.

Peleg Redfield, was a townsman of Mr. Phelps in Suffield; was a musician in the Connecticut line during the Revolution. In 1799, he exchanged with Mr. Phelps, his small farm in Suffield, for 200 acres, wherever he should choose to locate, on any unsold lands of Mr. Phelps. He selected the land where he now resides on the Rail Road, a mile and a half west of Clifton Springs; (a judicious selection, as any one will allow, who sees the fine farm into which it has been converted;) clearing three acres and erecting the body of a log house, he removed his family in Feb. 1800, consisting of a wife and six children. "The journey," says a son of his, "was performed with a sleigh and a single span of horses. Besides the family, the sleigh was loaded with beds and bedding, and articles of household furniture. I shall never forget this, my first journey to the Genesee country, especially that portion of it west of Utica. The snow was three feet deep, and the horses tired and jaded by the cradle-holes, often refused to proceed farther with their load. I had the privilege of riding down hill, but mostly walked with my father, my mother driving the team."

Arriving at their new home, the Pioneer family found shelter with a new settler, "until the bark would peel in the spring," when a roof was put upon the body of the log house that Mr. Redfield had erected; openings made for a door and window, and bass-wood logs split for a floor. Here the family remained until autumn, when a double log house had been erected. Mr. Redfield is now in his 80th year; his memory of early events, retentive, and his physical constitution remarkable for one of his years. He is the father of

the Hon. Heman J. Redfield, of Batavia; of Lewis H. Redfield, the well known editor, publisher, and bookseller at Syracuse; Hiram Redfield of Rochester, George Redfield, Cass co. Michigan, Alexander H. Redfield of Detroit, Cuyler Redfield, with whom he resides upon the old homestead. His son, Manning Redfield, of Manchester, was killed in a mill where he was marketing his grain in 1850. One of his daughters, was the wife of Leonard Short, of Shortsville, and the other, of Marvin Minor, a merchant at Bergen and Johnson's creek. "I could have made my location at Fort Hill, near Canandaigua," said the old gentleman to the author, "but a town was growing up there, and I feared its influence upon my boys." There are many Pioneer fathers who have lived to regret, that they had not been governed by the same prudent motive.

The Pioneer mother died in 1844, aged 80 years. It will appear incredible to the house keepers, and young mothers of the present day, when they are told, that Mrs. Redfield, in early years, when she had a family of six and seven children, performed all her ordinary house-work, milked her own cows; and carded, spun and wove, all the woolen and linen cloth that the family wore. But the old gentleman thinks it should be added, that he and the boys lightened her labor, by uniformly wearing buckskin breeches in the winter; though the mother had them to make.

REMINISCENCES OF PELEG REDFIELD.

In 1800, a log house had been vacated; we fitted it up and hired Elam Crane* to teach a school. It was a mile from my house, and my boys used to go through the woods by marked trees.

In early years, wolves were a great nuisance; nothing short of a pen sixteen rails high, would protect our sheep. In winters, when hungry, they would collect together and prowl around the log dwellings; and if disappointed in securing any prey, their howling would startle even backwoodsmen. The Indian wars upon the wolf with great hatred; it is in a spirit of revenge for their preying upon their game, the deer. In the side hill, along on my farm, they dug pits, covered them over with light brush and leaves, and bending down small trees, suspended the offals of deer directly over the pits. In springing for the bait the wolf would land in the bottom of the pits where they could easily be killed. The salmon used to ascend the Canandaigua outlet, as far up as Shortsville, before mill dams were erected. The speckled trout were plenty in the Sulphur Spring brook; and in all the small streams.

* Mr. Crane died recently in south Bristol aged 83 years; he came to the Genesee country in 1788.

In 1805, I was erecting my frame house, and wanted glass and nails. I went with oxen and sled to Utica, carrying 50 bushels of wheat. I sold it for \$1.68 per bushel, to Watts Sherman, a merchant of Utica, and paid 18¢ per pound for wrought nails; \$7.50 for two boxes of glass.²

It was pretty easy for young men to secure farms, in the earliest years of settlement. I knew many who received a dollar a day for their labor, and bought lands for twenty five cents per acre.

A Baptist Church was organized in Manchester in 1804; the first Trustees were:—Ebenezer Pratt, Joseph Wells and Jeremiah Dewey. This was the first legal organization, a society had been formed previous to 1800. Judge Phelps gave the society a site for a meeting house, and in 1806 Deacon John McLouth erected a log building. In 1812 or 13, the stone meeting house was erected. Rev. Anson Shay organized the church, and remained its pastor for 25 years; he emigrated to Michigan, where he died in 1845. The Methodists had a society organization as early as 1800, holding their primitive meetings in school and private houses.

"St. John's Church, Farmington," (Episcopal, at Sulphur Springs,) was organized by the Rev. Devenport Phelps, in 1807. The officers were:—John Shekels, Samuel Shekels, wardens; Darius Seager, William Warner, George Wilson, Archibald A. Beal, Davis Williams, Thomas Edmonston, Alexander Howard, William Powell.[†]

GOLD BIBLE—MORMONISM.

As we are now at the home of the Smith family—in sight of "Mormon Hill"—a brief pioneer history will be looked for, of the strange, and singularly successful religious sect—the Mormons; and *brief* it must be, merely starting it in its career, and leaving to their especial historian to trace them to Kirtland, Nauvoo, Beaver Island, and Utah, or the Salt Lake.

Joseph Smith, the father of the prophet Joseph Smith, Jr., was from the Merrimack river, N. H. He first settled in or near Palmyra village, but as

² Mr. Redfield has preserved his store bill. It is made out and signed by Henry B. Gibson, the well known Canandaigua Banker, who was the book keeper to Sherman's store.

[†] A brother of the early Hotel keeper at Geneva. The two brothers had erected a public house at the Springs, and William was the landlord.

early as 1819 was the occupant of some new land on "Stafford street" in the town of Manchester, near the line of Palmyra.* "Mormon Hill" is near the plank road about half way between the villages of Palmyra and Manchester. The elder Smith had been a Universalist, and subsequently a Methodist; was a good deal of a smatterer in Scriptural knowledge: but the seed of revelation was sown on weak ground; he was a great babbler, credulous, not especially industrious, a money digger, prone to the marvellous; and withal, a little given to difficulties with neighbors, and petty law-suits. Not a very propitious account of the father of a Prophet,—the founder of a state; but there was a "woman in the case." However present, in matters of good or evil!—In the garden of Eden, in the siege of Troy, on the field of Orleans,† in the dawning of the Reformation, in the Palace of St. Petersburg, and Kremlin of Moscow, in England's history, and Spain's proudest era; and here upon this continent, in the persons of Ann Lee, Jemima Wilkinson, and as we are about to add, Mrs. Joseph Smith! A mother's influences; in the world's history, in the history of men, how distinct is the impress!—In heroes, in statesmen, in poets, in all of good or bad aspirations, or distinctions, that single men out from the mass, and give them notoriety; how often, almost invariably, are we led back to the influences of a mother, to find the germ that has sprouted in the offspring.

The reader will excuse this interruption of narrative, and be told that Mrs. Smith was a woman of strong uncultivated intellect; artful and cunning; imbued with an illy regulated religious enthusiasm. The incipient hints, the first givings out that a Prophet was to spring from her humble household, came from her; and when matters were maturing for denouement, she gave out that such and such ones—always fixing upon those who had both money and credulity—were to be instruments in some great work of new revelation. The old man was rather her faithful co-worker, or executive exponent. Their son, Alvah, was originally intended, or designated, by fireside consultations, and solemn and mysterious out door hints, as the forth coming Prophet. The mother and the father said he was the chosen one; but Alvah, however spiritual he may have been, had a carnal appetite; eat too many green turnips, sickened and died. Thus the world lost a Prophet, and Mormonism a leader; the designs impiously and wickedly attributed to Providence, defeated; and all in consequence of a surfeit of raw turnips. Who will talk of the cackling geese of Rome, or any other small and innocent causes of mighty events, after this? The mantle of the Prophet which Mrs. and Mr. Joseph Smith and one Oliver Cowdery, had wove of themselves—every thread of it—fell upon their next eldest son, Joseph Smith, Jr.

And a most unpromising recipient of such a trust, was this same Joseph Smith, Jr., afterwards, "Jo. Smith." He was lounging, idle; (not to say vicious,) and possessed of less than ordinary intellect. The author's own recollections of him are distinct ones. He used to come into the village of Palmyra with little jags of wood, from his backwoods home; sometimes patronizing a village grocery too freely; sometimes find an odd job to do about

* Here the author remembers to have first seen the family, in the winter of '19, '20, in a rude log house, with but a small spot underbrushed around it.

† France.

the store of Seymour Seewell; and once a week he would stroll into the office of the old Palmyra Register, for his father's paper. How impious, in us young "*dare Devils*" * to once and a while blacken the face of the then meddling inquisitive loungee—but afterwards Prophet, with the old fashioned balls, when he used to put himself in the way of the working of the old fashioned Ramage press! The editor of the Cultivator, at Albany—esteemed as he may justly consider himself, for his subsequent enterprize and usefulness, may think of it, with contrition and repentance; that he once helped, thus to disfigure the face of a Prophet, and remotely, the founder of a State.

But Joseph had a little ambition; and some very laudable aspirations: the mother's intellect occasionally shone out in him feebly, especially when he used to help us solve some portentous questions of moral or political ethics, in our juvenile debating club, which we moved down to the old red school house on Durfee street, to get rid of the annoyance of critics that used to drop in upon us in the village; and subsequently, after catching a spark of Methodism in the camp meeting, away down in the woods, on the Vienna road, he was a very passable exhorter in evening meetings.

Legends of hidden treasure, had long designated Mormon Hill as the depository. Old Joseph had dug there, and young Joseph had not only heard his father and mother relate the marvelous tales of buried wealth, but had accompanied his father in the midnight delvings, and incantations of the spirits that guarded it.

If a buried revelation was to be exhumed, how natural was it that the Smith family, with their credulity, and their assumed presentiment that a Prophet was to come from their household, should be connected with it; and that Mormon Hill was the place where it would be found.

It is believed by those who were best acquainted with the Smith family, and most conversant with all the Gold Bible movements, that there is no foundation for the statement that their original manuscript was written by a Mr. Spaulding, of Ohio. A supplement to the Gold Bible, "*The Book of Commandments*" in all probability, was written by Rigden, and he may have been aided by Spaulding's manuscripts; but the book itself is without doubt, a production of the Smith family, aided by Oliver Cowdery, who was a school teacher on Stafford street, an intimate of the Smith family, and identified with the whole matter. The production as all will conclude, who have read it, or even given it a cursory review, is not that of an educated man or woman. The bungling attempt to counterfeit the style of the Scriptures; the intermixture of modern phraseology; the ignorance of chronology and geography; its utter crudeness and baldness, as a whole, stamp its character, and clearly exhibits its vulgar origin. It is a strange medley of scriptures, romance, and bad composition.

The primitive designs of Mrs. Smith, her husband, Jo and Cowdery, was money-making; blended with which perhaps, was a desire for notoriety, to be obtained by a cheat and a fraud. The idea of being the founders of a new sect, was an after thought, in which they were aided by others.

* To censure the use of such an expression, the reader should be reminded that apprentices in printing offices have since the days of Faust and Gottenberg, been thus called, and sometimes it was not inappropriate.

The projectors of the humbug, being destitute of means for carrying out their plans, a victim was selected to obviate that difficulty. Martin Harris, was a farmer of Palmyra, the owner of a good farm, and an honest worthy citizen; but especially given to religious enthusiasm, new creeds, the more extravagant the better; a monomaniac, in fact. Joseph Smith upon whom the mantle of prophecy had fallen after the sad fate of Alva, began to make demonstrations. He informed Harris of the great discovery, and that it had been revealed to him, that he (Harris,) was a chosen instrument to aid in the great work of surprising the world with a new revelation. They had hit upon the right man. He mortgaged his fine farm to pay for printing the book, assumed a grave, mysterious, and unearthly deportment, and made here and there among his acquaintances solemn annunciations of the great event that was transpiring. His version of the discovery, as communicated to him by the Prophet Joseph himself, is well remembered by several respectable citizens of Palmyra, to whom he made early disclosures. It was in substance, as follows:

The Prophet Joseph, was directed by an angel where to find, by excavation, at the place afterwards called Mormon Hill, the gold plates; and was compelled by the angel, much against his will, to be the interpreter of the sacred record they contained, and publish it to the world. That the plates contained a record of the ancient inhabitants of this country, "engraved by Mormon, the son of Nephi." That on the top of the box containing the plates, "a pair of large spectacles were found, the stones or glass set in which were opaque to all but the Prophet," that "these belonged to Mormon, the engraver of the plates, and without them, the plates could not be read." Harris assumed, that himself and Cowdery were the chosen amanuenses, and that the Prophet Joseph, curtailed from the world and them, with his spectacles, read from the gold plates what they committed to paper. Harris exhibited to an informant of the author, the manuscript title page. On it were drawn, rudely and bunglingly, concentric circles, between above and below which were characters, with little resemblance to letters; apparently a miserable imitation of hieroglyphics, the writer may have somewhere seen. To guard against profane curiosity, the Prophet had given out that no one but himself, not even his chosen co-operators, must be permitted to see them, on pain of instant death. Harris had never seen the plates, but the glowing account of their massive richness excited other than spiritual hopes, and he upon one occasion, got a village silver-smith to help him estimate their value; taking as a basis, the Prophet's account of their dimensions. It was a blending of the spiritual and utilitarian, that threw a shadow of doubt upon Martin's sincerity. This, and some anticipations he indulged in, as to the profits that would arise from the sale of the Gold Bible, made it then, as it is now, a mooted question, whether he was altogether a dupe.

The wife of Harris was a rank infidel and heretic, touching the whole thing, and decidedly opposed to her husband's participation in it. With sacrilegious hands, she seized over an hundred of the manuscript pages of the new revelation, and burned or secreted them. It was agreed by the Smith family, Cowdery and Harris, not to transcribe these again, but to let so much of the new revelation drop out, as the "evil spirit would get up a story that the second translation did not agree with the first." A very ingenious method, surely, of guarding against the possibility that Mrs. Harris had preserved the

manuscript with which they might be confronted, should they attempt an imitation of their own miserable patchwork.

The Prophet did not get his lesson well upon the start, or the household of impostors were in the fault. After he had told his story, in his absence, the rest of the family made a new version of it to one of their neighbors. They showed him such a pebble as may any day be picked up on the shore of Lake Ontario—the common horn blend—carefully wrapped in cotton, and kept in a mysterious box. They said it was by looking at this stone, in a hut, the light excluded, that Joseph discovered the plates. This it will be observed, differs materially from Joseph's story of the angel. It was the same stone the Smiths had used in money digging, and in some pretended discoveries of stolen property.

Long before the Gold Bible demonstration, the Smith family had with some sinister object in view, whispered another fraud in the ears of the credulous. They pretended that in digging for money, at Mormon Hill, they came across "a chest, three by two feet in size, covered with a dark colored stone. In the centre of the stone was a white spot about the size of a sixpence. Enlarging, the spot increased to the size of a twenty four pound shot and then exploded with a terrible noise. The chest vanished and all was utter darkness."

It may be safely presumed that in no other instance have Prophets and the chosen and designated of angels, been quite as calculating and worldly as were those of Stafford street, Mormon Hill, and Palmyra. The only business contract—veritable instrument in writing, that was ever executed by spiritual agents, has been preserved, and should be among the archives of the new state of Utah. It is signed by the Prophet Joseph himself, and witnessed by Oliver Cowdery, and secures to Martin Harris, one half of the proceeds of the sale of the Gold Bible until he was fully reimbursed in the sum of \$2,500, the cost of printing.

The after thought that has been alluded to: the enlarging of original intentions; was at the suggestion of Sidney Rigdon, of Ohio, who made his appearance, and blended himself with the poorly devised scheme of imposture about the time the book was issued from the press. He unworthily bore the title of a Baptist elder, but had by some previous fraud, if the author is rightly informed, forfeited his standing with that respectable religious denomination. Designing, ambitious, and dishonest, under the semblance of sanctity and assumed spirituality, he was just the man for the uses of the Smith household and their half-dupe and half-designing abettors; and they were just the fit instruments he desired. He became at once the Hamlet, or more appropriately perhaps, the Mawworm of the play. Like the veiled Prophet Mokauna, he may be supposed thus to have soliloquised:—

"Ye too, believers of incredible creeds,

Whose faith excites the monsters which it breeds;

Who bolder, even than Nimrod, think to rise

By nonsense heaped on nonsense to the skies;

Ye shall have miracles, aye, sound ones too,

Seen, heard, attested, every thing but true.

Your pronding zealous, too inspired to seek

One grace of meaning for the things they speak;

Your martyrs ready to shed out their blood

For truths too heavenly to be understood ;”

* * * *

“They shall have mysteries—aye, precious stuff
For knaves to thrive by—mysteries enough ;
Dark tangled doctrines, dark as fraud can weave,
Which simple votaries shall on trust receive,
While craftier feign belief, ’till they believe.”

Under the auspices of Rigdon, a new sect, the Mormons, was projected. prophecies fell thick and fast from the lips of Joseph ; old Mrs. Smith assumed all the airs of the mother of a Prophet ; that particular family of Smiths were singled out and became exalted above all their legion of namesakes. The babl, clumsy cheat, found here and there an enthusiast, a monomaniac or a knave, in and around its primitive locality, to help it upon its start ; and soon, like another scheme of imposture, (that had a little of dignity and plausibility in it,) it had its Hegira, or flight, to Kirtland ; then to Nauvo ; then to a short resting place in Missouri—and then on over the Rocky Mountains to Utah, or the Salt Lake. Banks, printing offices, temples, cities, and finally a State, have arisen under its auspices. Converts have multiplied to tens of thousands. In several of the countries of Europe there are preachers and organized sects of Mormons ; believers in the divine mission of Joseph Smith & Co.

And here the subject must be dismissed. If it has been treated lightly — with a seeming levity — it is because it will admit of no other treatment. There is no dignity about the whole thing ; nothing to entitle it to mild treatment. It deserves none of the charity extended to ordinary religious fanaticism, for knavery and fraud has been with it insidiously and progressively. It has not even the poor merit of ingenuity. Its success is a slur upon the age. Fanaticism promoted it at first ; then ill advised persecution ; then the designs of demagogues who wished to command the suffrages of its followers ; until finally an American Congress has abated the fraud and imposition by its acts, and we are to have a state of our proud Union — in this boasted era of light and knowledge — the very name of which will sanction and dignify the fraud and falsehood of Mormon Hill, the gold plates, and the spurious revelation. This much, at least, might have been omitted out of decent respect to the moral and religious sense of the people of the old states.

FARMINGTON.

Township No. 11, R. 3, (now Farmington,) was the first sale of Phelps and Gorham. The purchasers were :— Nathan Comstock, Benjamin Russell, Abraham Lapham, Edmund Jenks, Jeremiah Brown, Ephraim Fish, Nathan Herendeen, Nathan Aldrich, Stephen Smith, Benjamin Rickenson, William Baker and Dr. Daniel Brown. The deed was given to Nathan Comstock, and Benjamin

Russell; all except Russell, Jenks, J. Brown, Fish, Rickenson, Baker and Smith, became residents upon the purchase. In 1789, Nathan Comstock, with two sons, Otis and Darius, and Robert Hathaway, came from Adams, Berkshire county, Mass.: a part of them by the water route, landing at Geneva, with their provisions, and a part by land with a horse and some cattle. When the overland party had arrived within 15 miles of Seneca Lake, they had the addition of a calf to their small stock, which Otis Comstock carried on his back, that distance. They arrived upon the new purchase, built a cabin, cleared four acres of ground, and sowed it to wheat. Their horse died, and they were obliged to make a pack horse of Darius, who went once a week through the woods to Geneva, where he purchased provisions and carried them on his back, twenty miles, to their cabin in the wilderness. Upon the approach of winter, the party returned to Massachusetts, leaving Otis Comstock to take care of the stock through the winter, with no neighbors other than Indians and wild beasts, nearer than Boughton Hill and Canandaigua. About the same period of the advent of the Comstocks, Nathan Aldrich, one of the proprietors of the township, came by the water route, landing his provisions and seed wheat at Geneva, and carrying them upon his back to the new purchase; he cleared a few acres of ground, sowed it to wheat and returned to Massachusetts.

In the month of February, 1790, Nathan Comstock and his large family, started from his home in Adams, accompanied by Nathan Aldrich and Isaac Hathaway, and were followed the day after by Nathan Herendeen, his son William, and his two sons-in-law, Joshua Herrington and John McCumber. The last party overtook the first at Geneva, when the whole penetrated the wilderness, making their own roads as they proceeded, the greater part of the distance, and arrived at their new homes in the wilderness, on the 15th of March. After leaving Whitestown, both parties, their women and children, camped out each night during their tedious journey, and arriving at their destination, had most of them to erect temporary habitations, and this at an inclement season.

The following are the names of all who were residents of the new township in 1790: — Nathan Comstock, Nathan Comstock, jr., Otis Comstock, Darius Comstock, John Comstock, Israel Reed, John Russell, John Payne, Isaac Hathaway, Nathan Herendeen,

Welcome Herendeen, Joshua Herrington, John M'Cumber, Nathan Aldrich, Jacob Smith, Job Howland, Abraham Lapham, John Rankin, Elijah Smith, Levi Smith, Annanias M'Millan, Edward Duffee, Thomas W. Larkin, Silas Lawrence, Jonathan Smith, Pardon Wilcox, Robert Hathaway, Jeremiah Smith. But a part of all these that were married had brought in their families, and most of them were unmarried.

The only survivors of all the above named, are John Comstock, Pardon Wilcox, and Levi Smith; to the last of whom the author is indebted for many of his Pioneer reminiscences of Farmington. Joshua Herendeen died last winter, at the advanced age of over 90 years.

Many of these early Pioneers were Friends, either by membership or birth right. An early discipline of that society was in effect, that any of its members contemplating any important enterprise, and especially that of emigration, must report their intentions to their meeting for consideration and advisement. The rash enterprise of going away off to the Genesee country, and settling down among savages and wild beasts, was not consistent with the kindly regard entertained by the meeting for the Farmington emigrants; consent was refused, and they were formally disowned. When a committee of the Friend's Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, attended the Pickering treaty at Canandaigua in 1794, they visited the Friends of Farmington, espoused their cause, interceded with the meeting that had disowned them in Massachusetts, which resulted in their restoration. A meeting was soon after organized, the first, and for a long period, the only one west of Utica. The society erected a meeting house in 1804. Their early local public Friend, or minister as he would have been called by other orders, was Caleb M'Cumber. He died last year at an advanced age.

Wheat was harvested in the summer of 1790, the product of what was sowed by the Comstocks and Nathan Aldrich, in the fall previous. Some summer crops were raised in the summer of '90. The stump mortar was the principal dependence for preparing their grain for bread. In the fall of 1790, Joshua Herendeen, with two yoke of oxen, made his way through the woods to Wilder's Mills in Bristol: arriving late on Saturday night, the miller's wife interposed her *ipsi dixit*, and declared the mill should not run on Sunday, "if all Farmington starved." This made him a second

journey, and it was a work of days, as the first had been. During the same season, Welcome Herendeen, John M'Cumber and Jonathan Smith, took grain up the Canandaigua outlet and Lake to Wilder's Mill. They got but a part of it ground, and it being late in the season, a part of their grist lay over until the next season. Levi Smith, in 1791, then a hired man of Nathan Aldrich and Abraham Lapham, carried grists upon two horses to the Friend's Mill, in Jerusalem.

As an example of the difficulties and hardships that attended emigration at that early period, it may be mentioned that in 1791, Jacob Smith, with his family, was thirty one days in making the journey from Adams, Mass., to Farmington. Putting family and household furniture on board of a boat at Schenectady, and driving his stock through the woods, along the creeks, rivers, and lakes, the whole arrived at Swift's Landing, beyond which he had to make his road principally, as there had been little intercourse in that direction, from the settlement in Farmington.

Nathan Herendeen himself wintered in the new settlement, his son Welcome returning to bring out the family, who came in February, '91; and about the same time other considerable additions were made to the settlement, consisting of the families of those who had come in the year before, and new adventurers. Brice, and Turner Aldrich and their families, William Cady, Uriel Smith, Benjamin Lapham, were among the number. A considerable number of them came in company, with ox and horse teams, were twenty-one days on the route, the whole camping in the woods eight nights on the way.

The young reader, and others who may be unacquainted with Pioneer life, in passing through that now region of wealth and prosperity, will be surprised to be told that the founders of many of those farm establishments — clusters of neat farm buildings, surrounded by flocks and herds, and broad cultivated fields — in their primitive advent, plodded through snow and mud days and weeks, with stinted means; at night, with their families of young children, clearing away the snow and spreading their cots upon the ground; their slumbers often interrupted by the howl of the gaunt wolf prowling around their camp-fires. Unless in that locality, from the peculiar character of its inhabitants, better ideas of right physical education prevails than is usual, there are daughters in those abodes

of comfort and luxury who shrink even from the healthful breeze whose mothers have prepared the frugal meal by the winter camp-fire, and kept nursery vigils where the driving storm pelted her and her household through their frail covering. Equally is physical degeneracy, the work of but one and two generations, marked in the sons. There are those in the Genesee country who would deem it a hardship to black their own boots, harness their own horse, or make their own fires, whose fathers and grand-fathers have carried provisions to their families upon their backs through long dreary winter woods paths. Sincerely is it to be hoped that mental degeneracy is not keeping pace with all this, as some observers and theorists maintain.

But we are losing sight of the germ of what became a prosperous settlement. The new comers were soon in their log cabins, dotted down in the forest, and making openings about them to let in the sun. Nathan Comstock was regarded as surveyor general of roads. Mounted upon his old mare, he would strike off into the woods in different directions where roads were needed, followed by axe-men and a teamster with oxen and sled. The underbrush would be cut, logs cut and turned out of the way, and thus the beginning of a road was made to be followed up gradually, by widening out to two and four rods, and bridging of streams, sloughs and marshes. As an evidence that they commenced in earnest to subdue the wilderness, it may be mentioned that there were considerable fields of wheat sown in the fall of 1790. Nathan Aldrich having raised some seed wheat in that season, Welcome Herendeen worked for him thirteen days for two and a half bushels, sowed it, and he used to tell the story when he became the owner of broad wheat fields, remarking that he never had to buy any after that. The first settlers of Farmington, bringing with them apple seeds, and peach and plum pits, were early fruit growers — soon had bearing orchards — and for long years, the new settlers in far off neighborhoods, went there for apples, and a real luxury they were in primitive times. Farmington and Bloomfield cider, apples, and apple sauce, was an especial treat for many years in the backwoods of the Holland Purchase. Some enterprising keeper of a log tavern would push out when sleighing came, and bring in a load. His return would be heralded over a wide district; and then would follow ox sleds and horse sleigh ride, through wood's roads, rude feasts

and frolics. The pampered appetites of the present day know nothing of the zest which attended these simple luxuries then.

The first marriage in Farmington, was that of Otis Comstock to Huldah Freeman, at the house of Isaac Hathaway, in 1792, Dr. Atwater, of Canandaigua, officiating. The first birth, was that of Welcome Herendeen, in 1790, a son of Joshua Herendeen, who now resides in Michigan. As a specimen of this first production, it may be mentioned that his weight is now said to be 350 pounds. The first death of an adult, was that of Elijah Smith, in 1793.

The first frame building was erected by Joseph Smith and James D. Fish of Canandaigua, for an ashery, on the farm of Welcome Herendeen. The first framed barn was built by Annanias McMillan, for Isaac Hathaway, in 1793; and the same year, McMillan built a small framed grist mill on Ganargwa Creek, within the township, for Jacob and Joseph Smith. Settlers have been known to come forty miles to this mill. The wreck of it is now standing. The first saw mill was built by Jacob and Joseph Smith, in 1795. The first physician in Farmington, was Dr. Stephen Aldridge, from Uxbridge, Mass. He died about fifteen years since, after a long and useful career, both in his profession and as a citizen.

Almost the whole town of Farmington was settled by emigrants from Adams, in that same county of Berkshire that has been so prolific a hive, sending out its swarms not only here, but to all our western States and territories. The local historian here and at the west, has often to query with himself as to whether there could be any body left in Berkshire? It would seem that when new fields of enterprise were opened, new regions were to be subdued to the uses of civilization, legions went out from its mountains, hills and valleys—not “of armed men”—but of the best of materials for the work that lay before them. Berkshire—a single county of New England—it may almost be said, has been the mother of empires.

In the history of a wide region of unparalleled success and prosperity, no where has it been so uniform as in the town of Farmington. The town was soon farmed out by the original proprietors, and of all the purchasers, but one failed to be a permanent citizen and pay for his land. The wholesome discipline and example of the Society of Friends preserved it from the effects of an early profuse use of spirituous liquors, so destructive to early prosperity

in other localities: while the fruits and example of their proverbial industry and economy, gave the town the pre-eminence that it has acquired.

The first town meeting of the "District of Farmington" was held at the house of Nathan Aldrich, in 1797; meeting was opened and superintended by Phineas Bates, Esq., when Jared Comstock was chosen Supervisor, and Isaac Hathaway town clerk. Other town officers:—Joseph Smith, Nathan Herendeen, Jonathan Smith, Otis Comstock, Asa Wilmarth, John M'Louth, Isaac Hathaway, Arthur Power, Sharon Booth, Joab Gillett, Gilbert Buck, Benjamin Peters, Job Howland, Welcome Herendeen, Turner Aldrich, Gideon Payne, Joshua Van Fleet, Jacob Smith.

It was voted that \$10 be paid for the scalp of each wolf killed in town. Fifty dollars was raised to defray the expenses of the Town. The meeting was adjourned to be held next year at the house of Nathan Herendeen.

PHELPS.

John Decker Robinson, from Claverack, Columbia co., and Nathaniel Sanborn, were among those who came to the Genesee country about the time of the Phelps and Gorham treaty. Mr. Sanborn was employed by Mr. Phelps to take charge of a drove of cattle that he intended for beef, to distribute among the Indians at

NOTE.—The family of Comstocks were from Rhode Island, and had been Pioneers in Berkshire before their advent to the Genesee country. New England could hardly have sent better materials to this region; or a family that would have proved more useful. At the period of emigration, the old Pioneer and patroon of new settlement, had six sons:—Otis, Darius, Joseph, Jared, Nathan and John. Nathan was the Pioneer at Lockport, having settled there in the wilderness several years before the canal was constructed. Joseph, Jared and Darius went there as soon as the canal was located, and became the proprietors of a large portion of the site of the present Upper Town, and the Lower Town has grown up principally upon the original farm of Nathan. Darius was a large contractor upon the Mountain Ridge, and soon after the canal was completed became a Pioneer near the present village of Adrian Michigan. A part of the site of the village of Adrian was upon his purchase, and his son, Addison J. Comstock, was a prominent founder of the village. The father died in Farmington in 1816; Joseph, in Lockport, in 1821; Nathan in Lockport, in 1830; Jared and Darius in Michigan, in 1844 and '5; and Otis in Farmington, in 1850. The only survivor is John, who was an early law student in Canandaigua, and now resides upon a farm near Adrian, Michigan. The descendants in the second and third degree are very numerous, their residences being now principally in Michigan. The wife of Asa B. Smith of Farmington, is a daughter of Darius. The late Margaret Snell, of Union Springs, was a daughter of Joseph.

the treaty. As soon as land sales commenced, Mr. Robinson bought lot No. 14, T. 11, R. 1, (Phelps) on the Canandaigua outlet, in payment for which he erected for Phelps and Gorham, (partly of logs and partly framed,) the building that was used as the primitive land office, and for the residence of the agent of Mr. Walker. In the spring of 1789, he put his family and goods on board a batteau on Schenectady and landed them at their new home in the then wilderness. Raising a cloth tent they brought with them, the family were sheltered under that until a log cabin was erected. Nine days after their arrival, they were joined by Pierce and Elibu Granger, Nathaniel Sanborn and his brother-in-law, — Gould, who remained with them a few months, cleared a few acres on an adjoining lot, built shanties, and returned to Suffield in the fall, leaving the Robinson family to spend the winter eight miles from their nearest neighbor. Mr. Robinson opened a public house as soon as '93, or 4. His location was East Vienna; embracing some valuable mill seats on Flint creek and Canandaigua outlet. He was one of the most enterprising of the early Pioneers. His son Harry was the first male child born in Phelps; another son, Henry, II. resides in Lima.

Following the lead of Robinson and the Grangers, in 1791, were, Thaddeus Oaks, Seth Dean, Oliver and Charles Humphrey, and Elias Dickinson.

Jonathan Oaks was the primitive landlord, erecting as early as '94 the large framed tavern house, at Oak's Corners, about the same time that Mr. Williamson erected his Hotel at Geneva. It was a wonder in early days; peering up in a region of log houses, it had an aristocratic look, and its enterprising founder was regarded as pushing things far beyond their time. It was the second framed tavern house west of Geneva, and when built, there was probably not half a dozen framed buildings of any kind, west of that locality. It was the house of the early explorers and emigrants, and its fame extended throughout New England. It is yet standing and occupied as a tavern in a pretty good state of preservation. Mr. Oaks died in 1804, leaving as his successor his son Thaddeus, who had married a grand-daughter of Elias Dickinson. The father dying at so early a period, the name of Thaddeus Oaks is principally blended in the reminiscences of the later Pioneer period. He died in 1824 at the age of 50 years; an only surviving son, Nathan

Oaks, a worthy representative of his Pioneer ancestors, inherits the fine estate, the fruit of his grand-father and father's early enterprise. He is the P. M. at Oaks' Corners; his wife, the daughter of Truman Heminway Esq., of Palmyra; a sister, is the wife of Leman Hotchkiss, Esq. of Vienna.

As early as 1816, the lessees of the Oaks' stand, were Joel and Levi Thayer, now of Buffalo. About this period, the long celebrated Race Course, was established upon the broad sweep of level ground, upon the Oaks farm, which passengers may observe from the cars, in the rear of the church. For years, it was a famous gathering place for sportsmen, and amateur sportsmen; race horses came to it from the south, and from Long Island and New Jersey. The annual gatherings there, were to western New York, in a measure, what the State Fairs now are to the whole State.

Philetus Swift, a brother of John Swift, of Palmyra, was in Phelps as early as '91. He was an early representative of Ontario, in Assembly and Senate; in anticipation of the war of 1812, holding the rank of Col., he was ordered, with a regiment of volunteers, to march to the Niagara Frontier, and was with his regiment at Black Rock, when war was declared. He died in 1826. He left no sons; an only daughter by a second marriage, is wife of Alexis Russel, of Webster, Monroe co.

Seth Dean, was the Pioneer upon the site of the present village of Vienna, building a primitive grist and saw mill, upon Flint creek. His mill was raised by himself and his son Isaac; they being unable to procure any help. The Pioneer died in early years; his son Isaac resides in Adrian, Michigan, is the father-in-law of Addison J. Comstock, one of the founders of the village of Adrian. Mrs. Wells Whitmore, of Vienna, is a daughter of Seth Dean. Walter Dean, a brother of Seth, came in at a later period. He was the father of L. Q. C. Dean. A daughter of his married Dr. Isaac Smith, of Lockport, deceased, and is now the wife of David Thomas, of Cayuga.

The first merchant in Phelps, was John R. Green, an English

NOTE.—Mrs. Dean, it is presumed, put the first cheese to press in the Genesee country; and "thereby hangs a tale"—or, a bear story. It was in one of the old fashioned, out door presses; a bear came at night, and entirely devoured it, as his tracks and the empty cheese curd, bore witness.

man, located at Oaks' Corners. Leman Hotchkiss and David McNeil, were the first merchants in Vienna; a firm of much enterprise, commanding, for a long period, the trade of a wide region. Hotchkiss, was the brother of the late Judge Hotchkiss, of Lawiston. He died in 1822. His widow is now Mrs. Joel Stearns, of Vienna. Hiram, of Lyons, and Leman B. of Vienna, are his sons. McNeil was the first P. M. in Phelps, appointed in 1804, he held the office until his death, in 1841. He died childless; his widow survives, a resident of Vienna.

Dr. Joel Prescott, was the early physician. He was an early supervisor of the town, and for several years chairman of the board of supervisors of Ontario. He died during the war of 1812; a son of his, Imly Prescott, recently died in Geneva; daughters became the wives of Owen Edmonston, of Vienna, and James Darrow, of Seneca county.

Elder Solomon Goodale, was the first resident minister in Phelps; preaching in school and private houses. The first organized church was at Oaks' Corners — Presbyterian — the officiating minister, the Rev. Jonathan Powell, a Welchman; who still survives, and is settled over a Welch congregation in Ohio; a grand-daughter, Jane Reese, was a poetess, whose early effusions appeared in the Palmyra Register, in 1819, '20; a sister of hers, is Mrs. Bailey Durfee, of Palmyra. The church at Oaks' Corners, was the second built west of Seneca Lake, that of East Bloomfield the first. It was erected in 1804, but not finished until 1814. Having then become almost a wreck, by a vote of those interested, it was given in charge of Col. Cost, who procured subscriptions, and rented pews, the avails of which, more than paid for its completion. Thaddeus Oaks gave the ground, and \$1,000 dollars in addition, before it was finished. Vienna and Oaks' Corners, were originally competitors for the location.

Jonathan Melvin was in as early as '95; far better off than most Pioneers, he purchased 800 acres of land at what is known as "Melvin Hill." With ample means, and by extraordinary enterprise, he soon had large improvements, grain, pork, and pasturage for new settlers. He built mills in an early day in Wolcott, where he was a large landholder. After accumulating a large estate, he endorsed, became embarrassed, and finally subsisted in his last years, upon a Revolutionary pension. He died but a few years

since, at an advanced age.* His son, Jonathan Melvin, now resides upon the old homestead.

Wells Whitmore came in with Jonathan Oaks; married a daughter of Seth Dean; his son Barnet, resides in Georgia, and Mrs. Norton, of Vienna, is a daughter.

John and Patrick Burnett, brothers, came in 1795; Patrick left in a few years; John became a prominent citizen. He held a Captain's commission in the Revolution. Wm. Burnett, his son, was an early supervisor, magistrate, and attained the rank of Brig. Gen. of militia. He was in service on the Niagara frontier in 1813, and commanded the volunteer force, called out to repel the British invaders at Sodus. He died in 1826; William Burnett, of Ann Arbor, is his son; Mrs. Benjamin Hartwell, and Mrs. Bainbridge of Phelps, are his daughters.

Cornelius Westfall came in '95; purchased 500 acres of land; died in 1832. His only son, Jacob, a Captain of a company of riflemen, was killed in Queenston battle.

Elijah Gates, came in '95; died in 1835; his sons Seth and Daniel, reside at the old homestead.

Oliver Humphrey, one of the earliest, died in 1838; was a Major of Militia. His son Hugh Humphrey, lives at the old homestead. His brother Charles, who came in with him, died a few years since; his son John, resides upon the homestead.

Lodowick Vandermark, came in '94; erected one of the earliest saw mills on the outlet. He died just previous to the war of 1812; Frederick and William, of Phelps, are his sons. His brother Joseph, who came in with him, died in 1816.

Deacon Jessee Warner, one of the earliest, located on site of village of Orleans; was one of the founders of the churches at Orleans and Melvin Hill. He died in 1835; John Warner of Orleans, is his son.

Solomon Warner was in Geneva as early as '88. He located near, and afterwards became the purchaser of a part of the Old Castle tract, which he sold to Jonathan Whitney. His wife was a daughter of Jonathan Oaks. He died in 1813; two of his sons reside in Michigan, and two at the homestead; daughters became

* In passing the Old Castle, in an early day, he picked up an apple, and was told to lay it down. "You must be mean," said he "to begrudge a neighbor an apple; I will plant 100 trees next year for the public." He was as good as his word; the trees are now standing along the road, on his old farm.

the wives of Cephas Shekells. Alfred Hooker, William Jones, Rev. Wm. Patton. His son Lucius, now 56 years of age, resides in the house his father built in '89, and in which he was born.

Col. Elias Dickinson, one of the original purchasers of Phelps, was from Conway, Mass. He died in 1804, or '5. His son, Colton, was killed in raising the church at Oaks' Corners, in 1804; Samuel Dickinson, the eminent printer and publisher, of Boston, was a son of Colton Dickinson; he was an apprentice of Elias Hull of Geneva. Another son of the old Pioneer, was the founder of the large mills of Vienna. He died in early years.

Col. Elias Cost was a native of Frederick co., Maryland, a son of Jacob Cost; a sister of his, was the mother of Wm. Cost Johnson. At the age of 21 years, in 1799, in company with Benjamin Shekel, and Abraham Simmons, he came to the Genesee country. The party travelled on horseback, coming in via Mr. Williamson's Northumberland Road; upon 46 miles of which, there was then but one house; stopped at the Geneva Hotel, and continued on through the woods toodus, where they found Mr. Williamson, Jacob W. Hallett, and James Reese. The young adventurers had left their horses at Oaks' tavern, and arriving at the outlet, at Lyons, were ferried over upon the back of a stout backwoodsman, by the name of Hunn. Shekels and Simmons, bought land at the Sulphur Springs. The party returned to Maryland. The next season Col. Cost came out and purchased land near Oaks' Corners, where he has resided for half a century. He is now 72 years of age; may almost be said to be robust in health; his mind retaining its vigor and elasticity; possessing the fine social qualities, peculiar to his native region. His first wife was the daughter of Capt. Shekells. After her death he married the widow of Thaddeus Oaks, and was the landlord of the Oaks' stand for fourteen years. His daughters, the fruits of his first marriage, became the wives of Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, and Lynham J. Beddoe, a son of John Beddoe, of Yates co. An unmarried daughter whose mother was Mrs. Oaks, supplies the place of her mother, (who died recently,) in his hospitable mansion. Col. Cost was upon the frontier in the war of 1812, a volunteer, with the commission of Captain, in the regiment of Col. Micah Brooks, was at the sortie of Fort Erie; was a member of Assembly from Ontario, in 1846.

NOTE.—Col. Cost, died in April last, whilst this work was in press.

Benjamin Shekell, whose advent is mentioned in connection with Col. Cost, died in 1848. His son Richard resides in Hopewell; a daughter, is Mrs. Stephens of Hopewell. Samuel Shekell came in 1803; died in 1825; his son Thomas in 1804, and opened a store at Clifton Springs; returning to Maryland in a few years; another son, Jacob M., resides near Ann Arbor, Michigan; another, John, in Waterloo; another, Cephus, in Milwaukee. His daughters became the wives of Col. Elias Cost, Major Wm. Howe Cuyler, Alexander Howard, and Andrew Dorsey, of Lyons. The Shekells were from Bladensburg, Maryland.

William Hillbreth was an early merchant and distiller; was a Supervisor of the town, and a member of the legislature. He erected mills on Flint Creek, was a large farmer, and in all, a man of extraordinary enterprise, carrying on for many years an extensive business. He died in 1838; his widow survives. His sons, William and Spencer, reside in Vienna.

Eleazor, Cephas and Joseph Hawks, were early settlers in Vienna. Cephas Hawks, just previous to the war, erected a large woolen factory at White Springs, on the Nicholas (now Mrs. Lee's) farm, near Geneva; bought the fine wool of the Wadsworths; sold cloth at from \$5 to \$12 per yard; made money rapidly; but low prices and consequent failure succeeded after the war. He emigrated to Michigan. Benjamin F. Hawks, of Vienna, is a son of Eleazor.

Luther Root was the first clothier in Phelps; he died 25 years since; his widow and sons are residents of Vienna.

The town of Phelps was first the "District of Sullivan;" the first town meeting was held at the house of Jonathan Oaks, in 1796. Jonathan Oaks was chosen Supervisor, Solomon Goodale, Town Clerk. Other town officers: — Joel Prescott, Philetus Swift, Pierce Granger, Cornelius Westfall, Abraham F. Spurr, Chas. Humphrey, Elijah Gates, Augustus Dickinson, John Patton, Wells Whitmore, Jonathan Melvin, Oliver Humphrey, Patrick Burnett, Jesse Warner, Oliver Humphrey, Philetus Swift, Augustus Dickinson, Joel Prescott, Oliver Humphrey, Solomon Goodale.

A "gratuity of four pounds" was voted for "every wolf's head that shall be killed in this district by an inhabitant thereof."

At a court of special sessions of Ontario county, in June, 1796, name was changed to "District of Phelps."

In February, 1797, a special town meeting was called "for the

purpose of establishing some regulations in reference to schools." After the town had assumed his name, Mr. Phelps gave an entertainment at Oaks' Tavern, and a jovial time the backwoodsmen had of it, as but few of them live to recollect.

GENEVA.

While the Pioneer events we have been recording, were going on in other localities, the little village of Kanadesaga, at the foot of Seneca Lake, had been going a head under the auspices of Reed and Ryckman, and the Lessees. In the compromise with Phelps and Gorham, the Lessees had come in possession of townships 6, 7, and 8, in the 1st Range, and 9 in the 2d. These townships were deeded to the Lessees under the name of the "New York Company;" and a fifth township (No. 9 in the 1st.) was deeded to "Benton and Livingston." * "In the fall of 1788," says a manuscript in the author's possession, "number 8 was divided into lots, and balloted for at Geneva; Benjamin Barton, son., at that time being agent for the Niagara (or Canada) Company, drew the number of lots assigned to them; and Messrs. Benton and Birdsall, being present, drew for themselves and associates." †

In the fall of 1788, about the time that the Pioneer movements were making at Canandaigua, Geneva had become a pretty brisk place: the focus of speculators, explorers, the Lessee Company and their agents; and the principal seat of the Indian trade for a wide region. Horatio Jones was living in a log house covered with bark, on the bank of the Lake, and had a small stock of goods for the Indian trade; Asa Ransom (the afterwards Pioneer at Buffalo

* But the four townships were included in the compromise. Benton and Livingston were prominent among the Lessees; and either acquired the fifth township by purchase, or it was a bonus to them individually, for their agency in effecting the compromise.

† The author has in his possession the original draft of this lottery scheme, with the names of all who drew lots—over an hundred—and the numbers of the lots they severally drew. The lots are said to be in the "town of Geneva and county thereof." Either the village of Geneva that had been laid out by Reed and Ryckman was merged with the lands of the Lessees, or they laid out a village upon the lake shore, opposite T. S., as each shareholder drew a "town lot," and a "large lot," which evidently meant a village lot and a farm lot. Lots were drawn in the name of "Street & Co.," "Samuel Street," "Street and Butler," "John Butler," and by all the members of the New York and Canada joint Lessee Companies.

and Ransom's Grove,) occupied a hut, and was manufacturing Indian trinkets; Lark Jennings had a log tavern on the bark of the Lake; the Lessee Company had a framed tavern and trading establishment, covered with bark, on the Lake shore, "near where the bluff approaches the Lake," which was occupied by Dr. Benton. There was a cluster of log houses all along on the low ground near the Lake shore. The geographical designations were "hill and bottom." Peter Ryckman and Peter Bortle were residing there, and several others whose names are not recollected. Col. Seth Reed was residing at the Old Castle. Dominick Debartzch, an Indian trader from Montreal, was rather the great man of the country. His principal seat was the Cashong farm, which he claimed as an Indian grant, and where he had a trading establishment; though his trade extended to the western Indians, among whom he went after selling his claim to the Cashong farm to the late Major Benj. Barton, of Lewiston.*

The Lessees were then strenuously claiming all of the lands of the six nations up to the old pre-emption line. A letter from one of the company at Geneva, to one of the Canada associates, dated in Nov. '88, speaks confidently of a compromise with the State, "by which we shall be enabled to hold a part, if not the whole of the lands contained in our lease." To further this object, it is proposed that the Canada influence shall be brought to bear upon the Indians; and that a strong delegation of the chiefs shall be at Albany when the legislature meets, and "remoustrate openly to the sovereignty of the State, against the late proceedings at Fort Stanwix, and demand the restitution of their lands."† In April and May, 1789, the New York company held out to their Canada associates, the strongest assurances of being enabled with their assistance, to induce the Indians to abide by the Lease, instead of their cessions to the State; but in the fall of that year, they began to be disposed to take whatever they could get. In September, one of the auditors of the "New

* John H. Jones witnessed the confirmation of this bargain. Major Barton, in part payment, pulled off his overcoat, and gave it to Debartzch. It has heretofore been said that the purchase was made of Poudry. Mr. Jones corrects this, and says that Poudry at the time was a servant of Debartzch, occasionally assisting him in the Indian trade. Both gloried in native wives.

† In the month of September preceeding, the Onondagas had, at a treaty at Fort Stanwix, ceded their lands to the State; and in the same month, the Oneidas had ceded theirs.

York Genesee Company," writing to the "Niagara Genesee Company," says:—"Our business has fallen much short of our first idea;" and after asking their concurrence in a proposed compromise with the State, the letter closes with, "I am, with due respect, but like the rest of the company at this time, somewhat dejected, your very humble servant."

All that was done at Geneva previous to the spring of 1793, was under the auspices of Reed and Ryckman and the Lessees. The little backwoods village that had grown up there, the scattered settlements in the Lessee towns and upon the Gore, and at Jerusalem, constituted a majority perhaps of all the population west of Seneca Lake. "The district of Seneca," which, so far as organization was concerned, embraced all the region north to Lake Ontario, and the Lessee towns, had its first town meeting in April, 1793. It was held at the house of Joshua Fairbanks, who still survives, a resident of Lewiston, Niagara county. Ezra Patterson was chosen Supervisor, Thomas Sisson, Town Clerk. Other town officers, Oliver Whitmore, Jas. Rice, Phineas Pierce, Patrick Burnatt, Samuel Williamson, Peter Bartle, Jr., Sanford Williams, Jonathan Oaks, David Smith, Benjamin Tuttle, Wm. Smith, Jr., David Benton, Benj. Dixon, Amos Jenks, John Reed, Caleb Culver, Charles Harris, Stephen Sisson, W. Whitmore, Joseph Kilbourn, Seba Squires.

In 1794, Ambrose Hull was Supervisor. Store and tavern licenses were granted to Graham S. Scott, Thomas Sergeants, Joseph Annin, Howson & Co. 1795, Timothy Allen was Supervisor, and Samuel Colt, Town Clerk: town meeting was held at the house of Ezra Patterson, who was chosen Supervisor of the town for several successive years. In 1800, the number of persons assessed to work on the highways in the town of Seneca, was 290.

Mr. Williamson turned his attention to Geneva, in the spring of 1793: and as will be observed, many of the early reminiscences of the locality occur in connection with him. In fact, Geneva is more or less mingled with the earliest events of the whole region. It was the door or gateway to the Genesee country, and there our race first made a stand preliminary to farther advances.

Herman H. Bogert, commenced the practice of law in Geneva, in 1797, being now the oldest resident member of the profession, except Judge Howell, in western New York. His father was Isaac Bogert, a captain in the Revolution, attached to the New York line;

was at the siege of Fort Stanwix, and at the close of the war became a merchant in Albany. The son was preceded in his profession at Geneva, only by Henry H. Van Rensselaer, who remained but a few years.

Mr. Bogert observes, that at the period he came to Geneva, land speculations were at their height; high prices were the order of the day; board was \$1.00 per week at the hotel; and all things were going on as swimmingly as in the later years, 1836, '37. Eligible building lots of three-fourths of an acre, sold for \$500; farming lands in the neighborhood, sold for \$5.00 an acre, that afterwards brought but \$2 and \$3.60. Mr. Williamson had a sloop upon the Lake that was engaged in bringing down lumber. The mail was brought from Albany once in two weeks upon horseback. Mr. Williamson's head quarters were then principally at the Geneva Hotel. In addition to his other enterprizes, he was actively engaged in the construction of the turnpike.

Mr. Bogert is now 77 years of age; his wife, the daughter of John Witbeck, of Red Hook, who also survives, is 73. Charles A. Bogert of Dresden, Yates county, is a son; a daughter became the wife of Derick C. Delamater, of Columbia county; another, of Herman Ten Eyck, of Albany; another, of Godfrey J. Grosvenor, of Geneva.

Early lawyers in Geneva, other than Mr. Bogert, Polydore B. Wisner, Daniel W. Lewis, Robert W. Stoddard, John Collins, David Hudson. Mr. Wisner was an early District Attorney. He died in 1814. He was from Orange county; studied law with Richard Varick; at one period member of the Legislature. Mr. Lewis died within a few years in Buffalo, leaving no children. An adopted daughter of his was the wife of Stephen K. Grosvenor, and is now the wife of the Rev. Dr. Shelton, of Buffalo. Mr. Stoddard died in 1847. A son of his is a practicing lawyer in Brooklyn, and another son is an officer of the navy. Mr. Collins is now a practicing lawyer in Angelica. Mr. Hudson still survives, and continues a resident of Geneva. Mr. Parks is yet a practicing Attorney

NOTE.—Mr. Bogert, among other interesting reminiscences of early times, which the author has used in other connections, speaks of a marked event—a thunder storm in 1797. There seemed to be a meeting of two large, dense, black clouds. For two hours, there was peal after peal, in quick succession, of thunder; not unlike the reports of parks of artillery. Water spouts rose upon the Lake, column after column; the atmosphere seemed on fire; the whole was a scene of grandeur and terror, that has had few parallels.

in Geneva. He studied law with Lewis and Collins, and was admitted to practice in 1811. In the war of 1812, he was upon the frontier, and in the battle of Queenston, in command of a company of volunteers.

The early merchants of Geneva, other than those who were located there under Indian and Lessee occupancy, were: Grieve and Moffat, Samuel Colt, Richard M. Williams, Elijah H. Gordon, Richard M. Bailey, Abraham Dox. Grieve & Moffatt established the first brewery in all this region. Mr. Grieve was in the employ of Mr. Williamson, in the earliest years, as it is presumed Mr. Moffat was, as his name occurs in connection with the early movements at Sedus. Mr. Grieve was out in the war of 1812, a colonel, under Gen. McClure. He died in 1835. Mr. Moffat removed to Buffalo. Richard M. Williams became a farmer in Middlesex, Ontario county, (or in Yates county) where he died a few years since; a son of his was lately in the Senate of this State. Mr. Colt was a brother of Joseph Colt, the early merchant of Canandaigua, Auburn, and Palmyra. He removed to New York, and on a visit to Geneva, attending the commencement at the College, he died suddenly, at the Hotel, in 1834. Mr. Baily is still living. He entered the regular army in 1812; had a staff appointment, was taken prisoner at the battle of Queenston; went to Quebec in company with Gen. Scott, where he was parolled.

Elijah H. Gordon is one of the three or four survivors of all who were residents of Geneva previous to 1798; is in his 80th year. His goods came in early years, from Schenectady, via the usual water route, costing for transportation, generally about \$3 per cwt. Barter trade, in furs especially, constituted his principal early business; potash and ginseng was added after a few years.

Mr. Gordon was a Judge of Ontario county courts in early years and the second Post Master at Geneva, succeeding Walter Gries, who was the first. His two sons, John H. and Wm. W. Gordon, reside in Washington, Louisiana.

Dr. Adams was a physician in Geneva in the earliest years of settlement. Dr. John Henry and Daniel Goodwin, were the earliest permanent physicians. Dr. Henry died in 1812. Dr. Goodwin removed to Detroit, where he died a few years since. Stephen A. Goodwin, an attorney at law, in Auburn, is a son of his; another son, Daniel Goodwin, is an attorney in Detroit.

A Presbyterian society was organized in Geneva, as early as 1798. In July of that year, a meeting was held; John Fulton and Oliver Whitmore presided; Oliver Whitmore, Elijah Wilder, Septimus Evans, Ezra Patterson, Samuel Latta, Wm. Smith, jr., and Pollydore B. Wisner, were chosen trustees. The Rev. Jedediah Chapman became the first settled minister, continuing as such, until his death in 1813. He was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Axtell. The society built a church in 1811.

In 1806, "nineteen persons of full age, belonging to the Protestant Episcopal church, assembled, and there being no Rector, John Nicholas presided." Trinity church was organized by the election of the following officers:—John Nicholas and Daniel W. Lewis, Wardens; Samuel Shekell, John Collins, Robert S. Rose. Richard Hughes, Ralph T. Wood, David Nagler, Jas. Reese, Thomas Powell, Vestrymen.

The Rev. Davenport Phelps was the first officiating clergyman; was succeeded by the Rev. Orrin Clark, who officiated for many years. He died in 1828. The society erected a church in 1809, which was removed, and its site occupied by the present Trinity Church, in 1845.

Baptist and Methodist societies were organized, and churches erected, soon after the war of 1812, but the author has no farther record or information concerning them.

Among the earliest mechanics at Geneva, were: Wm. Tappan, John and Abraham B. Hall, John Sweeny, Elisha Douner, Moses Hall, W. W. Watson, John Woods,* Lucius Cary, Jonathan Doane,† Foster Barnard, Richard Lazalere, Jacob and Joseph Backenstose.‡

John Nicholas, emigrated from Virginia, and settled at Geneva in 1804. He was a lawyer by profession, but had retired from practice. He was for several terms, a member of the State Senate, and a Judge of the courts of Ontario. He engaged extensively in

* Mr. Wood, was also an early landlord.

† He erected the primitive churches; was the father of Bishop Doane of New Jersey, who received his primary education in Geneva.

‡ They were brothers, came to Geneva in the earliest years. They were the pioneer tailors of the Genesee country. Time was, when to wear a coat from their press board, marked the wearer as an aristocrat. Men going to Congress, or the Legislature, generally got a coat from a "Geneva tailor," but never before election. "Generals" and "Colonels" sometimes indulged in such an extravagant luxury. The surviving sons of Jacob, are:—John Barkenstore a merchant of Geneva, and Jacob and Frederick, of Bloomfield. Jacob Barkenstore yet survives, a resident of Lockport.

agricultural pursuits, owning and occupying the large farm afterwards purchased by Gideon Lee. Judge Nicholas died in 1817. His surviving sons are Robert C. Nicholas, Lawson Nicholas, Gavin L. Nicholas, John Nicholas: a daughter became the wife of Abraham Dox, and another the wife of Dr. Leonard, of Lausenburg.

Robert S. Rose, a brother-in-law of Judge Nicholas, emigrated with him from Virginia. He located upon a farm on the opposite side of Seneca Lake, where for many years, he was one of the largest farmers in western New York. Both he and Judge Nicholas, were at one period extensive wool growers, and did much to promote the improvement of sheep husbandry in this region. He was for one or two terms, a representative in Congress. He died, suddenly, at Waterloo, in 1845.* His widow, who was of the Virginia family of Lawsons, so highly esteemed for her quiet and unobtrusive charities, and especially for her zealous aid to the Episcopal church, whose doctrines she adorned through life, died in 1817, or '8. The surviving sons, are:—Dr. Lawson G. Rose, of Geneva; John and Henry Rose, of Jerusalem, Yates county; Robert L. Rose, of Allen's Hill, Ontario county, late a representative in Congress, from the Ontario and Livingston district, and Charles Rose, of the town of Rose, Wayne county. A daughter became the wife of Robert C. Nicholas; another, the wife of Hopkins Sill

BRIEF REMINISCENCES.

From old newspaper files, preserved by James Bogart Esq., an early and worthy conductor of the newspaper press in Ontario county. *Rt.* See some account of the early printers and editors of the Genesee country.

In Bath Gazette, 1799, by an advertisement, it would seem that the "Bath Theatre" was in full blast. The plays announced, are the "Mock Doctor, or the Dumb Lady cured." "A peep into the Seraglio," "Pit, six shillings: Gallery three shillings." In same paper, George M'Clure, announces that he

* In early life he had entertained a presentiment of sudden death, arising from some disorganization in the region of the heart. Many years previous to his death he had assured his family it would be sudden, as it proved to be. He had dined with some friends at Waterloo—at the table had spoken of his unusual good health; and in the act of stepping into his sleigh to return home, fell and soon expired. So abiding was his presentiment, that he had kept all his business affairs prepared for such an exigency as actually occurred.

has opened a "house of entertainment," at Bath. Bath races are advertised.

"Northumberland and Sunbury Gazette," 1792: — Charles Williamson offers for sale "1,000,000 acres of good land in the Genesee country, at \$1,00 per acre to actual settlers." He says:—"A village called Williamsburg, is laid out at the junction of the Camaseraga and Genesee Rivers, where there is excellent navigation for boats carrying ten tons, in the driest season." "The village will have the advantage of a school, church, &c." "Mechanics wanted, to whom village lots will be donated." "Mr. Williamson begs leave to inform the German settlers in Pennsylvania, that he expects to hear of the arrival of 400 Saxons from Germany, who have taken up lands in the Genesee country. They sailed from Hamburg in April last."*

In "Seneca Museum," 1800, Elkanah Watson and Wm. Mynderse, advertise that they will contract the making of a turnpike from Onondaga Hollow to Geneva, and make payment for the same "in good land." In same paper it is announced that "Sloop Seneca, will sail from Geneva every Tuesday, wind and weather permitting, for the head of the Lake, and will generally return from there the Friday following. For freight or passage, apply to Captain on board."

From the Geneva Gazette, April, 1806:—"Positive proof has been obtained by Joseph H. Davis, attorney general for Kentucky district, that Burr had formed an association for making war against Spain, invading Mexico, and forming a distinct empire in the western country."

JAMES REESE.

In all our country there are but few survivors of our Revolutionary period—not one, perhaps—certainly not in our local region, survives, who was so familiar with its stirring events as the venerable James Reese, of Geneva, now in his 87th year. Entering the counting house of Willing & Morris, in Philadelphia, in the memorable year of the Declaration of Independence, he remained there until the close of the long struggle that ensued. Transferred from the commercial department of the firm to the private desk, and confidence, of one of its partners, Robert Morris, then so blended with and so participating in all that was transpiring, it may well be conceived that his yet vigorous mind is a rich storehouse of historical reminiscences. The man survives, a citizen of our own local region, who was a witness of the interviews that often occurred between Geo. Washington and Robert Morris; when he who wielded the

* And they proved, as the reader will see, rather the hardest case that the enterprising founder of settlements, had upon his hands.

sword, would meet him who wielded the purse, and the two, with painful anxiety, surrounded by embarrassments — with an unclothed and unpaid army, and an empty treasury — would discuss the portentous questions, the ways and means of our nation's deliverance. When unpaid armies, disheartened, wore down by fatigue and privation, would threaten dispersion and a return to their long neglected homes: when even their stout-hearted leader would temporarily yield to despondency, and almost in despair appeal to him whose financial expedients were seemingly exhaustless, for council and aid.

The printed notes of hand that Mr. Morris issued in several emergencies during the Revolution; — especially those used in addition to the sum borrowed of the French to enable Washington to put the army upon its march, preparatory to the battle of Yorktown, were filled up and afterwards cancelled by Mr. Reese. Of the hundreds in Mr. Morris' employment at that period, in all his commercial relations — as Superintendent of the finances, and Secretary of the Treasury — Mr. Reese alone survives. His position brought him in contact, and made him acquainted with the leaders of both the American and French army, and the officers of the Navy, of those whose memories are embalmed in a nation's heart. He names them with all the familiarity of recent intercourse; but there are few, if any, in the long list that have not gone to their final rest. He is one of the few remaining links that connect the Past with the Present — and his is not only in reference to our national history, but to the Pioneer history of our local region.

Mr. Reese's first visit to this region was as clerk or secretary to the commissioners for holding a treaty with the Indians, at "Big Tree," commonly called the Morris' treaty. Returning to Philadelphia he acquired an interest in the new region, and in 1798, he removed his family to Geneva, where he has since resided, with the exception of one year spent in Bath, in connection with the land office there. When Mr. Williamson came out as the Pultney agent, his first business was with Mr. Morris, where Mr. Reese became one of his earliest acquaintances in this country. On arriving here, he entered into his agency service, and after that, was his private agent until he returned to England.

NOTE. — Major Reese died at his residence in Geneva after this portion of the work was prepared for the press.

He was appointed cashier to the old Bank of Geneva when it went into operation. He was in service during the war of 1812, as a Deputy Quartermaster of the Northern Division of the Army; and in later years he has filled the office of Bank Commissioner of State, and Postmaster at Geneva.

In a work devoted to other objects, but a brief space can be spared for Revolutionary reminiscences — even those as full of interest as are those of the subject of this sketch. Speaking of Mr. Morris, he observes: — “His commercial transactions were immense, extending over the greater portion of the commercial world; and to all this was added the onerous task of providing for an army in the field, and an armed force upon the ocean. He brought all his energies of mind and body in requisition for the Herculean labor; was active, vigilant — at times sleepless, — and all in his employ were kept in motion. There was no man who could have filled his place. He wielded an immense amount of wealth; had an extraordinary faculty to inspire confidence; he unloosed purse strings that no one else could have unloosed. Even those of the society of Friends, their principles forbidding an immediate or remote participation in war or any of its relations, who constituted at that period a large class of Philadelphia capitalists, lent him money; in one especial instance, \$6,000 in specie, in a pressing emergency of the army, with an injunction of secrecy.* The relations between him and Washington during the whole of the Revolution, was one of great intimacy, confidence and friendship. There was no one individual upon whom the Father of his country so much relied, in all the terrible conflict that won our national Independence.

As the clerk of Mr. Morris, Mr. Reese had an opportunity of seeing Washington under circumstances which enable him to speak familiarly of him. “He always,” says he, “received me and treated me with great kindness of manner, when I had business to transact with him. He was mild and courteous — sedate — not austere.”

Mr. Reese observes that Mr. Morris' sudden reverses were in a

* When the gallant Rochambeau was about to return to France, a deputation of Friends were among those who made to him congratulatory addresses: — “It is not” said they, “on account of thy military qualities that we make thee this visit — those we hold in little esteem; but thou art the friend of mankind, and thy army conducts itself with the utmost order and discipline. It is this which induces us to render thee our respects.”

great measure consequent upon what he regarded as his fortunate investments in the Genesee country. Stimulated by his golden prospects here, and especially by his successful sale to Sir William Pultney and his associates, renowned throughout Europe as the fortunate American land operator, he bought of himself and with others, immense tracts of wild land in different States of the Union. Pay days came before sales could be effected: a change from affluence, a princely fortune, to bankruptcy, attended with dignity, integrity, and honorable conduct, marked the close of his useful career.

CHAPTER II.

SALE OF PHELPS AND GORHAM TO ROBERT MORRIS — RE-SALE TO ENGLISH ASSOCIATION — ADVENT OF CHARLES WILLIAMSON.

A NAME intimately blended with the whole history of the Revolution, one to whose memory a larger debt of national gratitude is due than to that of any other man, (the great leader in the struggle always excepted,) was early and prominently identified with all this region. What could well furnish the material for an elaborate historical work, must here be but the brief sketch necessary to his introduction as a large proprietor of the soil of the Genesee country.

Robert Morris was a native of Liverpool, England. While a youth, his father emigrated to this country, locating in Baltimore. Entering into the service of the eminent merchant of Philadelphia, Charles Willing, as a clerk, he became the partner of his son and successor. At the breaking out of the Revolution, although engaged in an extensive mercantile and commercial business that demanded his attention, he became at once an active partizan in the struggle. In 1776, he was a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

In the previous year, soon after the battle of Trenton, General Washington, in a pressing emergency, had realized from him a temporary loan for the army. Again, money was wanted by the commander in chief, and he supplied it; the army was destitute of bread, and the doors of his store houses were opened for their relief; it was without lead for bullets, — stripping the lead fixtures from private dwellings for that purpose, — when the ballast of one of his vessels supplied the deficiency. Invested with the office of Secretary of an empty Treasury — becoming the financier of the poorest country that ever kept an army in the field, or armed ships upon the ocean — his own means were put in requisition, and his almost unbounded credit freely used. With a tact, as a financier, never excelled, when money must be had, he obtained it. When other men or bodies of men failed, he would succeed. When the rich bankers of Amsterdam knew no such new creation as the *United States*, or its Congress; or, knowing them, had no confidence in their engagements, they trusted him on his private responsibility with millions, which he used in the public service. And when the great struggle was drawing to a close — when a last and desperate blow was to be struck, and the army that was to do it, was in New Jersey, without pay, and destitute of comfortable clothing and rations. * — when even its stout hearted commander-in-chief was almost yielding to the embarrassments with which he was surrounded, and upon the point of leading his army the wrong way, because he could not command the means to move it where it should go — the active, patriotic financier hastened to his camp, and by assuring him that he would supply all immediate wants, encouraged him to put his army in motion. The destination was Yorktown; — the defeat of Cornwallis, the crowning act of the Revolution, was the result.† Mr. Morris died in New Jersey, in 1806. He was eventually reimbursed by Congress for all of his expenditures and losses in the Revolution, though not for the sacrifices of time and abstraction from his private business, that his public services made necessary. He was, however, eminently success-

* "I saw that army when it passed through Philadelphia," says the venerable James Reese; "and a more ragged, shoeless, and sad looking one, has seldom been put upon the march in the direction of an enemy."

† The money in specie, that he had promised, was borrowed, and paid to the army, but a few days before the attack upon Cornwallis.

ful in his commercial affairs, and at one period, was by far the wealthiest man in the United States; but engaging enormously in land purchases—other than in this region—he became embarrassed, and the country he had so well served, had the sore mortification of seeing him, toward the close of his useful life, the tenant of jail limits. *

Mr. Morris' extended commercial affairs, had made him in a measure, a citizen of the world, instead of that of the new republic. Such was his credit at one period, that in most of the commercial cities of Europe, his private notes passed from hand to hand, with all the confidence that would have been had in the issues of a sound bank. At the close of the Revolution, an immense quantity of wild lands were thrown into market, speculation became rife, and Mr. Morris entered into it upon an extensive scale. Mr. Phelps, during the Revolution, having been connected with the commissary department of the Massachusetts line, and Mr. Gorham, being a prominent merchant in Boston, Mr. Morris had made their acquaintance, and when they sought a purchaser for their unsold lands in the Genesee country, they applied to him. Little was known in the commercial cities of all this region, other than what had been gathered from maps, and from those who had accompanied Sullivan's expedi-

NOTE.—The Duke Liancourt, who made the acquaintance of Mr. Morris, and speaks of him in language of respect and esteem, mentions among his gigantic business operations, his investments in the city of Washington. The capital was located in an era of speculation and inflation, and magnificent expectations were entertained in reference to the city that would grow up around it. In company with Messrs. Nicholson and Greenleaf, of Philadelphia, he purchased 6,000 lots at \$80 per lot, with the condition that there should be built upon them 120 two story brick houses, within seven years. This purchase was made of commissioners; the company bought about an equal number of lots of original proprietors of the ground. Successful sales followed, part of the buildings were erected, but the bubble burst and added to the embarrassments of Mr. Morris, ruining many others of the large capitalists of the United States. The city of "brick kilns," and "magnificent distances," as Mr. Randolph called it, abounds with the relics of the extravagant views entertained at an early period.

The private notes that Mr. Morris issued during the Revolution, were called "Long Bobs," "Sand " "Short Bobs;" having reference to the drawer's name, and the periods of their maturity. For a more extended biographical sketch of Robert Morris, see History of Holland Purchase.

* An unthinking Shylock at a public watering place, during the last summer, in N. Y., gave it as his sage and profound opinion, that no "worthy, deserving man," ever suffered by the operations of the old law, which imprisoned for debt; and added the wish, that it could be restored. The author must here note, what occurred to him at the time;—The man, without whose individual exertions, the Revolutionary struggle would have been a failure; and the man who projected the overland route of that great dispenser of wealth and prosperity to millions—the Erie Canal—were victims of that relic of an iron age, which strangely enough had found at this late period, one advocate.

tion. Mr. Morris, however, sought the means of further information. Ebenezer (or Indian) Allan, was then located as an Indian trader on the Genesee River, at what is now Mount Morris, and was in the habit of making yearly visits to Philadelphia for the purchase of goods. Samuel Street who resided at the Falls on the Canada side, had also visited Philadelphia. From them Mr. Morris obtained information, which induced him to accede to a proposition of Messrs. Phelps & Gorham. Their deed of conveyance embraces their entire final purchase of Massachusetts, of about two millions, two hundred thousand acres, excepting such towns and parts of townships as they had sold, being in all, about one million, one hundred thousand acres. The consideration and actual price paid by Mr. Morris, was thirty thousand pounds New York currency.

At an early period after the purchase, Mr. Morris employed Maj. Adam Hoops to explore the country,* who reported that "in respect to soil, climate and advantageous navigation," it was equal to any portion of the United States. Measures were immediately adopted for the survey of such portions as was unsurveyed. The celebrated David Rittenhouse was then just perfecting some surveyor's instruments, and he was employed to fit out Major Hoops' expedition.†

NOTE.—Mr. Morris after he had made the purchase, wrote to his agent in London, that "Mr. Ebenezer Allan, the oldest settler in that country" had assured him "that hemp grows like young willows, it is so rampant and strong, and that he has raised forty bushels of the finest wheat he ever saw, and so of other articles in like abundance. He asserts that the forest trees about Philadelphia are not larger than the branches of trees in his neighborhood." In another letter he assures his agent that he has had the most flattering accounts of his Genesee purchase, from those who belonged to the Friend's settlement on Seneca Lake, that had returned to Pennsylvania on a visit to their connexion. He assures him that he has from all quarters heard such favorable accounts of the country, that were he a young man, he would "pitch his tent there!"

* Major Hoops was residing near Philadelphia. He had been in the army throughout the Revolution, was in Sullivan's campaign, and at one period, belonged to the staff of Washington; and was one of the aids of Gen. Sullivan, in his expedition to the Genesee country. He was connected with the earliest surveys of all this region. When Mr. Morris afterwards, purchased all the regions west of Phelps and Gorham's purchase, he explored it and commenced the surveys. In 1804, he in company with Ebenezer F. Norton, purchased the most of the township of Olean. They laid out there, the village of Hamilton, which was afterwards, changed to Olean. He was a bachelor; died in Westchester, Pa., in 1835 or '6.

† There is an anecdote connected with Mr. Rittenhouse, which is quite too good to be lost, and may be preserved here. When he had completed one of his astronomical instruments, in anticipation of the transit of Venus, he had invited several friends to be present, and enjoy a view of it. Among the rest he had invited a respectable farmer from the country, who knew far more about raising crops, than he did about movements of the planets. He answered in a note, that he should be very much engaged the evening named, but if Mr. Rittenhouse would have the "*transit of Venus postponed for a few evenings*" he would be very happy to attend.

In Mr. Morris' extensive land operations, he had agents in all the principal cities of Europe. His agent in London, was Wm. Temple Franklin, a grand-son of Dr. Franklin, to whom he had given an inadequate idea of its real value. Just as he became fully apprized of its value, and was in active preparation to bring it into market for settlers, under his own auspices, he received news from Mr. Franklin, that he had sold it. The purchasers were an "Association," consisting of Sir Wm. Pultney, John Hornby and Patrick Colquhoun. The first was a capitalist, and at that period occupied a high position as a citizen and statesman. He resided in the city of London. The second, had been governor of Bombay, and was a retired London capitalist. The third was eminent in his day, as a statesman and philanthropist.* The price paid for what was supposed to be about one million one hundred thousand acres, but which in fact amounted to almost one million two hundred thousand acres, was thirty five thousand pounds sterling. Mr. Morris had written to Mr. Franklin previous to the sale, a letter from which he would have inferred, that he intended advancing on the price, but the sale was made previous to the reception of the letter. In that letter he says:—"I have applications in all, for 250,000 acres of the Genesee lands, and they are daily increasing. This winter has disclosed the real character those lands deserve. Many genteel families are going to settle there, and as I have determined to settle my son there, no one can doubt the favorable opinion I entertain of the soil, climate and rapidity of settlement." "I consider that the southwestern Indian war, will eventually be of advantage to the settlements of the Genesee country." "There is now in this city a Mr. Jackson, who lives on the borders of Seneca Lake, who is accompanied by an Indian. They assured me that before they left, while there was snow on the ground, every night thirty or forty families arrived at his place. (Friends settlement,) on their way to settle the lands that had been bought before my purchase." "All our public affairs go on well. This country is rushing into wealth and impor-

* A marble tablet erected in front of the Presbyterian church in Canandaigua, to perpetuate his memory, has upon it an inscription which recognizes the principal events of his useful life. He was a native of Glasgow, and died in London, in 1820, aged 76 years. Few men have contributed more to the reformation of criminal laws, to the promotion of trade and commerce, in founding systems for benefiting the poor, and for public education, in England and Scotland. In some of his correspondence in the hands of the author, he mentions having spent some time in America previous to 1790: as is inferred, in some of the Southern States.

tance faster than ever was expected by the most sanguine of the sanguinous." My Genesee lands are infinitely preferable to any American lands that can be offered in Europe." After he had been apprised of the sale, he wrote to Mr. Colquhoun:—"Those tracts which Gorham and Phelps had sold previous to my purchase, are settling very fast, and the first settlers are raising enough to supply the new comers." "I am now at New York, on my return from Boston, where I saw several people from the Genesee country, and it affords me great pleasure to reiterate the account which you have already had, of that fine country. On my way through Connecticut, I met Mr. Wadsworth who has settled in the Genesee country, with whom I had much conversation, and who I find like every other person who has visited the country, is in raptures with it. Mr. Wadsworth is extremely intelligent, and one upon whose veracity the utmost reliance can be placed. The reports made by him and others in New England, has turned the attention of all who think of emigration, towards the Genesee, and every man who pitches his tent there, adds to the value of your purchase."

Major Hoops, prosecuted the surveys under the new proprietors, by an arrangement with Mr. Morris. He early discovered, what had been suspected, a material error in the running the Pre-emption line. As this is a matter which it will be necessary for the reader to understand, in connection with after events, it may be here stated, that the State of New York ceded to Massachusetts, all the territory west of a line to be drawn due north and south from the 82nd mile stone on the Pennsylvania line. Before the running this line, it could of course be but mere conjecture where it would fall, as far north from the starting point as Seneca Lake. Seth Reed, the afterwards founder of the settlement at Presque Isle, (Erie,) Pa., the grand-father of the present Charles M. Reed, and Peter Ryckman, both of whom had been Indian traders, applied to the State of New York, for a remuneration for services rendered in some previous negotiations with the eastern portion of the Six Nations, and proposed to take a patent for a tract, the boundaries of which should "begin at a tree on the bank of the Seneca Lake, and run along the bank of the Lake to the south, until they should have 16,000 acres between the Lake and the east bounds of the land ceded to Massachusetts." Their request was acceded to, and a patent issued. Thus situated, they proposed to Messrs. Phelps

and Gorham, to join them in running the Pre-emption Line, each party furnishing a surveyor. "A Captain Allen," says one authority, "Mr. Jenkins" says another, was selected by Reed and Ryckman, and Colonel Maxwell, by Phelps and Gorham. In the mean time, the Lessees assuming that their transactions were valid, took an interest in the matter, and as Messrs. Reed and Ryckman were both share holders in their company, the matter was mutually accommodated between them. The line was run, which is known as the "Old Pre-emption Line." Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, were much disappointed in the result, suspected error, or fraud, but made no movement for a re-survey, before they had sold to the English Association. Their suspicions had been at first excited by an offer from a prominent member of the Lessee Company, for "all the lands they owned east of the line that had been run." They were so well assured of the fact, that in their deed to Mr. Morris, they specified a tract, in a gore between the line then run, and the west bounds of the counties of Montgomery and Tioga, those counties then embracing all of the military tract.

Upon a superficial examination of the line, Major Hoops was convinced of its inaccuracy. Mr. Morris having in his conveyance to the English purchasers, stipulated an accurate survey of all he conveyed, instructed Major Hoops to correct the line.* Mr. Ellicott with his two brothers, Joseph and Benjamin, had then just finished the survey of Washington city. The transit instrument, for surveying by means of astronomical observations, having just been invented in Germany, Mr. Ellicott availed himself of it, his brother Benjamin superintending its construction. Upon arriving in this country, Mr. Ellicott was joined by the late Judge Porter, who was then a surveyor in the employ of Messrs. Phelps & Gorham: a corps of axe-men were employed, and a vista thirty feet wide opened before the transit instrument, until the line had reached the head of Seneca Lake, when night signals were employed to run down and over the Lake. So much pains were taken to insure correctness, that the survey was never disputed, and thus the "*new* Pre-emption Line" was established as the true division line between

* In a letter to Mr. Colquhoun, Mr. Morris says: "These three brothers," (Andrew, Joseph, and Benjamin Ellicott,) "are of the number of beings on whom nature sports her favors. They are great mathematicians as well as mechanical geniuses, to which they have added much practical experience, and good moral characters."

the lands of the State of New York and those that had been ceded to Massachusetts. In examining the old survey, Major Hoops had discovered the precise points of deviation to the westward. It had commenced soon after leaving the Pennsylvania line, gradually bearing off until it crossed the out-let of the Crooked Lake, where an abrupt offset was made, and then an inclination for a few miles, almost in a north-west course; then as if fearful that it was running west farther than was necessary to secure a given object, the line was made to incline to the east, until it passed the foot of Seneca Lake, when it was run nearly north and south to Lake Ontario. All this will be observed upon any of the old maps. It will at once be perceived that the site of Geneva, the 16,000 acres of Reed and Ryckman, and the supposed interests of the Lessees, had caused more than a usual variation of the surveyor's compass. Judge Porter's explanation is as follows: "Geneva was then a small settlement, beautifully situated on the Seneca Lake, rendered quite attractive by its lying beside an old Indian settlement, in which there was an orchard." *

The old pre-emption line, terminated on Lake Ontario, three miles west ofodus Bay, and the new line very nearly the center of the head of the Bay. With the exception of the abrupt variations that have been noticed, the old line parting from the true meridian about five miles south of the Chemung river, bears off gradually until it reaches the shore of Lake Ontario. The strip of land between the two lines was called "The Gore." In addition to the patent granted to Reed and Ryckman, the State had presumed the original survey to be correct, and made other grants, and allowed the location of military land warrants upon what had been made disputed territory. We shall see what was the final disposition of the matter.

After Mr. Morris had made the purchase of Phelps and Gorham, he had once endeavored to promote the settlement of the Genesee lands, entering into negotiations with individuals, and with those who proposed founding settlements or colonies, but he had perfected nothing; though some sales he had in progress, were consummated

* In speaking of this fraud, to the author, Judge Porter entirely exonerated Col. Maxwell, for whom, in common with all who knew him, he entertained a high respect. In fact, it turned out that Col. Maxwell was sick and obliged to trust the line to his associate at the time the fraud was committed.

by his successors. His plan of settlement contemplated principally emigration from Pennsylvania ; but there were formidable difficulties in the way. A wide forest separated his lands from the most advanced settlements of Pennsylvania, over the mountains and across the streams, of which no avenue had been opened ; and the still greater difficulty was the fear of Indian wars. The Six Nations were looked upon as but in a state of armistice, as having reluctantly yielded to necessity, and paused in their stealthy assaults ; but far from being reconciled, ready to again take up the tomahawk and scalping knife, upon their own account, if opportunity was offered, or at the bidding of those who were yet brooding over their revenge behind the walls of Forts Oswego and Niagara, and in their Canadian retreats. The borderers of Pennsylvania had seen and felt too much of the horrors of Indian wars, to feel willing to place themselves again in a position to be harrassed by them. News had reached them of Indian murders of surveyors and emigrants near Presque Isle, and of surveyors in this region : of solitary cases of a renewal of Indian hostilities upon the Susquehanna ; and rumor had vastly magnified the apprehended danger. A society of Menonists in Pennsylvania, had contracted with Phelps and Gorham for a township, and were negotiating with Mr. Morris for a larger purchase, to enable them to settle their sons in this country, but gave up the project in consequence of the fear of Indian war. Mr. Morris writes to Mr. Colquhoun soon after he had sold to the Association, that " these worthy but timid people had grown afraid since the Indian wars at the westward had become so general as it is, to let their sons go out even to the townships they have bought, lest the Six Nations should become parties, and attack the Genesee settlements. Now as there is not the least danger of this happening, the Six Nations having decided already for peace, yet these timid people will await their own time. I will, however, announce to them that I can supply them with the lands they wanted, and as I think the Indian war will be of short duration, there is little doubt but they will buy it when it is over."

In a letter from Mr. Morris to Mr. Colquhoun, dated in June, 1791, he gives a general statement of wild lands in the United States, then in market. Speaking of his own operations he says, he has 50,000 acres in Otsego county, that he had bought of the State of New York ; and he mentions that the State of New York has yet

600,000 acres, but he knows of a "company who intend to buy it. The State asks four shillings per acre, and want cash down, the applicants want credit, and a lower price, and as yet the land remains unsold. On the Mohawk river, lands are worth from £5 to £15 per acre, New England currency." He mentions "that in company with Gouverneur Morris," (who was then in Europe, endeavoring to sell lands,) "and his brother-in-law, I have a 190 thousand acres on the river St. Lawrence." "In Pennsylvania the lands belonging to the State are reduced by sales and settlement to an inconsiderable quantity." "The vacant lands in Virginia, from a vicious practice in the land office, and a more vicious practice of the surveyors, are rendered so precarious in title, that people are afraid to buy them, and therefore they are offered at 6d per acre, and no buyers." "Lands west of the Ohio are now out of the question, until the Indian war is over; they are also too remote from any market." "Lands in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia may be cheap, but the climate is too warm for rapid settlement."

CHARLES WILLIAMSON.

As soon as the London Associates had completed their purchase of Mr. Franklin, the agent of Mr. Morris, they entered upon measures for the sale and settlement of what they had acquired. Sir Wm. Pultney, in the earliest years, was in a great measure a silent partner; the concerns of the Genesee lands seem to have devolved principally upon Mr. Colquhoun. He devoted himself earnestly to the work; availed himself of all the information he could acquire; projected improvements; and made himself, by an active correspondence with Mr. Morris and others, in this country, familiar with this region. He was ambitious to make it a lucrative operation for himself and associates, and at the same time to make himself and them the founders of prosperous settlements. His correspondence are perfect specimens of method, and high business

NOTE.—Almost simultaneously with the sale to the English Association, Mr. Morris had purchased of Massachusetts what Messrs. Phelps & Gorham had relinquished, and, what afterwards constituted the Holland purchase and "Morris' reserve." His interest, therefore, in this region, did not cease with his sale to Sir Wm. Pultney and associates

qualifications: exhibit great foresight and prudence; and touching the interest of those upon whom was to devolve the hard task of subduing the wilderness, there is blended in all of it a spirit of philanthropy, and fair and honest dealing, which would well justify much that has been said of him on the tablet that has been raised to his memory in Canandaigua. And with nothing to judge from but his business letters, instructions to agents, &c., it is impossible to form any other conclusion with regard to Sir Wm. Pultney, but such as are creditable to him, as one whose capital had made his own interests and those of new settlers, mutual.

And here, with a knowledge that the author has acquired by a perusal of masses of correspondence that have passed between the foreign land holders of most of all Western New York and their agents — letters written in all the confidence that would accrue from such a relation — he is constrained to remark, that the country could hardly have fallen into better hands. Both the English and the Dutch companies, under whose auspices, as proprietors, three fourths of the whole country west of Seneca Lake was settled, were composed of capitalists who made investments of large amounts of money, in the infancy of this republic, when its stability was by no means a settled point: and they were satisfied with reasonable returns for their vast outlays: and patient under the delays of payment, as all must concede. With reference to both companies, in all their correspondence with their agents, no wish or indication escapes them of a disposition to have the new settlers oppressed, or to have their business conducted in any other than a fair, honest, and liberal manner. If any wrong policy was pursued it was a fixing of too high prices upon land, and in that matter they generally were guided by the advice of their agents: but long, in many instances, almost interminable credits were given: and that enabled men to possess, and finally pay for land, who could not have done so, if payment at a very low rate had been demanded in hand. There is not in the history of the world a better example of the advantages of credit than is furnished in the settlement of all this region. It has conferred homes and competence upon tens of thousands who would not have had them if pay down had been the order of early days. There was no considerable class of actual settlers when most of the Genesee country was brought into market that could pay down even twenty five cents per acre. The

present system of selling the wild lands of the United States would not have answered for that day, for there is now twenty settlers who are able to pay before working it out of the soil, where there was one then.

The Association, as a first step after purchase, looked for an agent to manage it. The choice fell upon Charles Williamson; one who was destined to have his name prominently and honorably identified with all the earliest history of settlement and progress in Western New York.

Mr. Williamson was a native of Balgray, in the county of Dumfries, Scotland. His father, Alexander Williamson, was the Secretary of the Earl of Hopeton. At the commencement of the Revolution, he held a captain's commission in the British service, and was ordered to this country with his regiment, though as it happened without any service. The ship in which he sailed, when nearing our coast, was captured by a French privateer, carried into Newburyport, and transferred to the depot at Boston, where he remained a prisoner until the close of the war, was married and returned to Scotland. He improved his stay in the country, by collecting much information, and left it with high expectations in reference to its destinies, which were fully confirmed by the successful termination of the war of the Revolution. After making the tour of the eastern continent, he returned to London, just about the period when the attention of capitalists in Europe was drawn toward the wild lands of the United States; his opinion and information was much sought after. His intelligence, and fine social qualities attracted the attention of Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Colquhoun, then sheriff of Westminster, and with them he became very intimate, which was only ended by the death of the parties. Mr. Williamson had a strong desire to return to this country, which was gratified by his appointment as agent of what was at first called "The Association," and afterwards the Pultney Estate. Leaving London, he repaired to Scotland, and after arranging his affairs there, sailed for this country, accompanied by his family, and two well educated and intelligent Scotchmen, John Johnstone and Charles Cameron, who came out as his assistants. After a long voyage, the party arrived at Norfolk, and going to Baltimore, Mr. Williamson provided quarters for his family for the winter. From this city he wrote to his principals that all things looked well in the new coun-

try; that the city was so full of newly arrived emigrants that he found it difficult to get accommodations. Preceding his companions, he went to Philadelphia, made the acquaintance of Mr. Morris, and availed himself of his knowledge of the Genesee country, and his remaining interest in it, in projecting some improvements, the opening of a direct road to the purchase, and a general plan of commencing the settlements; at the same time, after having become naturalized he took from Mr. Morris deeds in his own name, his principals being aliens and non-residents. In a letter to Mr. Colquhoun from Baltimore, Mr. Williamson had foreshadowed some of his ideas of what should be done. He states that he had just met with a gentleman who had "traversed the Genesee lands in several directions;" and his account corresponded with their most favorable anticipations:—"He declares that even the worst are superior to any he ever saw." Mr. Williamson adds:—"These disinterested accounts, from different people, put the quality of the land in the fairest view. The next object then is to take some liberal and decisive steps to bring them to their value. Want of communications is the great draw back on back settlements distant from the rivers that run into the Atlantic. Remove this difficulty and there can be no doubt that the gentlemen of the Association will reap an advantage fifty times their outlay; and come to their purpose many years sooner. Nothing will draw the attention of the people of America more readily than the idea of their settling under the protection of an association who will take every means to render their farms convenient and profitable." In the same letter he proposes a plan for advancing £10 to "poor settlers to induce them to settle down on the worst part of the tract where wealthier people might hesitate to make a beginning.

Mr. Williamson spent the most of the winter of 1791, '2, with his party in Northumberland, Penn. In February, however, he made a flying visit to the Genesee country, going around via New York and Albany. He writes to Mr. Colquhoun that he passed through "an uninhabited wilderness of more than 100 miles before reaching Geneva, which consisted of a few straggling huts." "There is not a road within one hundred miles of the Genesee country, that will admit of any sort of conveyance, otherwise than on horseback, or on a sled, when the ground is covered with snow." "The price of land has, in a few instances, exceeded 2s. per acre;

some few farms of first-rate quality have been sold on a credit for 4s. per acre." Returning to Baltimore, he decided upon opening a communication with the Genesee country from the southward. It was from that direction he expected his principal emigration; and he looked to the Susquehannah and its branches, and Chesapeake Bay, as the prospective avenues of trade from all this region; and to Baltimore as its great emporium. To the eastward from the Genesee country, every thing had a discouraging look—a woods road through the wide wilderness that separated the region from the old settlement on the Mohawk, which when improved, would furnish but a long and expensive land carriage; and the imperfect and expensive water communication afforded by the Mohawk, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, Oswego, and Seneca Rivers, afforded the best prospects that existed in that direction. Taking care to excite a good deal of interest in Baltimore, by holding out the fine prospects for trade with the Genesee country, he returned to Northumberland and organized a party of road surveyors. Proceeding via Loyalsock, the party went up the Lycoming to the "house of one Kyle," who was then the farthest advanced settler.—Sending out the hunters to explore ahead, and return and report, the party by slow progress, camping and breaking up their camps, proceeded until they had located a road from what was then "Ross Farm," now Williamsport, to the mouth of the Canaseraga Creek, on the Genesee river, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles.* Application was made to the State of Pennsylvania for assistance to open the road; but little more was obtained than authority to build it through that State. Measures were immediately commenced for opening the road. Before it could be opened, a ship with merchant's goods that Mr. Colquhoun had consigned to Mr. Williamson, arrived at Baltimore. The consignee informed the consigner that there was no other way to get them to the Genesee country, but by "pack horses and Indian paths, except in freshets;" but finally concluded to sell off the heavy goods at Baltimore, and send on the lighter ones via New York and Albany. Before the close of 1792, Mr. Williamson had deter-

* The route of this primitive road, was via Blossburgh, then called "Peter's Camp," (from the name of a German whom Mr. Williamson established there, with a depot of provisions;) thence down the Tioga to Painted Post; up the Canistota to Hornelsville; then to Dansville, and down the Canaseraga to Genesee river.

mined upon commencing his first settlement at the termination of his road on the Genesee river, and in pursuance of that decision, had laid out a village, which he called Williamsburg, ploughed 80 acres of flats, and built a long row of dwellings.

The dwellings and ploughed ground were intended for the use of a German colony. As "Williamsburg" and "the Germans," formed a distinct feature of all this region, in an early day, some account of them, their advent, and after hegira, must be given here. It was an untoward commencement of settlement, or rather, of European colonization in the Genesee country.

Soon after the Association had sent out Mr. Williamson, there appeared in London an itinerant picture merchant from Germany, by the name of Berezy. With a good deal of tact and gentlemanly address, he had won the confidence of Mr. Colquhoun, and prevailed upon him to let him head an expedition which contemplated the bringing to this country a colony of poor, industrious Saxons—colonizing them, and holding them here as redemptionists.* Instead of following his instructions, he went to the city of Ham-burgh and picked up idlers, indifferent mechanics, broken down gamblers and players,—in fact, just about the worst materials that were ever collected for the practical uses of a new settlement.† They consisted of about seventy families. From their very start, they began to be the source of enormous expense. Arriving at London, they were, after a great deal of trouble, put on board two chartered vessels and consigned to Robert Morris. They finally arrived at Northumberland just about the time that Mr. Williamson commenced opening the road. Axes, spades and hoes were provided for them, and they set to work: and bad work enough they made of it. They had to be first taught the use of their tools, and were far from learning easily. An old gentleman who came over the road in an early day, says the trees looked as if they had been "gnawed down by beavers." Their labor, however, made the road

NOTE.—On arriving at Genesee river, Mr. Williamson found that T. 8, R. 7, now Greenland, had been sold to an agent of a Society of Monacists, in Pennsylvania, by Phelps and Gorham. He purchased the townships of the agent, paying the then high price of one dollar per acre.

* Persons held to service to pay all expenses attending their emigration and settlement.

† They were, says the French Duke Liencourt, "of the crowd of foreigners, whom poverty, idleness, and necessities of every kind, induce to resort to Ham-burgh with a view to emigration."

principally, to where Blossburgh now is. They were then taken down to Painted Post, and remained there until the spring of '93, when they were located at the home provided for them at Williamsburg. Each family had a house and fifty acres of land appropriated to its use ; necessary farming tools ; a stock of provisions ; and there were distributed among the whole, 27 yoke of oxen, 40 cows, 80 hogs, 300 sheep. Even their household utensils were provided them. Beside all this, they had their minister and physician.

The city training, and idle habits of the expensive colonists, soon began to be exhibited. They were both idle and improvident, the women made as bad use of the provisions that had been furnished, as the men of the farming implements that were put into their hands. An eye witness informed the author, that they fried their pork and then threw it away, supposing the grease only intended for use ; and he gave other similar specimens of their domestic economy. The whole fiddled and danced, and drank whiskey ; even the minister proved a bad specimen of his cloth. It soon turned out that most of them had been deceived. Berezy to swell his numbers, and gratify his ambition to be the head of a colony, had promised them fine times in America ; had assured them that his patrons being rich, they should want for nothing, and as they were to be the founders of a city, they could each choose such employment as was best suited to their tastes and habits. That they were to dig and delve in the dirty earth, was not in the bond, according to their understanding.

Mr. Williamson soon became convinced, that he had at least one bad job upon his hands, as the founder of new settlements. One stock of provisions was consumed, and another had to be supplied ; the fallows that had been provided for them, lay undisturbed ; the sheep and hogs that were intended as breeders, and the cows that were intended to furnish milk — all obtained at great expense and trouble — one after another disappeared, and were found upon the shambles ; the city appetites of the hopeful colonists craving occasional alternations between salted and fresh provisions. The very seeds that Mr. Williamson provided, instead of going into the ground, went into the pot. And what was worse perhaps than all, Berezy, by indulgence and other artful management, had obtained complete control of the colonists, and set himself above Mr.

Williamson, claiming to have brought his authority directly from head quarters in London. A store had been established at Williamsburg, which was under the care of Mr. John Johnstone, and Berezy and the Germans had used its goods and provisions lavishly; and besides, Berezy had contracted debts for supplies, especially with the Messrs. Wadsworths, assuming that he was acting for the Association, and not under the authority of Mr. Williamson.

After having humored the whole matter, until some decisive measures became necessary, Mr. Williamson visited his refractory colony, taking with him from Canandaigua, his friend Thomas Morris, determined to have some reform. He had a house at Williamsburg, then occupied by James Miller, where he kept a desk containing all his papers that had reference to that locality; and there he and his friend took up their quarters.* Sending for Berezy he had an interview with him, which ended by displacing him as an agent, and forbidding him to exercise any authority over the Germans. Calling the Germans together, he informed them of their new relations, and proposed measures of further assistance to them, conditioned upon their going to work, and trying to help themselves. At first they were disposed to listen to his proposals, but the superior influence of Berezy soon prevailed, and riot and mutiny succeeded.

Sunday intervened, and Mr. Williamson says, "Berezy and the minister were all day pow-wow-ing in every house in the settlement." Monday came, and Mr. Williamson found the quarters of himself and friends besieged. The Germans had collected in a body, and under the influence of Berezy were making extravagant demands as the terms of peace, and a continuance in the colony. Mr. Williamson retreated into the house with his friends Morris, Johnstone, and several others, in all, a force vastly inferior to the refractory colonists. "Driven into a corner between two writing desks" says Mr. Williamson, "I had luckily some of my own people near me, who were able to keep the most savage and daring of the Germans off, though the cry was to lay hold of me. Nothing could equal my situation, but some of the Parisian scenes. For an hour and a half I was in this situation, every instant expecting to be torn to pieces." Berezy finding the storm he had raised, raging too vio-

* The reader should understand that Williamsburg, the site of this early German colony, is what has since been known as the "Hermitage;" the present farm and residence of the Hon. Charles H. Carroll.

lently, quelled it ; but rapine took the place of personal assault. The cattle upon the premises were driven off, or killed to furnish a feast for a general carousal. The mutiny and plunder lasted for several days ; there being no authority or superior force to quell it. At one time, the physician of the colony, who had taken sides with Mr. Williamson became the object of the fiercest resentment. He was seized, and in attempting to rescue him, Messrs. Morris and Johnstone were assaulted and their lives placed in jeopardy ; but finally made their escape.

Present in all the affray was Mr. Richard Cuyler, then acting as Mr. Williamson's clerk. He was dispatched to Albany with a requisition upon Gov. George Clinton, for a force sufficient to quell the riot and apprehend the rioters. Berezy with a few of the Germans, departed for Philadelphia, for the double purpose of escaping arrest and enlisting Mr. Robert Morris on their side. Gov. Clinton issued an order to Judah Colt, who had been appointed Sheriff of the new county of Ontario, commanding him to summon a posse for the arrest of the rioters. A posse equal in numbers with the German colonists was no easy matter at that early period of settlement. But fortunately some boat crews and new settlers, had just arrived at Bath. They made a forced night march through the woods, and joined by others, succeeded in arresting those who had been foremost in the riot. They were taken to Canandaigua and light fines imposed ; the principal object being the assertion of the supremacy of the laws. Unable to pay the fines, they were hired out to new settlers in Canandaigua and the vicinity, to earn the money. Their defence, was some of the earliest practice of the late Gen. Vincent Matthews.

Berezy, going from Philadelphia to New York, put the Germans and himself under the auspices of a German benevolent association, who had made arrangements with Gov. Simcoe, for settling emigrants at what is now Toronto, and in the townships of Markham. They went down and encamped at the mouth of the Genesee river, and were temporarily the early neighbors of Wm. Hencher. When the boats came from Canada to take them away, a boatman was drowned in the river. His was the first death and funeral, after settlement commenced, in all of what is now Monroe county.

Another formidable attempt at colonization from Europe, did not progress so far, or rather took another direction. Donald Stewart,

an enterprising Scotchman, of "Achmaun by Appin, in Argyleshire," soon after the purchase of the Association, had organized a colony in his neighborhood, the destination of which was Cumberland, N. Carolina. He received a proposition from Mr. Colquhoun too late to change their direction, the colonists having embarked and sailed. But following them soon, Mr. Stewart came to explore the Genesee country, with the intention, if suited with it, to bring his colony here. He spent several weeks traveling on horseback, with Mr. Williamson, got a small specimen of the ague and fever; the new country in its primitive roughness, had to him a forbidding look; he turned his back upon it rather in ill humor.* There were many other schemes of the proprietors in London, and Mr. Williamson, to colonize this region, none of which succeeded, except that of the persevering, and finally eminently successful one, at Caledonia Springs. And here it may well be observed, that in reference generally to founding new settlements in the United States, the Associates in London, and their agent here, had many impracticable views at first, of which they became finally convinced, by a pretty expensive experience.

The getting the Northumberland road through; the commencement of a settlement at Williamsburg, and the building of a saw mill on the Canaseraga creek, near the present town of Ossian, occupied the business season of 1792. Mr. Williamson himself having settled his family at Northumberland, was upon the move; visited New York, Baltimore; travelled in the interior of Maryland and Pennsylvania, beating up for emigrants; and explored pretty thoroughly the whole region over which his agency extended.

In the spring of 1793, operations were commenced at Bath.†

* A good anecdote came of it however, which it is said had something to do with his dislike of the country. Travelling the first on horseback, Mr. Williamson and his companion were attracted by the noise of falling water. Approaching it, the water gushing from the rock, and falling over a precipice, the head of the stream, the rocks and banks covered with sculpture, riveted their attention. It was a feast for the eyes, but not exactly agreeable to their smell. After waiting for a few minutes, Mr. Williamson broke the silence by observing, that they had found just the place for a Highland colony. The reader will observe, as the kindly sensitive Highlanders did, that the harmless joke had reference to a certain cutaneous infirmity. It came too from a Highlander, and touched a tender cord; called up reminiscences of ancient foes in their native land; was resented; and is said to be one of the reasons why a large Highland colony, was not early introduced into this region. The reader will have surmised, that the party were viewing Clifton Springs.

† Name from the daughter of Sir Wm. Pultney, who was Countess of Bath.

Two boats with workmen, provisions &c., came up the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, where they left one boat and half the load of the other, and reached Bath April 15, 1793. Mr. Williamson arrived via Northumberland road, two days after. Some shantees were thrown up, a village plat surveyed, a log land office was built; and during the season, about twenty other log buildings were erected. As would be said in this later day of refinement in language, the Pioneers had a "distinct view of the elephant." Provisions failed, and they were at one time three days without food; as they cleared away the forest, the fever and ague, as it was wont to do, walked into the opening, and the new comers were soon freezing, shaking, and then burning with fever, in their hastily constructed cabins. It was Mr. Williamson's introduction into the hardships and privations of the wilderness. "He would lay in his hut, with his feet to the fire, and when the cold chills of ague came on, call for some one to lie close to his back, to keep him warm." To other improvements during the year, at Bath, Mr. Williamson added a log tavern, which was opened and kept by John Metcalf. Bath having been fixed upon as the centre of all the southern portion of the Associates' purchase, farther improvements were commenced. Mr. Williamson built a saw mill and a grist mill; emigrants from Pennsylvania and Maryland, soon began to be attracted there. It became the permanent residence of Mr. Williamson. The Duke, Liancourt, who visited him in the summer of 1795, says:—"The habitation of the Captain consists of several small houses, formed of trunks of trees and joiners' work, which at present forms a very irregular whole, but which he intends soon to improve. His way of living is simple, neat and good; every day we had a joint of fresh meat, vegetables and wine. We met with no circumstances of pomp or luxury, but found good ease, humor and plenty." Perhaps it is the fairest eulogium I can pass upon his free and easy urbanity to say, that all the time of our stay, he seemed as much at his ease as if we had not been present. He transacted all his business in our presence, and was actively employed the whole day long. We were present at his receiving persons of different ranks and descriptions, with whom the apartment he allots to business is generally crowded. He received them all with the same attention, civility and good nature. They came to him prepossessed with a certain confidence in him, and they never leave him dissatisfied. He is at

all times ready to converse with any who have business to transact with him. He will break off a conversation with his friends, or even get up from dinner for the sake of dispatching those who wish to speak to him.

In the spring of 1794, improvements were commenced at Geneva, the first and principal one being the erection of the Geneva Hotel. It was completed in December, and opened with a grand ball, which furnished a memorable epoch in the early history of the Genesee country. The Hotel was talked of far and wide as a wonderful enterprise : and such it really was. Even now, after the lapse of fifty-six years, when fine hotels have arisen in all of our cities and principal villages, the old Williamson Hotel, as it is often called, in its fine location, with its large open park in front, is ranked as one of the first class. Imagine how it was when it had no competitors in all the region west of Utica, save perhaps three or four moderate sized framed taverns : when log taverns were generally the order of the day. It was an Astor House then : and even this comparison falls short of conveying an idea of its then comparative magnitude. Mr. Williamson wrote to his principals, proposing such a house, and urged that as it would stand in the doorway or entrance to the Genesee country, it should be respectable : so designed as to make a favorable impression : and urged beside, that such a house, where all the comforts of a good English inn could be realized, would invite respectable people to the country. And so perhaps it did. How many readers of these early reminiscences, will remember the house, the landlord, and all belonging to that early halting place, in the long and dreary journeys that used to be made. Blended with it in memory, is the old stage coach : chilled and drowsy with long night rides, over hubs or poached clay roads, there would be the smart crack of the driver's whip, the trundling of the wheels upon a stone pavement, the squaring up to the door, the getting out and stretching of almost torpid limbs : the ushering in to well warmed and comfortable apartments, the smell and the taste of smoking steak and hot coffee, and other "creature comforts," that it will not do to speak of now. Your modern travellers know nothing of the extremes of pain and pleasure of the old fashioned way of traveling from Albany to Buffalo. For landlord to his new Hotel, Mr. Williamson selected Thomas Powell, whom he had known in London, connected with the celebrated "Thatched Cottage, the resort of

statesmen, politicians and wits." * He had previously emigrated to this country, and opened a house at Lansingburg.

Although Mr. Williamson's house was at Bath, a large proportion of his time was spent at Geneva, attending to matters connected with the northern division of the purchase. The company that he drew around him, made a very considerable business for the new hotel; and it was the early home of the young men without families, who located at Geneva; the principal stopping place for emigrants, who could afford the comforts of a good inn. Under the auspices of Reed and Ryckman, Joseph Amun and Benjamin Barton had surveyed a small village plat, which was superseded under Mr. Williamson's auspices by a new, enlarged survey, generally as now indicated, except that the new survey, Mr. Williamson's plan, contemplated that the whole town should be built up fronting the Lake; the space between the main street and the Lake, was intended for terraced parks and gardens. In a few words, Geneva is now, though beautiful in all its appointments, more upon the utilitarian order, than Mr. Williamson intended. He had seen the original in his travels upon the continent, and associating Seneca Lake with "Lake Lemman," had in view an imitation, in a wilderness of the new world. In reference to this as well as other of his projections, his ardent and sanguine temperament led him to suppose that villages and village improvements, to a considerable extent, could precede a general cultivation of the soil. Experience has shown that they must follow by slow steps after it.

The Hotel was but a part of Mr. Williamson's enterprises at Geneva.

Before the State had acknowledged the correctness of the new pre-emption line, as in the case of the site of Geneva, and Reed and Ryckman, patents had been issued, covering nearly the whole of "the Gore," Mr. Williamson, through the agency of Mr. John Johnstone, having purchased all the patents, had so fortified the claim of his principals, that he had ventured upon exercising ownership; though title was yet an open question. In March, 1795, while a bill was pending in the legislature, providing for running a third line, by the Surveyor General, and if the one run by Mr. Ellicott should prove correct, to give the associates other lands

* Mr. Powell became an early stage proprietor. After keeping the Hotel for many years, he removed to Schenectady, and was succeeded by his brother, Wm. Powell.

in lieu of those that had been patented upon the Gore; Phillip Schuyler introduced amendments, which prevailed, making it discretionary with the Surveyor General, allowing him to waive the running of a new line, if he satisfied himself that Mr. Ellicott's line was correct; and leave it to the commissioners of the land office to arrange matters between the holders of patents and the associates, or Mr. Williamson, holding as he did, by purchase, most of the patents, to perfect the title to "the Gore," nearly 84,000 acres. As an equivalent for what he had paid in the purchase of patents, the commissioners of the land office conveyed to him about the same quantity of land embraced in the patents, off from the military tract, in what is now Wolcott and Galen, in Wayne county.

The reader will have seen that the first location of "The Friend" and her followers, was upon "The Gore." Their titles were all confirmed by Mr. Williamson, upon terms generally satisfactory.

Sodus was the next site chosen for the foundation of a settlement—or in fact, for the founding of a commercial village.—not to say city. In all Mr. Williamson's plans for settling the coun-

NOTE.—It would seem that, as between the State, the Lessees and Mr. Williamson, the early colonists, for a time, hardly knew whose hands they were to fall into. In January '94, however, they had concluded whose title was to be preferred. They addressed to Mr. Williamson the following letter, or petition:—

JERUSALEM, 13th of 1st mo. 1794.

"FRIEND WILLIAMSON,—We take this opportunity to let thee know our wishes, who are now on thy land, at The Friend's settlement in Jerusalem, in the county of Ontario, and in the State of New York. We, the subscribers, wish somebody deals from friend Williamson for the land our improvements is on, rather than any other person. Our desires is, that thee would not dispose of the lands to any other person but to us, who are on the land.

Benajah Botsford
Eleazor Ingraham,
Solomon Ingraham,
Richard Smith,
Abel Botsford,
Enosh Malin,
William Davis,
John Briggs,

Elnathan Botsford,
Daniel Ingraham,
Richard Matthews,
Elnathan Botsford, jr.,
Asahel Stone,
Samuel Doodletts,
John Davis,
Benedict Robinson,

Philo Ingraham,
Elisha Ingraham,
Samuel Parsons,
Jonathan Davis,
Elijah Malin,
Thos. Hathaway,
Mary Abdrick."

There are other letters from Benedict Robinson and others of the Friends to the same purport. "Friend Parker" lets "Captain Williamson" into his family affairs, without reserve:—"It is my desire to settle the several branches of my family near me; for that reason, I began where we now are; with the intention to buy of the right owner when I could see him. The 1,000 acres may seem too much for one man; but when it is divided between myself a son, and three sons-in-laws, it, I think, will not be deemed extravagant; especially, considering I know not how soon I may have two more sons-in-laws. A man like myself, who was one of the first settlers in the country, and began our settlement, which would have been, doubtless, had a son have them for me; and also encourage I many emigrants into this country, may claim to be indulged in having the several branches of his family settled near him."

try, and his projections of internal improvements, laid from time to time before his principals, he had looked to the Conhocton, the Caniste, Tioga and Susquehannah rivers, as the avenues to market from the southern district of the Genesee purchase; and to Baltimore as its commercial mart. With these views, he had founded Bath.* Looking to Lake Ontario, the Oswego river, Oneida Lake, Wood Creek, the Mohawk and the Hudson river, and the St. Lawrence, as avenues to the New York and Montreal markets, for the northern district of the purchase, he selected Sodus Bay as the commercial depot.


Early in the winter of 1793, he determined upon improvements there, and in the spring of '94, he had roads cut out from Palmyra and Phelpsstown, to get access to the spot from those points. It was his first appearance in the Lake Ontario region, and his presence there, with his surveyors, road makers, builders, and all the retinue necessary to carry out his plans, created a new era—inspired new hopes with the scattered backwoods settlers. It had looked before he came, as if for long years, no one would be bold enough to penetrate the dark, heavy forests, that in a wide belt, were stretched along the shores of the Lake. They entertained before no hopes of realizing for years, any better facilities for transportation to market, than was afforded by Ganargwa Creek,† the outlet of Canandaigua Lake, and Clyde river. He had preceded the enterprise by a written announcement of the plan of operations:—It contemplated the survey of “a town between Salmon Creek and Great Sodus Bay, and a spacious street, with a large square in the centre, between the Falls on Salmon Creek and the anchorage in the Bay, and mills are to be built at the Falls on Salmon Creek.” He adds:—“As the harbor of Great Sodus is acknowledged to be the finest on Lake Ontario, this town, in the convenience of the mills and extensive fisheries, will command advantages unknown to the country, independent of the navigation of

* It should be observed, that he contemplated the improvement of the navigation of those rivers, and projected a canal to connect the Tioga and Delaware rivers, in order to reach Philadelphia.

† Mud Creek, until recently. The old name was blended with the recollection of stagnant waters, bogs, chills and fevers. When its whole aspect had been changed by the hand of improvement, and it became even picturesque and beautiful in its meanderings through cultivated fields, and a rural scenery seldom equalled, the dwellers in its valley were enabled, with the help of Lewis Morgan, Esq., of Rochester, to come at its ancient Seneca name, which they adopted.


the Great Lake, and the St. Lawrence." The town was surveyed by Joseph Colt. The plan was as indicated above. The in-lots contained a quarter of an acre, and the out-lots ten acres. The whole was upon a scale of magnificence ill suited to that primitive period; and yet, perhaps, justified by then prospective events; and more than all, by the capacious and beautiful Bay, the best natural harbor upon our whole chain of Lakes, a view of which, even now, excites surprise that it has not, ere this, more than realized the always sanguine expectations of Mr. Williamson.

The in-lots in the new town, were offered for one hundred dollars; the out-lots, for four dollars per acre; the farming lands in all the neighborhood, at one dollar fifty cents per acre. Thomas Little and ——— Moffat, were the local agents. A tavern house was erected at a cost of over \$5000, and opened by Moses and Jabez Sill.* Mills were erected at the Falls on Salmon Creek; a pleasure boat was placed upon the Bay; and several other improvements made. In roads, surveys, buildings, &c., over \$20,000 was expended in the first two years.

The first difficulty encountered was the ague and fever, that early incubus that brooded over all of Pioneer enterprise, upon the Lake shore. When the sickly season came, agents, mechanics and laborers, could only work upon "well days." Mr. Williamson soon began to realize that there was something beside the "romantic and beautiful," about the "Bay of Naples" he had found hid away in the forests of the Genesee country. And another trouble came.  See British invasion of the Genesee country, at Sodus.

Soon after Mr. Williamson had perfected his title to the Gore, the junction of the Canandaigua out-let and Gamargwa creek, the fine flats, hemmed in by hills and gentle swells of upland—the facilities afforded for navigation with light craft,—attracted his attention. Fancying the outlet and the creek to be miniature representations of the Rhone and the Sayone, and struck with a coincidence of landscapes, he bestowed upon the location the name of Lyons. He had been preceded here by some of the earliest Pioneers of the Genesee country. In May, 1789, a small colony consisting

* Moses Sill died in Danville, in 1849. Jabez Sill died at Willsboro, in 1844. The latter was an early proprietor at Friesburg, "Breakneck Bay." His son, Daniel Sill, is the fortunate Californian adventurer from Danville.

 For some account of the Sill family, see History of Wyoming, and Mrs. Eliot's "Women of the Revolution."

of twelve persons, were piloted up the Mohawk, and by the usual water route, by Wemple, the Indian trader who has been mentioned in connection with the Rev. Mr. Kirkland. Arriving at what was then the principal head of navigation, especially for batteaux of any considerable size, they located and erected log huts half a mile south of the present village of Lyons, where James Dunn lately resided. The heads of families, were : — Nicholas Stansell, William Stansell, and a brother-in-law, John Featherly. They had been inured to hardships, toil and danger, as border settlers upon the Mohawk, and in Otsego county ; Wm. Stansell had been to this region in Sullivan's expedition. Their nearest neighbors were Decker Robinson and the Oaks family ; the same season, a few families, located at Palmyra. The Stansells and Featherly may be regarded as the Pioneers of all the northern part of Wayne county. They ground their corn in a small hand mill "until a German named Baer put up a log mill where Waterloo now is." Jointly with the Pioneers of Phelps they opened a woods road to that neighborhood and in the direction of the mill at Waterloo. The father of the Stansells died in the earliest years, and was buried in the absence of any funeral rites ; there being no one to conduct them. A few weeks previous to Wayne's victory, the early Pioneers became alarmed : made up their minds they must flee, or see a second edition of the scenes that they had passed through upon the Mohawk ; the old batteaux that brought them into the wilderness was re-corked and pitched to take them out of it ; they were upon the point of starting, when news came that "Mad Anthony" had humbled the western nations, and smothered the flame that had threatened to break out in the Genesee country. These early adventurers depended much upon the "products of the forest ;" not such as comes under that head in our modern canal statistics ; but upon wild game ; deer principally. Nicholas Stansell was a hunter, and would go out and kill from eight to ten deer in a day. Nicholas Stansell, a surviving son of

NOTE. — This early colony brought in with them some hogs and the result, with other similar ones that will be noted, confirms the fact that our domesticated hog will if turned into the forest, to share it with wild animals alone, go back to his primitive condition in one, or two years, at farthest. A boar, of this primitive stock changed in form, became a wild racer, his tusks grew to a frightful length : he became more than a match for bears and wolves ; and finally a terror to the new settlers, until he was hunted and shot. The first progeny of this primitive stock when caught could not be tamed, and generally had to be hunted like other game.

one of the two Pioneer brothers, who now resides in Arcadia Wayne county, says:—“After our first stock of provisions was exhausted, we saw hard times; got out of corn once; went and bought of Ononaga Indians. For days we were without any provisions other than what the forest, the streams, and our cows afforded. We eat milk and greens. Venison and fish we could always have in plenty. My father hardly ever missed when he went out after a deer. Salmon, bass, pickerel, speckled trout, ducks and pigeons, were in abundance.”

A small patch of corn and potatoes, raised by the Stansells and Featherly, on the old Dorsey farm, in 1789, were the first crops raised in Wayne county.

Nicholas Stansell died in 1817; his surviving sons are, William Stansell, of Arcadia, and George Stansell, who lives a mile south of Newark. John Featherly died a few years since in the town of Rose, aged 80 years. Nicholas Stansell, changing his residence in 1800, became the proprietor of lands upon which the village of Lockville has grown up.

Mr. Williamson commenced operations at Lyons, in the summer of 1791. He made Charles Cameron his principal local agent. Reserving nearly a thousand acres, which was afterwards sold to Judge Dorsey, a house and barn were built for Mr. Cameron; the first framed house in that region.* Mr. Cameron had the village surveyed, and built a store house and distillery. Before the close of 1796, Henry Tower, as Mr. Williamson's agent, had erected and completed what was long known as “Tower's Mills,” at Alloway.

The mills must have been of more than ordinary magnitude, for that early period, as the author observes that the cost was over twelve thousand dollars. In addition to other improvements, Mr. Cameron cleared land, and commenced making a farm.

Next toodus Bay, Mr. Williamson had regarded Prideaux (Braddock's) Bay as a favorable position upon the Lake. He made some surveys there for a town, but did little towards starting it. In his correspondence with his principals in London, he often mentioned the mouth of Genesee River, but not in a way to indicate a high opinion of its locality. His aim was to improve only such spots as were surrounded by the lands he held in charge. Those nearest

* It is now standing in a tolerable state of preservation, on the bank of the outlet.

the mouth of the River and the Falls, had been sold by Phelps and Gorham, before their sale to the London Associates. In 1794 he visited the Falls, Prideaux Bay, and spent a day or two with Wm. Hencher. He soon after purchased of Samuel B. Ogden, the Allan Mill, and the Hundred Acres, with a view to commencing some improvements upon the present site of the city of Rochester. Allan had sold the property to Benjamin Barton, senior; and Barton to Ogden. ¶ See deed, or title paper, in Library of Rochester Athenæum and Mechanic's Association. At the time of Williamson's purchase, the mill, a frail structure originally, with no customers to keep it in motion, had got much out of repair. He expended upon it some five or six hundred dollars—put it in tolerable repair—but unfortunately there were no customers. It was difficult of access from the older settlements, and mills more convenient for them, were soon erected. The purchase, repair, and sale of the mill and mill tract, was about the extent of Mr. Williamson's enterprises at the "Falls of the Genesee River," where the aspect of things in that early day, was any thing but encouraging.

In 1798, a party of emigrants from Perthshire, Scotland, emigrated to America, landing at New York, and coming west as far as Johnstown, Montgomery county, halted there to determine on some permanent location. Mr. Williamson hearing of the arrival of his countrymen, made a journey to see them. He found them poor in purse—with nothing to pay for lands—and but little even for present subsistence; but they came from the

Land of the forest and the rock,
Of dark blue lake and mighty river,
Of mountains reared aloft, to mock
The storm's career, the lightning's shock;—

NOTE.—The following may be presumed to be the first business letter that was ever written from the site of the present city of Rochester. Christopher Dugan married a sister of Ebenezer Allan, and was put in charge of the mill by him:

FALLS OF GENESSEE, Aug. 9, 1794.

The mill erected by Ebenezer Allan, which I am informed you have purchased, is in a bad situation, much out of repair, and unless attention is paid to it, it will soon take its voyage to the Lake. I have resided here for several years, and kept watch and ward, without fee or recompense; and am pleased to hear that it has fallen into the hands of a gentleman who is able to repair it, and whose character is such that I firmly believe he will not allow an old man to suffer without reward for his exertions. I wish to have you come, or send some one to take care of the mill, as my situation is such as makes it necessary soon to remove. I am sir, with respect, your most

obedient humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAMSON, Esq.

CHRISTOPHER DUGAN.

they were rich in courage, in a spirit of perseverance, in habits of industry; in all the elements that life in the wilderness, and success in it, required. Mr. Williamson became to them not only a patroon, but a benefactor. "A Scot had met a brither Scot." He offered them a favorite location, in the neighborhood of the "Big Springs," (Caledonia); — land at three dollars per acre, payable in wheat at six shillings per bushel; a reasonable pay day; and besides, to furnish them with provisions until they could help themselves. Four of their number were sent out to view the lands; were pleased with the allotment that Mr. Williamson had made; on their return, met him on his way from Geneva to Canandaigua; he drew up a writing on the road, and the bargain was thus closed. In March, 1799, while there was yet sleighing, the Scotch adventurers came from Johnstown to the "Big Springs."^{*} Those who first came were: — Peter Campbell and wife, Malcolm M'Laren and wife, John M'Naughton and wife; and Donald M'Vean and Hugh M'Dermid, single men. In the fall of the same year, they were joined by their countrymen, John M'Vean, John M'Pherson, John Anderson, Duncan Anderson, all single men but M'Vean. During the next year they were joined by Donald M'Pherson, Donald Anderson, Alexander Thompson, and their families. Those whose names have been given, except Thompson and M'Vean, had crossed the ocean in the same ship. They are to be regarded as constituting the primitive settlers at Caledonia, though for several years after, other of their countrymen joined them.

The Springs, being on the great trail from Tioga point to Fort Niagara, had long been a favorite camping ground.† Previous to the Scotch advent, Fuller and Peterson, had become squatters there, built log houses, and entertained travelers. This furnished the Scotch settlers a temporary shelter. John Smith, one of Mr. Williamson's surveyors, soon arrived and surveyed their lands, so planning the surveys that each allotment would have a front upon the streams. Log houses were soon erected in the primitive manner, small patches of summer crops planted; and the Scotch settlers

* This had been the name of the locality, even as far back as the first English occupancy of Niagara. Mr. Williamson gave it the new name of Caledonia.

† An old Canadian emigrant and a frequent traveler upon the trail about the close of the Revolution, says that camping there was so frequent, that the fires of one party would be burning when another arrived.

were soon under way, though struggling with stinted means against all the hardships and privations of backwoods life. On their arrival Mr. Williamson had promptly given orders to Alexander McDonald, who was then his agent and clerk at Williamsburg, for supplying some provisions. Wheat was procured at Dansville and ground in the Messrs. Wadsworths' mill at Conesus; and pork was drawn from the store at Williamsburg. Mr. Williamson also furnished them with some cows. And how did you manage for your early team work? was the author's enquiry of the venerable John McNaughton, now in his 80th year,* surrounded by his hundreds of improved acres, his garner filled to overflowing, and broad fields, green and luxuriant, promising future abundance. "We sold some of our clothes that we could spare, to settlers on the river, for the occasional use of their oxen:" was the answer. In addition to other encouragements, Mr. Williamson donated one hundred and fifty acres for a "glebe," and fifty acres for school purposes. He erected at the Springs a grist and saw mill, which were completed in about three years: as soon in fact, as there was much need of a grist mill.

This is so far as Mr. Williamson was directly connected with the Pioneer settlers at Caledonia. Their after progress will be mingled with events narrated in succeeding portions of the work.

The reader of the present day will smile at the idea of "Fairs" and "Race grounds" in back woods settlements, at a time when settlers generally had but just made small openings in the forest, and stood more in need of log causeways over streams, boards for their floors, and glass for their windows, than of race horses or improved breeds of cattle. But the sanguine adventurous Scotchman had seen these things in England and Scotland, and supposed them necessary accompaniments of rural enterprise, even in new settlements; and as it will be observed he had ulterior objects in view. Impressed with the idea that the region, the settlement of which he was endeavoring to promote, was nearly all it had proved to be; enthusiastic even in his efforts; he had made up his mind that the

* The survivors of the original Scotch settlers are:—John M'Naughton, Hugh M'Dermid, Donald Anderson, Mrs. M'Vean and Mrs. McLaren, now the widow of the late Deacon Hinds Chamberlin, of Le Roy. M'Dermid and Anderson, emigrated to Canada some twenty years since.

NOTE.—For all that Mr. Williamson furnished of provisions and cows, the settlers gave their notes, and paid them when due.

Genesee country need only be seen to be appreciated. In travelling through Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, he had endeavored to bring men of wealth and enterprise to view the country, but had generally failed. It was too secluded, too far off from civilization, too much threatened with Indian wars; had in it too much of the elements of chills and fevers, to be attractive, to men who were not under the necessity of encountering such formidable difficulties. But he had discovered that those he wanted to come and see the country were fond of races and holiday sports, and he resolved upon instituting them in addition to the attractions he had held out. In 1794 he had laid out a race course and fair grounds, near the present residence of the Hon. Charles Carroll, on the forks of the Canasraga creek and Genesee river, and in the fall of that year was had there a fair and races. Extensive preparations were made for the event. Mr. Williamson's anxiety to have all things in readiness is manifested in a letter to Mr. Wadsworth. He says;—"As you have manifested much interest in the exhibition at Williamsburg, do, my friend, attend to it, and push the getting a bridge from Starr's or thereabouts, to the flats, in time; Mr. Morris will give £10 and I will give £10. The appointed day came, and there was a gathering from all the new settlements of the Genesee country; from as far east as Utica; and of sportsmen and land explorers from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. The two small taverns of Starr and Fowler, at Williamsburg, and the deserted log houses of the Germans, were vastly inadequate to the accommodation of the crowd. The few buildings at Geneseo, and all the log tenements of the neighborhood were put in requisition, and yet the Fair ground had to be an encampment. In the language of an informant of the author, who was present:—"Here met for business and pleasure, men from all parts of the purchase; stock was exhibited and purchases made. Here also were seen for the first time, the holiday sports of "merry England," such as greasing a pigs tail; climbing a greased pole, &c." Care had been taken for the gratification of visitors, to have a general attendance of the Indians; and as it was just after Wayne's victory, it was perhaps very wisely considered that it would help them in their then growing inclinations to be at peace and cultivate the acquaintance of their new neighbors. They were present in great numbers, and joined in the sports with great relish. Their own foot races and ball plays, were added to the

amusements. It all went off well; all were pleased; the southerners and Pennsylvanians were delighted with the entertainment and with the country: made favorable reports when they returned home: and with many of them it led finally to emigration. The Fair and Races were held next year at Williamsburg, and at Bath and Dansville, in a few successive years: Mr. Williamson had himself some fine race horses: and in the way of oxen, such was the magnitude of his operations in different portions of the purchase, that at one time he had eighty yoke wintering on the Genesee flats.

In addition to the enterprises of Mr. Williamson, that have been named, he was active in procuring the passage of the act for laying out the old State Road from Fort Schuyler to Geneva, and was one of the commissioners for locating it. In 1798, when Mr. Elliott had commenced the survey of the Holland Purchase, he joined him in making what was at first called the "Niagara Road," west of Genesee river. He made the road from the river to Col. Ganson's, within a mile of Le Roy, expending upon it \$2,000.* He assisted in making the road from Lyons to Palmyra; from "Hopeton to Townsends;" from "Seneca Falls to Lyon's Mills;" from "Cashong to Hopeton." There are few of the primitive roads in Yates, Steuben, and the south part of Livingston, that he did not either make or assist in making. He built mills at Hopeton, on the Hemlock Lake, and at Williamsburgh. He added to the hotel at Geneva, the "Mile Point House and Farm," on the bank of Seneca Lake, which he intended for a brother, the "Hopkins' House and Farm," and the "Mullender House and Farm," at the Old Castle. His enterprises at Williamsburg embraced an extensive farm which

NOTE.—The "Williamson Fair and Races," are among the cherished reminiscences of the "oldest inhabitants," and in fact, it is only the oldest who survive to remember them. Frolic, sports, recreation, with the men of that period, were things done in earnest like everything else they undertook. Gen. George McClure, an early Pioneer at Bath, now residing at Elgin, Illinois, writing to his old friend Charles Cameron, now of Greene, Chenango co., during the present year, says in allusion to some historical reminiscences he is gathering up:—"It won't do to tell of all of our doings in those days of 'Lang Syne.' I presume you have not forgotten the night we spent in Dunn's hotel when we roasted the quarter of beef." "Give me your age and any thing else you can think of. This is a flourishing town. The Chicago and Galena rail road passes through it. Why can't you come and make us a visit. You can come all the way by steam. I am now in my 80th year, and enjoy good health.

* In connection with this enterprise, the author has some items of account, showing the cost of things at that primitive period:—It cost \$18 to take a common waggon load from Geneva to Le Roy. 2 bbls. of pork and 2 bbls. of whiskey cost, delivered, (at Ganson's) \$120. The only grind-stone in all the region, was one owned by the Indians at Canawagus, and the use of it cost \$1,50.

he called the "Hermitage Farm." Beside this, he had a large farm on the Canascraga, a few miles below Dansville, and several farms in Steuben.

Connected with all these improvements in the way of agencies, clerkships, mechanics, surveyors, road makers, &c., are many familiar Pioneer names: — Among them, those of William White, John Swift, Jonathan Baker, "Capt. Follett," Reed, Buskirk, Fitzsimmons, Woodward, Griswold, Henry Brown, Ralph T. Woods, Peter Shaeffer, Francis Dana, Solomon Earl, Williams and Frazee, Gordon and Evans, James Bardin, Jonathan Woods, Francis Dana, Jonathan Mathews, B. Lazdere, David Milner, William Mulhollen, Jacob Hartgate, Elisha Brown, Leonard Beatty, Daniel Nicholson, Woods and Pratt, Thomas Willbur, Nathaniel Williams, Judah Colt, Caleb Seely, Thomas W. Williams, E. Hawkes, David Abbey, King and Howe, Joseph Merrill, Charles Dutcher, Jonathan Burnett, Robert Burnett, Peter Lander, David Fish, Daniel Britain, E. Van Winkle, Gideon Dudley, Norman Murry, David Abbey, Obadiah Osburn, George Humphrey, Annanias Platt, Wm. Angus, John Davis, Grieve and Moffatt, John Carey, James Beaumont, Joshua Laig, George Groundry, Elisha Pratt, Pierce Chamberlain, Joseph Roberts, Thomas Howe, David Dennett, Jeremiah Gregory, Darling Havens, Daniel P. Faulkner, Jonathan Harker, Henry Brown, Asa Simmons, Peter Rice, W. McCartney, James Henderson, Rufus Boyd. These are but a minority; for a considerable period, in one way and another, a large proportion of the new settlers were connected with his enterprises.

He was a large subscriber to the Canandaigua Academy, to the first library established at Geneva, and aided in some of the first movements made in the Genesee country, in the cause of education. After he had extended his road from Northumberland, Penn., to Williamsburg, on the Genesee river, he soon established a mail, on foot sometimes, and sometimes on horseback, between the two points, thus opening a communication with Philadelphia and Baltimore. A branch mail went to Canandaigua, Geneva andodus.

NOTE.—About the time of the projection of the State Road west of Rome, Mr. Williamson was riding upon Long Island, in company with Dr. Whit Olmstead, who remarking upon the swiftness of the road, said to Mr. W.:—"If you had such roads to your country I would make you a visit."—"If you had new-well people exclaiming," Mr. Olmstead promised him his co-operation, and afterwards assisted in securing the incorporation of the Seneca Turnpike Company, in which the State Road was merged. Mr. Clinton's first visit to this region, was in 1810.

For several years after, a better understanding was had with Gov. Simcoe and his successors by means of these mail facilities; they received their letters and papers from Europe and the Atlantic cities, through this primitive medium. It is presumed that he had something to do with putting on the first mail and passenger wagon from Albany to Canandaigua, as the agent at Albany procured and charged to him a wagon and harness for that purpose.

Mr. Williamson was elected to the legislature from Ontario county, in 1796; and for three successive years, while in that capacity, he contributed with great energy and perseverance to different measures for the benefit of the region he represented, which was all of Western New York. He was a Judge of Ontario county; in the early military organizations in what is now Steuben, equipped an independent company at his own expense; and rose from the rank of Captain in his Britannic Majesty's service, to that of Col. of a regiment of backwoods militia in the Genesee country.

The manufacture of pot and pearl-ash was prominent in his view, as one of the resources of the new country; he gave some encouragement to it; but the means of transportation to market at that early day, was a great drawback upon the enterprise.* The manufacture of maple sugar was also an object of interest with him; and in fact, was an anticipated source of great revenue to the country, by many of the earliest adventurers. They failed to appreciate the competition it had to encounter in the sugar-cane and cheap labor. One of the earliest enterprises of Mr. Williamson, was the improvement of the navigation of the Conhocton and Canisteo, the manufacture of lumber, and the carrying of it to Baltimore, in periods of high water.

In all this career of Pioneer enterprise that has been passed over, it may well be anticipated that much money was required. There was little money in the country — hardly enough for the purchase of the common necessities of life — of course, not enough to make any considerable land payments. Lands had to be sold upon credit, payments of instalments postponed; most of his enterprises were

* Writing to Mr. Colquhoun soon after his arrival in this country, he stated that Judge Cooper, father of J. Fenimore Cooper, who was then just founding a settlement on the Otsego Lake, was greatly promoting sales of land and settlement, by furnishing the new settlers with pot-ash kettles to a large amount. He speaks of the after hero of backwoods' romance — "Judge Temple," — as a prominent co-worker in promoting settlements.

ahead of the time and the condition of the country, and made slow returns. The resources were mainly the capital of his principals, the London associates. Seldom, if ever, have property holders advanced larger amounts for improvements, or more freely at first, though they began to be impatient after years had gone by, and the returns of their immense outlays were coming in but slowly to replenish their coffers. In 1800, the balance sheets did not look well for their Genesee country enterprise. There had been expended for purchase money of lands, agencies, and improvements, such as have been indicated, \$1,374,470 10. There had been received for lands sold, but \$147,974 83. In addition to this balance against them, they owed of principal and interest upon lands purchased, over \$300,000. To make all this look better, however, they had an immense amount of unsold lands, farms and mills, and an immense debt due for lands sold. While all Mr. Williamson's enterprises had been putting the country ahead in the way of settlement and improvement, (even from ten to fifteen years, as many estimate,) another direct effect must have been, the adding vastly to the principals, the care of which he turned over to his successors. He found the wild lands of the Genesee country selling at from 1 to 4s. per acre; he left them selling at from \$1,50 to \$4.

He had at first formidable difficulties to overcome, other than such as have been named and indicated, as consequent upon the task of settling a country so isolated from the older settlements, possessing so many harsh features to keep back emigration. He was a foreigner, and had held a commission in the ranks of the British army, with whom a large portion of the new settlers had just been contending upon battle fields. Arms had been grounded, but feelings of resentment, prejudice, were rife. The possession of Fort Niagara and Oswego, the British claims upon the territory of Western New York, their tampering with the western Indians, and even those that were unreconciled here, served to keep alive this feeling. Although Mr. Williamson had from the time he landed in America, given the strongest evidence that he intended to merge himself with the disenthralled colonies, and throw off all allegiance to Great Britain, still he encountered jealousy and distrust. In recapitulating to Sir Wm. Pulteney, toward the close of his agency, the difficulties he had encountered, he makes the following remarks: 'Even previous to 1794, there was a strong predisposition against

every thing that was British. But this was more particularly the case in those parts of the back country adjacent to the British settlements; and where, from the influence of the British government with the Indians, there was too much reason to fear that hostilities from that quarter would be directed against these infant settlements. These jealousies met me in an hundred mortifying instances; and they were with difficulty prevented from having the most disagreeable effects, both to me and every old countryman in the settlements. To such an extent was this carried, that every road I talked of was said to be for the purpose of admitting the Indians and British; every set of arms I procured — though really to enable the settlers to defend themselves against the Indians — was said to be for supplying the expected enemy; and the very grass seed I brought into the country for the purpose of supplying the farmers, was seized as gun powder going to the enemies of the country." He also alleges that these distrusts — opposition to his movements — were enhanced by influential individuals, who were interested in the sale of wild lands in other localities.

All this, however, wore off, as we may well conclude, for he was elected to represent the county in the legislature, with but little opposition, in 1796, and the mark of favor was repeated. Well educated, possessing more than ordinary social qualities, with a mind improved by travel and association with the best classes in Europe, his society was sought after by the many educated and intelligent men who came to this region in the earliest years of settlement; and he knew well how to adapt himself to circumstances, and to all classes that went to make up the aggregate of the early adventurers. Changing his habits of life with great ease and facility, he was at home in every primitive log cabin; a welcome, cheerful, and contented guest, with words of encouragement for those who were sinking under the hardships of Pioneer life; and often with substantial aid, to relieve their necessities; away off in some isolated opening of the forest would be those prostrated by disease, to whom he would be the good Samaritan, and send them the bracing tonic or restoring cordial. These acts of kindness, his benevolence of heart, are well remembered by surviving Pioneers; and repeatedly has the author been importuned by them to speak well of their friend, in those local annals.

From the day that Mr. Williamson arrived in this country, until

he returned to Europe, his correspondence was extensive and embraced a large number of prominent men in the northern States and in Europe. The interests of all this region were deeply involved in the success of Mr. Jay's mission to England in 1794. Mr. Williamson's acquaintance with the statesmen of England, were with those principally of the conservative class, and with them he urged a reconciliation of all existing difficulties. He made the English government acquainted with the conduct of their agents in Canada; with their machinations with the Indians to bring on another series of border wars; and with the conduct of British officers at the western posts, in stimulating the Indians to stealthy assaults upon settlers, surveyors and explorers. ¶ See account of murder of Major Trueman. Appendix, No. 10. The treaty of Mr. Jay concluded, he urged upon the Colonial department of the English government, the substitution of better disposed neighbors in the Canadas, than Lord Dorchester, and Gov. Simcoe; and the hastening of the fulfilment of treaty stipulations by the surrender of Oswego and Niagara. Trouble, an open rupture with England, was to be sure, but postponed; but the author can hardly forego the conclusion, that in the infancy of settlement in the Genesee country, it was fortunate that English statesmen were extensive land holders—deeply interested in the securing of peace and prosperity to the country—and that they had for their local agent, such a man as Charles Williamson.

There had accompanied Mr. Williamson on his first advent to the country, from Scotland, Charles Cameron, John Johnstone, James Tower, Henry Tower, Andrew Smith and Hugh McCartney. Mr. Cameron came over at the solicitation of Mr. Williamson, penetrated the wilderness with him, assisted in planning and executing improvements, kept the books and accounts, was his travelling companion in many forest journeys; and in fact, was closely connected with him during his whole residence in the country. He was the local agent as has been seen, at Lyons, and from that point it is supposed, shipped the first produce of the Genesee country to an eastern market; the flour from the mills that had been erected under his agency. He was one of the earliest merchants at Canandaigua; at a primitive period, when the mercantile business of almost the entire Genesee country, was transacted in that village. In this relation he was widely and favorably known to the Pioneers. Either upon his own account, or as agent for Mr. Williamson, he

was a merchant at Bath before he removed to Lyons, as is inferred from a store bill, which the author has in his possession : —

BATH, October, 1793.

John Dolson,*

Bought of Charles Cameron :

Oct. 26, 1 lb. chocolate, 2s. 6d ; 1-2 gal. whiskey 5s.

£0 7s. 6d.

Nov. 5. 1 gallon whiskey, 10s.

10 0

Mr. Cameron is one of the few survivors of that early period. He is now in his 78th year ; a resident of Greene, Chenango county. Mr. Johnstone was also in Mr. Williamson's employ.

When the division of lands took place between Sir Wm. Pulteney and Gov. Hornby, Mr. Johnstone became the agent of the Hornby lands, in which agency he continued until his death in 1806. He married a step-daughter of Nicholas Lowe, of New York. He was the father of James Johnstone, of Canandaigua, and Mrs Leavenworth, of New York.

Henry Tower, was an agent in the erection of the mills at Lyons, (or " Alloway,") became the purchaser of them ; and resided there for many years. Hugh McCartney settled in Sparta. Of the other two who came with Mr. Williamson, the author has no account.

Mr. Williamson's first engagement with the London Associates, was for the term of seven years ; though he continued in the agency beyond the expiration of that period. It has already been indicated, that his principals were somewhat impatient at the slow return of his large outlays ; and the sanguine, impulsive agent, may have ventured to deplete their purses too rapidly ; but there could have been no serious misunderstanding between them, as the correspondence that took place, in reference to the final settlement of the affairs of the agency in 1800 and 1801, exhibit a continuance of mutual esteem and friendship. A paragraph in a letter from Sir Wm. Pultney to the successor in the agency, indicates a wish that Mr. Williamson should be dealt honorably with in the settlement.

In the final adjustment of his affairs with his principals, what would then have been considered a very large estate, was left him in farms, village property in Geneva and Bath, wild lands, bonds and mortgages, and personal property. James Rees, Esq., of Geneva,

* Mr. Dolson lived near Elmira. In one of Mr. Williamson's backwoods excursions in 1792, he had an attack of fever at Mr. Dolson's house, where he was nursed until he recovered. He presented the family with twenty guineas, and a farm wherever they might choose it upon the purchase.

was his agent, until he finally returned to Scotland, in 1803, or '4, when he left all his affairs in America, with his friend Col. Benjamin Walker, of Utica. The successor of Col. Walker in the care of the Williamson estate, was John H. Woods Esq., of Geneva, with whom it now remains.

Aaron Burr was identified, as has already been observed, with some of the earliest movements in the direction of the Genesee country. Soon after Mr. Williamson's arrival, he made his acquaintance, and retained him as counsel in his business; and the farther relation of strong personal friendship soon succeeded. In 1795, Mr. Burr made a visit to this region, continuing his journey as far west as Niagara Falls. He was accompanied by his daughter Theodosia, and her then, or afterwards, husband, Mr. Allston. The party were on horse-back.* Upon this occasion, Mr. Williamson had interviews with him, if he was not in fact, his travelling companion in a part of the trip; and when Mr. Williamson became a member of the legislature in '96, and in succeeding years, business and social relations, made them frequent companions in Albany. In whatever project Mr. Burr had at the south, Mr. Williamson was blended, and would have taken a conspicuous part in it, if it had not been so summarily arrested.

After Mr. Williamson left this country, he resided at the home of his family in Balgray, and in London. He died in 1808. The only record of the event, that the author has been able to obtain, is the following extract of a letter from Col. Walker, to "Mr. Wm. Ellis.

Note.—Col. Benjamin Walker, was an early and prominent citizen of Utica. In the early part of the Revolution he had been in the staff of Gen. Washington, and was afterwards the aid of Baron Steuben. He is connected with a good anecdote of the Baron:—Reviewing some raw troops, he ordered them, with his imperfect English pronunciation, to fall back, which they mistook for "advance," and came rushing directly upon him. Irritated, and fearing they would understand him no better in his reprimands, he ordered Col. Walker to do—in them in English.

In 1792 he was surveyor of the port of New York, and was employed by Messrs. Pulteney and Hornby to settle with an agent in this country, who had invested some money for them in lands (other than the Genesee purchase,) which led to his early acquaintance with Mr. Williamson. His correspondence with Mr. Williamson after he returned to Europe, would indicate superior talents; and there could be gleaned from them many interesting early reminiscences of events in this country. Col. Walker died in Utica, in 1848. An only daughter married D'Villiers, a French gentleman, who was in this region in '94, or '5. She died in France. The only representative of the family in this country, is an adopted daughter, Mrs. Bours of Geneva.

* In this western visit Mr. Burr parted from his travelling companions at Avon, and went down and visited the falls of the Genesee, taking their height, and a landscape view of them. He shared the log cabin of Mr. Shaffer, over night, on his return, and the old gentleman well remembers his praises of the new country, and his "pleasant, sociable turn."

Nicholson street, Edingburg :”—“An extract sent me from an English newspaper, announces the death of my friend, Col. Williamson, as having happened on his passage from Havanna to England; an event which will be most sincerely lamented by a numerous acquaintance in this country, who esteemed and loved him.”

There is now no descendants of Mr. Williamson in this country. He lost a son and a daughter in Bath; and a son and daughter went soon after him to Scotland. The daughter survives. Charles A. Williamson, the son, married a Miss Clark of New York, and resided in Geneva. Enticed by the discovery of gold in California—although he would seem to have had enough of wealth to satisfy a reasonable ambition—he took the overland route in the summer of 1848, died of cholera at Fort Laramie; and about the same period his wife died in Scotland.

Sir William Pulteney died in May, 1805, leaving an only heir, his daughter, Henrietta Laura Pulteney, Countess of Bath. She died in July, 1808. ¶ For historical, and legal deduction of title to lands, other than what is contained in the body of the work, see Appendix No. 11.

ROBERT TROUP.

The successor of Mr. Williamson, in the general agency of the London Association, was Col. Robert Troup. He was a native of New Jersey; in the war of the Revolution, he was the aid of Gen

NOTE.—There are contradictory accounts of Mr. Williamson's position at the period of his death. One is, that he had been appointed by the British government, Governor of one of the West India Islands; and another is, that his adventurous and enterprising spirit, had connected him with some of the earliest movements in relation to South American Independence, in which he was to have borne a conspicuous part; and in pursuance of which, he was at sea, at the period of his death.

NOTE.—In a letter from James Wadsworth to Col. Troup, dated in September, 1805, he says: —“I have just heard of the death of Sir William Pulteney. My mind is strongly impressed with the disasters that may befall this section of the State, from the event. Sir William was a man of business; he was capable of deciding for himself, what was and what was not proper. What may be the character of his successor we know not.” In another letter from the same to the same, it is assumed that the successor in the management of the estate, is Sir James Pulteney. Mr. W. says: — I once dined with Sir James at Sir William's; he is devoted to the army, and a great favorite of the Duke of York; and I think I have been informed, quite regardless of property; but of his honorable views, and perfect soundness of mind, I have no reason to doubt.”

Gates; his father was an officer of the navy in the preceding French war. Previous to the Revolution, Col. Troup had been a student at law in the office of Thomas Smith, of Havestraw, New Jersey, and subsequently in the office of Gov. Jay. After obtaining license, he opened an office in the city of Albany, and soon after returned to New York, where he practiced law until 1801. He was a few years a Judge of the U. S. District Court. In 1801 he was appointed a general agent of the Pulteney estate. Residing in New York and Albany, he frequently visited this region, until 1814, when he became a permanent resident of Geneva. Under his auspices a large portion of the original purchase of the London Associates, (such as had not been settled during Mr. Williamson's administration,) was sold and settled. Liberal in his views, public spirited, and possessed of much practical knowledge, he was a valuable helper in speeding on the prosperity of the Genesee country. Although the "Mill Tract," west of the Genesee river, was settled under the immediate auspices of Mr. Wadsworth, Col. Troup as the general agent, had much to do in all that relates to its pioneer history; and for over thirty years, his name was conspicuously blended with the history of all this local region. He was one of the early promoters of the Erie Canal, and wielding a ready and able pen, he did much to forward that great measure in its early projection and progress. He was the intimate friend of Alexander Hamilton, and in fact few enjoyed more of the intimate acquaintance and friendship, of the most of prominent men of the Revolution, and early statesmen of New York. He died in New York in 1832, aged 74 years. He had two sons, one of whom died in Charleston, and the other in N. York. A daughter of his is Mrs. James L. Brinkerhoof, of N. York; and another unmarried daughter resides in New York.

Before Col. Troup's removal to Geneva, the immediate duties of the agency devolved successively upon John Johnstone, John Heslop and Robert Scott. Heslop was first a clerk of Mr. Wadsworth, and entered the Geneva office a short time before the close of Mr. Williamson's agency. He died on a visit to his native country, England. Mrs. Gresham, of Brooklyn, is a daughter of his.

JOSEPH FELLOWS.

Joseph Fellows is a native of Warwickshire, England; from which place his father emigrated in 1795 to Luzerne county, Penn., 17 miles from Wilkesbarre. At the age of fourteen, soon after the arrival of the family in this country, he entered the office of Isaac L. Kip, Esq., as a student at law; was admitted to practice, but soon after entered the office of Col. Troup. He came to Geneva in 1810, as a sub-agent in the Pultney land office; the details of the agency principally devolved upon him, until the death of Colonel Troup, when he became his successor in the general agency, which position he still retains. Mr. Fellows is a bachelor; a sister of his was the wife of Dr. Eli Hill, the early physician of Conesus and Geneseo. Dr. Hill removed to Berrien, Michigan, where he died in 1838. His three sons, Edward, Joseph and Henry, are residents of Buffalo. Mrs. Hill survives, and resides at Geneva, with her brother.

The purchasers of the Pultney lands, have found in Mr. Fellows an agent disposed to conduct the business with strict integrity, and in the same spirit of liberality and indulgence that had actuated his predecessors. "I went to him," said a farmer upon the Lake shore, in Wayne county, to the author, "and told him my house was old and uncomfortable, and I could build if he would give me an extension of payment. He granted me even more than I asked." "My payments were due," said another, "sickness had been added to unpropitious seasons; he made a liberal deduction of interest, and gave me an extension of payment, which enabled me finally to possess an unincumbered farm."

The clerks in the Geneva office, in succession, have been Thos. Goundry, George Goundry, William Van Wort, David H. Vance. The present clerks are Win. Young and John Wride.

When Mr. Williamson left Bath, James Reese removed there from Geneva, and took the temporary charge of the Land Office. Resigning the post in 1803, he was succeeded by Samuel L. Haight.

Gen. Haight was a student at law, with the late Gen. Matthews, at Newtown; entering his office in 1796. In 1801 he was admitted

to practice in the Supreme Court, and in the following year opened an office in Bath. Assuming the duties of the Land Office soon after, he continued to discharge them until 1814. He was subsequently the law partner of General Matthews at Bath, and remained so until Gen. M. removed to Rochester in 1821. He now resides at Cuba, Allegany county. Besides holding important civil stations, in 1819 he received the appointment of Major General of the 25th military division, then comprising the counties of Steuben, Allegany, Cattaraugus and Chautauque.*

The subsequent agents in the Bath office have been, Dugald Cameron, and William M'Kay; the latter of whom is the present agent. He is the son of John S. M'Kay, who emigrated to Geneva in 1800, and died in Pittsford, in 1819.

JOHN GREIG.

Mr. Greig was a native of Moffat, in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. His father was a lawyer by profession, the factor or agent of the Earl of Hopeton; and besides, a landholder, ranking among the better class of Scotch farmers. After having acquired in his native parish, and in a High School in Edinburgh, a substantial education, while undetermined as to his pursuits in life, Mr. Johnstone, who, it will have been seen, had been in this region, connected with Mr. Williamson, revisited his native country, and meeting Mr. Greig, induced him to be his companion on his return to the new world. They arrived at New York, in the winter of 1799 and 1800, after a tedious passage of eleven weeks. Mr. Greig, after spending some time in New York and Albany, came to Cananadigua, in April, 1800. He became a student at law, in the office of Nathaniel W. Howell, and in 1804 was admitted to practice. In 1806, on the occurrence of the death of his friend, John Johnstone, he succeeded him in the agency of the Hornby and Colquhoun estate; in which he has continued up to the present period.

In an early period of his professional career, he became the partner of Judge Howell; the partnership continued until 1820. Mingling with his professional duties, the arduous ones consequent upon

* In 1819 all that territory contained but 3,100 men, subject to military duty,

the sale and settlement of large tracts of wild lands, professional eminence could hardly be expected; yet in early days, when there were "giants in the land"—when the bar of western New York had in its front rank, a class of men, whose places can now hardly be said to be filled—they found in the young foreigner a professional cotemporary, possessed of sound legal acquirements; and especially recommending himself to their esteem, by a high sense of honor, and a courtesy, which ruled his conduct at the bar, as well as in the business and social relations of life.

As a patron of new settlements—which his agency of a foreign and absent principal, made him—in that position, in which so important an influence is wielded over the destinies of a new country—his best eulogy is found in the frequent expressions of gratitude, which a gatherer of historical reminiscences may hear, from the lips of surviving Pioneers, for indulgence and kindness received at his hands..

Mr. Greig succeeded Mr. Gorham, in the Presidency of the Ontario Bank, soon after 1820, which place he continues to fill. He became one of the Regents of the University in 1825, and is now the Vice Chancellor of the Board. In 1841, '2, he was the Representative in Congress, from Ontario and Livingston; and is now one of the managers of the Western House of Refuge.

He is now 72 years of age; his general health and constitution not seriously impaired; his mental faculties retaining much of the vigor of middle age; having the general supervision of his estate, and discharging the public duties which his several offices impose.

One of the largest estates of western New York, is the fruit of his youthful advent to a region he has seen converted from a wilderness, to one of fruitful fields and unsurpassed prosperity;—of a long life of professional and business enterprise and judicious management. Leaving his young countrymen and school fellows to inherit estates; with a self-reliance, which can only give substantial success in life, he boldly and manfully struck out into a new field of enterprise—a then fresh and new world—and became the founder of one. Liberal in its management and disposition, with a sensible estimate of what constitutes the legitimate value and use of wealth; he is the promoter of public enterprises, the liberal patron of public, and the dispenser of private charities; in all of which he finds a willing co-operator in his excellent wife, who is a worthy descend-

ant of one who occupied a front rank among the earliest Pioneers of the Genesee country. She was the daughter of Captain Israel Chapin, the grand-daughter of Gen. Israel Chapin; was married to Mr. Greig in 1806.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN DIFFICULTIES — BRITISH INTERFERENCE — INDIAN COUNCILS
— GEN. ISRAEL CHAPIN.

IN preceding pages, the reader has observed some indications of unsettled relations between the Indians, and the early adventurers of our own race, in the Genesee country; and the mischievous influence of those to whom they had been allies in the Revolution. All this will be farther exhibited in connection with the early settlement of Sodus. In this chapter it is proposed to treat the subject generally, avoiding as far as possible a repetition of what has been and will be, in the other connections, but incidental.

The reader of American general history, need hardly be told, that what was called a treaty of peace with Great Britain, in 1783, was rather an armistice — a cessation of hostilities — and that but little of real peace, or amicable relations, was immediately consequent upon it. On the one hand, a proud arrogant nation, worsted in a contest with a few feeble colonies, its invading armies defeated and routed, grudgingly and reluctantly yielded to a stern necessity, and allowed only enough of concession to be wrung from her, to secure the grounding of arms. And on the other hand, success, victory, had been won by a last, and almost desperate effort. — the wearied colonies gladly embracing an opportunity to rest. Thus conditioned, the terms of peace were illy defined, and left open questions, to irritate and furnish grounds for a renewal of hostilities.

British armies re-crossed the ocean, and British navies left our coasts, but British resentment was still rife. In the palace at Windsor, England's King was mourning with almost the weakness of childhood, or dotage, over his lost colonies; yielding to the sacrifice with a bad grace, and in the absence of any kingly dignity. Rich jewels had dropped from his crown, and he refused to be reconciled to their loss; and his ministers, with more of philosophy, but little less of chagrin and discomfiture, in peace negotiations, seem almost to have made mental reservations, that contemplated a renewal of the contest. The homely adage, "like master like man," was never better illustrated, than it was in the persons and official acts of those who came out as government officers and agents, to look to the little that was saved to England, after the wreck of the Revolution. But one spirit, and one feeling pervaded in the home and colonial governments. It was that the treaty had been an act of present necessity, that had not contemplated an ultimate sacrifice of such magnitude as was the final loss of the American colonies. The statesmen of England, were not unmindful that the site of an Empire lay spread out around our western lakes and rivers, and in all of what is now western New York, over which the Indians held absolute and undisputed sovereignty. Those Indians were their allies, ready to take the tomahawk from its belt, and the knife from its sheath at their bidding.

The first, and principal hope and reliance of England, touching the reversion of her lost empire, was that the experiment of free government would be a failure. Astonished that resistance to their rule had been attempted by a few feeble colonies, and more astonished that it had been successful—almost prepared to believe in the decrees of fate, or the enactment of miracles—they were yet unprepared to believe that discordant materials could be so blended together as to insure a permanent separation; that here in the backwoods of America, statesmen would be created by exigency, with a firmness, an intuitive wisdom, to mould together a permanent confederacy, that would be the wonder of the old world; a political phenomena—and thus secure all that had been so dearly won. After the close of the Revolution, every movement upon this side of the water, was watched with intense anxiety. Unpropitious as were the first few years of the experiment, the events increased their confidence. The difficulties growing out of disputed

boundaries between the States; the Shay rebellion in Massachusetts; the internal commotions in Pennsylvania; and finally the discordant views of those who came together to form a Union, and a permanent government; all helped to increase their hopes, that divided and distracted, the colonies would either fall back into their embraces, or be an easy conquest when they chose to renew the war.

In the final success in the formation of a confederacy of States, — the Union — the interested croakers lost some confidence in their predictions, but they still hoped for the worst. If they admitted for a moment that there might be a confederacy of eastern States, they thought they saw enough of the elements of trouble in geographical divisions, in conflicting interests of soils and climate; in a curse they had entailed upon the colonies in the form of African slavery, to insure the failure of the experiment to embrace the whole in one political fabric.

Disappointed in their earliest hopes, they fell back upon another reliance; that by means of a continued alliance with the Six Nations, and with the western Indians, they should be enabled to retain all of what had been French Canada: western New York, the valleys of the western lakes and the Mississippi. With this end in view, by means of pretences so flimsy, that they never rose to the dignity of being sufficiently defined to be understood, they disregarded the plainest stipulations of the treaty of 1783, withheld the posts upon Lake Ontario and the western lakes, and steadily pursued the policy of commercial outrages and annoyances, dogged and irritating diplomacy, and bringing to bear upon the Indians an influence that was intended to embarrass all our negotiations with them, and ultimately to make them allies in a renewed contest for dominion over them and their territory.

The settlement of the Genesee country, commenced under the untoward circumstances of a continued British occupancy; the native owners of the soil, but illy reconciled to the treaties of cessions, and thus in a condition to be easily incited to mischief; while off upon the borders of the western lakes, were numerous nations and tribes ready to join them, to redress their fancied wrongs, at the instigation of the malign influences that lingered among them. For six years after feeble settlements were scattered in backwood's localities, the British retained Fort Oswego and Niagara, and the

western posts ; no American commerce was allowed on Lake Ontario, or if allowed, it was a mere sufferance, attended with all the annoyance and insolence of an armed police at the two important points, Oswego and Niagara.

In the person of Lord Dorchester, the Gov. General of Canada, was an implacable enemy of the disenthralled colonies, an embodiment and fit representative of the spirit that ruled his home government, and his deputy, General Simcoe, the Lieutenant Governor of the Upper Province, located at Niagara, was well fitted to take the lead in that then retreat of mischief makers and irreconciled refugees. Sir John Johnstone, after his retreat from the Mohawk, had continued to reside at Montreal, and after the war, retained a large share of the influence he had inherited, over the Six Nations. He may well be supposed to have had no very kind feelings toward his old neighbors. He was in fact the ready helper in the persevering attempts that were made to keep the Indians irreconciled and troublesome. The position of Joseph Brant was equivocal ; keen scrutiny and watchfulness, failed to determine what were his real inclinations. Even his partial biographer, has left his conduct in the crisis we are considering, an enigma. At times he would seem to have been for peace : in his correspondence with Messrs. Kirkland, Phelps, Thomas Morris, General Chapin, and with the Secretary of War, General Knox, there were professions of peaceful inclinations ; while at the same period, he would be heard of in war councils of the western Indians, stirring up with a potent influence, side by side with his British allies, their worst passions ; or organizing

NOTE.—As late as the summer of 1795, even after the Jay treaty and Wayne's treaty of Greenville, Col. Simcoe was irreconciled, and to all appearances looking forward to a renewal of the contest between Great Britain and her lost colonies, or States as they had then become. The Duke Liancourt, was then his guest, at Niagara, who says of him : — "War seems to be the object of his leading passions ;" he is acquainted with the military history of all countries ; no hillock catches his eye without exciting in his mind the idea of a fort, which might be constructed on the spot, and with the construction of this fort he associates the plan of operations for a campaign, especially of that which is to lead him to Philadelphia." At the Indian village of Tuscarora, near Lewiston, where the Duke accompanied him, he told the Indians that the "Yankees were brooding over some evil designs against them ; that they had no other object in view but to rob them of their lands ; and that their good father, King George, was the true friend of their nation. He also repeated, that the maize thief, Timothy Pickering, was a rogue and a liar." When the Governor and the Duke were on their way to Tuscarora, they met an American family on their way to Canada. On learning their destination, the Governor said to them : — "Aye, aye, you are tired of the Federal government : you like not any longer to have so many kings ; you wish again for your old father, come along and I will give you lands."

armed bands of Canada Indians, as allies of the western confederates. Red Jacket was a backwoods Talleyrand, and Cornplanter, an unschooled Metternich.

Col. John Butler, living at Niagara in affluence, richly pensioned, and himself and family connections richly endowed with lands by the king, repaid the bounties of his sovereign with all the zeal that he had shewn in the war, by seconding the views of Lord Dorchester and Col. Simcoe. As Superintendent of Indian affairs he had the keys of the king's store house at Niagara, and dispensed his presents profusely among the Indians, telling them that the "king, their good father, would soon want their services again, against the rebels." The early settlers of the Genesee country, saw on more than one occasion, the Indians in possession of new broadcloths, blankets, and silver ornaments, that came from the king's store house, the fearful purport of which they well understood. Some of the influences and agencies that have been named, had assisted in land treaties, but it had been for pay, and with the hope ultimately of the partition of New York, and the non-fulfilment of the treaty stipulation for the surrender of its western territory. Lingered yet upon the Genesee river, and in several other localities, were refugees from the Mohawk, with feelings rankling in their bosoms akin to those of Milton's fallen angels after they had been driven out of Paradise.

Added to all these elements of trouble, was an irreconciled feeling against the Indians, on the part of those who had been border settlers upon the Mohawk and the Susquehannah, and could not so soon forget their horrid barbarities. In the absence of courts and any efficient civil police, this feeling would occasionally break out in outrages, and on several occasions resulted in the murder of Indians; it required all the wisdom of the general and State governments and their local agents to prevent retaliation upon the scattered settlements of the Pioneers.

While a storm was gathering at the west, and the Senecas, under the influences that have been named, were half inclined to act in concert with hostile nations in that quarter, the murder of two Senecas, by whites, occurred on Pine creek, in Pennsylvania. It highly exasperated the Senecas, and they made an immediate demand upon the Governor of Pennsylvania for redress. It was in the form of a message, signed by Little Beard, Red Jacket, Gisse-

hakie, Caunhesongo, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca nation, and dated at "Geneseo River Flats," August 1790. After saying they are glad that a reward of eight hundred dollars has been offered for the murderers, they add:—"Brothers the two men you have killed were very great men, and were of the great Turtle tribe; one of them was a chief, and the other was to be put in the great king Garoughta's place, who is dead also. Brothers, you must not think hard of us if we speak rash, as it comes from a wounded heart, as you have struck the hatchet in our head, and we can't be reconciled until you come and pull it out. We are sorry to tell you, you have killed eleven of us since peace." "And now we take you by the hand and lead you to the Painted Post, as far as your canoes can come up the creek, where you will meet the whole tribe of the deceased, and all the chiefs and a number of warriors of our nation, where we expect you will wash away the blood of your brothers, and bury the hatchet, and put it out of memory, as it is yet sticking in our heads.

Mr. Pickering, who was then residing at Wyoming, was either sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania, or the Secretary of War to hold the proposed treaty, at Tioga Point, on the 16th day of November. He met there, Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, Col. Butler, Little Billy, Fish Carrier, and other chiefs of the Six Nations, and the Chippewa and Stockbridge Indians. They came to the council much enraged, and a speech of Red Jacket was well calculated to increase their resentments. The black cloud that hung over their deliberations for days, was finally driven away by the prudent course of Col. Pickering, and the war spirit that was kindled in many a savage bosom, finally quelled. This was the first time that the Six Nations were met in council by the general government after the adoption of the constitution. Col. Pickering informed them that the Thirteen Fires was now but one Fire, that they were now all under the care of the great chief, General Washington, who would redress their wrongs, and correct any abuses the whites had

NOTE.—Money and presents of goods, it is presumed, were the principal agents of reconciliation. The wily chiefs who demanded the council, while they assumed that their young warriors could hardly be restrained from taking summary vengeance upon the whites, intimated what they were expecting; and they especially requested that the Governor should send to the council "all the property of the murderers," as it would "be a great satisfaction to the families of the deceased." The result of the council amounted to little more than a compromising of the murders, and professions of friendship, that were destined to remain equivocal.

practiced upon them; and that especially traders among them would be prohibited from selling spirituous liquors. To all this Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother made replies, expressing much gratification that the "great chief of the Thirteen Fires, had opened his mouth to them." They made formal complaints of the manner in which their lands had been obtained from them, to which Col. Pickering replied, that their lands were their own to dispose of as they pleased, that the United States would only see that no frauds were practiced in the land treaties.

The Six Nations called their councils with the whites, measures for "brightening the chain of friendship," and never did chains get rusty so quick after brightening as they did along during this critical period. One treaty or council was hardly over before another was demanded by one party or the other. In the spring of 1791, when the Little Turtle as the successor of Pontiac—as a leader, almost his equal—had perfected an alliance of the principal western nations against the United States; when expedients for reconciliation with them had been exhausted, and General Harmar was about to march against them; it was deemed of the utmost importance to confirm the wavering purposes of the Six Nations, and divert them from an alliance with the legions that threatened to break up the border settlements west of the Ohio, and if successful there, to involve the new settlements of the Genesee country in the contest for dominion. For this purpose, Colonel Pickering was again commissioned by the Secretary of War to hold a treaty. It was held at Newtown, (now Elmira,) in the month of June. With a good deal of difficulty, a pretty general attendance of the Indians was secured. Fortunately Col. Proctor who had turned back in a peace embassy to the western nations, in consequence of intimations which induced a conclusion that it would not only be fruitless but dangerous, had spent some weeks among the Senecas at Buffalo, and his visit had been favorable to the drawing off of the chiefs and warriors from Canada influence and western alliance, in the direction of Colonel Pickering and his treaty ground.

The treaty was mainly successful. With all the bad inclinations of the Senecas at this period, and bad influences that was bearing upon them, there was a strong conservative influence which had a powerful auxiliary in the, "Governesses," or influential women.*

* The very common impression that the women had no influence in the councils of


The principal speakers were, Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother. Thomas Morris was present at this treaty;* the author extracts from his manuscripts, spoken of in the preface to this work:—"Red Jacket was I suppose, at that time, about 30 or 35 years of age, of middle height, well formed, with an intelligent countenance, and a fine eye; and was in all respects a fine looking man. He was the most graceful public speaker I have ever known; his manner was most dignified and easy. He was fluent, and at times witty and sarcastic. He was quick and ready at reply. He pitted himself against Col. Pickering, whom he sometimes foiled in argument. The Colonel would sometimes become irritated and lose his temper; then Red Jacket would be delighted and shew his dexterity in taking advantage of any unguarded assertion of the Colonel's. He felt a conscious pride in the conviction that nature had done more for him than for his antagonist. A year or two after this treaty, when Col. Pickering from Post Master General became Secretary of War, I informed Red Jacket of his promotion. 'Ah,' said he, 'we began our public career about the same time; he knew how to read and write, I did not, and he has got ahead of me; but if I had known how to read and write I should have got ahead of him.'"

The name of an early Pioneer has already been incidentally mentioned, who became prominently blended in all the relations of the general government, and consequently in all the relations of this local region, with our Indian predecessors. General Israel Chapin was from Hatfield, Massachusetts. He was commissioned as a Captain in the earliest military organizations of Massachusetts, after the commencement of the Revolution, and was in the campaign against Quebec; soon after which he was advanced to the rank of Colonel, and at the close of the Revolution, he had attained to the

the Six Nations—that their whole sex was regarded as mere drudges—is refuted by the recorded facts, that in treaties with Gov. George Clinton, and in the treaty at "Big Tree," they turned the scale in councils.

* Mr. Morris, then just from his law studies, with a younger brother, set out from Philadelphia, and coming via Wilkes-barre and what was called "Sullivan's path," attended the treaty, visited the Falls of Niagara, and returning, made up his mind to fix his residence at Canandaigua. See sketches of early times at Canandaigua, and see also some further reminiscences of Mr. Morris in connection with the treaty at Newtown, Appendix No. 12.

NOTE.—Among the Revolutionary papers of General Chapin, are many interesting relics. Ephraim Patch, a soldier of his company, charges in his memorandum, for "one pair of buffed trowsers, one pewter basin, one pair shoes, one tomahawk and

rank of Brigadier General. In addition to his services in the field, he was occasionally a sub-contractor, or agent of Oliver Phelps, in procuring army supplies. Upon one occasion, as the author observes by his correspondence, he was requested by Mr. Phelps to obtain a "fine yoke of fat cattle for Gen. Washington's table." Gen. Chapin was in active military service during the Shay rebellion:  See "general orders," transmitted to him by Major General Shepherd, Appendix, No. 13. After the close of the Revolution, he was a prominent managing member of an association, organized for the purpose of dealing in wild lands in Vermont. He was one of the original associates with Mr. Phelps, in the purchase of the Genesee country, and was chosen to come out and explore it in 1789, which resulted in his removal with his family to Canandaigua, in 1790.

Soon after the organization of the general government, the Secretary of War, General Knox, saw the necessity of a local agent among the Six Nations, and the well earned reputation of General Chapin, in the Revolution, and in the important civil crisis that followed after it in Massachusetts, fortunately for the region with which he had become identified, pointed him out as a safe depository of the important trust. From his earliest residence in the country, he had been entrusted with commissions, in connection with Indian relations, by Gen. Knox and Col. Pickering. Soon after the treaty at Newtown, he was appointed to the office of Deputy Superintendent of the Six Nations, though the duties of his office ultimately, in many instances, embraced the whole northern department.

The letter of appointment from Gen. Knox, enjoined upon him the impressing upon the Indians, that it was the "firm determination of the President that the utmost fairness and kindness should be exhibited to the Indian tribes by the United States." That it was "not only his desire to be at peace with all the Indian tribes, but to be their guardian and protector, against all injustice." He was informed by the Secretary, that Joseph Brant had promised a visit to the seat of government, and instructed either to accompany him, "or otherwise provide for his journey in a manner perfectly agreeable to him."

belt, one bayonet and belt, lost by me in the retreat from Quebec, May 6, 1776." Jonathan Clark charges that he was equally unfortunate in the hasty flight: he lost his wooden shirt, stockings, shoes, a bayonet and belt, a tomahawk, and a "pair of Indian stockings.

This attempt to get Brant to Philadelphia, together with a large representation of other chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, and others not actually merged with the hostile Indians of the west, had been commenced in the previous winter. It succeeded very well, with the exception of Brant; a large Seneca delegation, with a few Onondagas and Oneidas, nearly forty in all, were conducted to Philadelphia, across the country, via Wilkesbarre, by Horatio Jones and Joseph Smith. It was upon this occasion that the Indian chief, Big Tree, was a victim to the excessive hospitality that was extended to the delegation, at the seat of government, dying there from the effects of surfeit. British hospitality and liberality was outdone; President Washington won the esteem and confidence of the Indians, and they departed with promises of continued friendship, and that they would undertake a friendly mission to the hostile Indians of the west.

Brant was invited to the conference by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland and Col. Pickering, but he stood out somewhat upon his dignity, and intimated that if he went, it was to be in a manner more consistent with his character and position, than would be a journey through the country, with a drove of Indians, under the lead of interpreters. This being communicated to Gen. Knox, he took the hint, and thence his instructions to Gen. Chapin. Apprehensive, too, that Brant wanted the invitation to come directly from the seat of government, he addressed him an official letter, respectful and conciliatory, appealing to him upon the score of humanity, to lend his great influence toward reconciling the existing Indian difficulties, preventing the further shedding of blood, and to assist the government in devising measures for bettering the condition of his race. This drew from the chief an answer that he would start for Philadelphia in about thirty days, and in the meantime would consult the western nations, and be enabled to speak by authority from them. No statesman of the new or old world, ever penned a more guarded, non-committal answer in diplomacy, than was this from the retired chief, in the backwoods of Canada.

The letter to the Secretary of War, was sent to Mr. Kirkland, at Oneida, and forwarded by him by the hands of Dr. Deodat Allen, to the care of Col. Gordon, the British commanding officer at Fort Niagara, with a request to have it sent by private express to Captain Brant, at Grand River. This manner of forwarding the

letter proved unfortunate. Dr. Allen, knowing its contents designally or imprudently communicated them to Col. Gordon, who accompanied it with suggestions well calculated to promote an unfavorable answer. He also informed Captain Chew,* a deputy Indian agent under Sir John Johnstone, residing at Niagara, of the contents of the letter, who brought all his influence to bear upon Brant, to prevent the journey.

As the time of departure drew near, Gen. Chapin had Brant attended from the Grand River to Camudaigna, and from there, via Albany and New York to Philadelphia. The chief was attended by Israel Chapin, jr., Dr. Allen, Samuel Street, a servant of his own, and another provided for the party by Gen. Chapin. It was Brant's first appearance in the Valley of the Mohawk after his flight from there, and well knowing that upon his journey he must often encounter those of his old neighbors against whom he had carried on a sanguinary warfare, he feared retribution, and only proceeded upon the pledges of Gen. Chapin that no insult or indignity should be offered him. It was only upon one occasion that fears were entertained for his safety on the route by his attendants, who enabled him to avoid the threatened danger. Arrived at New York, it would seem the whole party, about to appear at court — or rather, at the seat of government — doffed their buckwoods, wardrobe, and patronized a fashionable tailor. Pretty round bills were presented to Gen. Chapin for payment; that for a full suit for Brant, would show that he at least did not appear in any less mean attire than was befitting an ambassador.

The result of this visit of Brant to the seat of government, in detail, is already incorporated in history. Although in a measure satisfactory and productive of good, his position was by no means fixed, or changed by it. In the midst of flattery and civilities, the recipient of presents and flatteries, he was reserved and guarded; put on an air of mystery: so much so, that Gen. Knox in a letter to Geo. Chapin, expresses fears that some thing was said or done at

* Captain Chew had conventionally, for a wife, a half blood Tuscarora, the daughter of Capt. Mountpleasant, of the British Army, and mother of the venerable John Mountpleasant, of Tuscarora, a woman who is well remembered by the friends of that region. One of them, not a bad judge in such matters, told the author that she was the handsomest woman he had ever seen. Her first husband was with a Captain Ebert, of the British army. Her descendants are among the many respectable natives of Tuscaroravillage.

Philadelphia that had displeased him. The truth was, that he had a difficult part to perform:—In the first place, he was sincerely tired of war, and wanted peace; but he was bound to the British interests by gratitude, by present and prospective interests; existing upon their bounty, and apprehensive that his large landed possessions were held by the tenure of a continued loyalty. He knew that every step he took, and every word he uttered in favor of the United States, or peace, would be used against him, not only to weaken his influence with the British, but also with what he probably valued still higher, his influence with his own race. Gen. Knox drew from him a promise that he would visit the western nations; but the promise was attended with conditions and mental reservations, which were calculated to render the mission of little avail.

There followed this movement, a series of fruitless embassies to the hostile Indians, a protracted period of alarm and apprehension. Repeated conferences and councils were held by Gen. Chapin with the Six Nations, mostly with the Senecas, as they were most inclined to be allies of the western Indian confederacy. Hendricks, a Stockbridge chief, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter, were successively sent on missions to the west, under the auspices of Gen. Chapin: but neither they, nor white ambassadors, succeeded in getting any overture better than the ultimatum that the Ohio should be the boundary line of respective dominion.

There was a long period of dismay and alarm, in which the new settlers of the Genesee country deeply and painfully participated; every movement in the west was regarded with anxiety; and the Senecas in their midst, were watched with jealousy and distrust. In addition to the fruitless missions from this quarter, others were undertaken from the seat of government, and our military posts upon the Allegany, equally abortive: in two instances, peace ambassadors were treacherously murdered before reaching treaty grounds. The hindrances to peace negotiations with the Indians, were vastly augmented by British interference. Not content with encouraging the Indians to hold out, and actually supplying them with the means of carrying on the war, on one occasion, they refused to let a peace embassy proceed by water via Oswego and Niagara; and on another occasion, with a military police, prevented commissioners of the United States from proceeding to their destination, a treaty ground. And these were the acts of a nation with whom

we had just made a treaty of peace; a nation who, in a recent colonial crisis of their own, demanded the most stringent observance of the duties of neutral nations. They set up the specious and false pretence, that the supplying the Indians with the means of warring upon us, was the work of individuals, for which the government was not accountable. In the case of the Navy Island war, they insisted that our government should be responsible for individual acts.

The office of Gen. Chapin, it may well be concluded, was no sinecure. At the head of the war department was a faithful public officer, and he required promptness and energy from all his subordinates. Upon Gen. Chapin, devolved the procuring of ambassadors to the hostile Indians, fitting out them and their retinues, and holding council after council to keep the faces of the Six Nations turned from the west. In these troublesome times, the government was of course liberal with the Senecas, and Gen. Chapin was its almoner. They, shrewd enough to understand the value of their continued friendship to the United States at that critical period, were most of them sturdy beggars. Often they would propose councils with the ulterior motive of a feast and carousal and a "staff"^{*} to support them on their return to their villages. At his home in Canandaigua he was obliged to hold almost perpetual audience with self-constituted delegations who would profess that they were decided conservatives and peace makers, as long as he dispensed his bread, meat and whiskey freely. Lingering sometimes quite too long to be agreeable or essential to the purposes of diplomacy, he would fit them out with a liberal "staff" and persuade the squaws to go back to their cornfields, and the Indians to their hunting camps in the forest. Mr. Berry at Canawagus, and Winney, the then almost

NOTE.—It is not the author's purpose to give the general history of Indian difficulties at the west, at this period; though it should be mentioned, for the information of those not conversant with what was then transpiring in that quarter, that the Indian confederacy, which had been revived, and the wars they waged, was to recover all of their country they had ceded to the United States south of the Ohio, which then contained about thirty-five thousand inhabitants. They insisted upon the Ohio as the boundary line, and in this, they were sustained and encouraged by the British. The expeditions of St. Clair and Wayne, were for enforcing previous treaties and punishing the Indians for their depredations committed upon those who had settled on ceded territory.

^{*} A bottle, and sometimes a keg of whiskey to which they gave this name. What a misnomer! The emblem of strength and support was weakness, as has since been lamentably demonstrated.

solitary resident upon the present site of Buffalo, were Indian traders, and acted as local sub-agents, the two first named especially. Upon the General's orders, and sometimes at their own discretion, they would dispense meats and drinks, and formidable accounts thereof would be presented. Winney occupying an important position with reference to Indian relations, kept the General apprised of all that was going on in that quarter. The United States having passed a stringent law prohibiting wholly the selling of liquor to the Indians and trading among them without license, an onerous task was imposed upon the superintendent to prevent its infraction. School masters, missionaries and blacksmiths, among the Indians had to be cared for, and their various wants supplied. In all difficulties that arose between the white settlers and the Indians, the superintendent was usually called upon to be the arbitrator. If the Indians stole from the white settlers, complaints were made to the superintendant and it seemed to have been a matter of inference that his office imposed upon him the duty of seeing all such wrongs redressed. It will surprise those who are not conversant with the scale of economy upon which our national affairs commenced, that the pay for all this, which was attended with large disbursement of public money, for which the most rigid accountability was demanded, was but five hundred dollars per annum.

The season of 1794 opened with gloomy prospects:—Negotiations with the western Indians had signally failed; one army had been routed, and another defeated; Indian murders of border settlers at the west continued; a war with England was not improbable;* and among the fearfully anticipated results in this region, was a renewal of the border wars, with the active participation of the legions of savage warriors at the west, added to increase its hor-

NOTE.—The following is a specimen of Mr. Winney's correspondence. Prince Edward was the afterwards Duke of Kent, the father of the present Queen of England. He had then a commission in the British army:—

BUFFALO CREEK, e 23d Aug. 1792.

"I inform General Chapin that about 79 of the Canada Indians is gone to Detroit, they seem to be for Warr and a number of Indians more are expected to go up. I further inform you that the Indians of this place are to go up in the first Kings vessel that comes down. Prince Edward is arrived at niagara should I hear anything worth while to write I shall let you know. I am your most obedient and very humble servant.

C. WINNEY.

* The reader is reminded that a war between England and France had commenced England had prostrated American commerce by her arbitrary orders in council; and impressment of American seamen, (of itself a sufficient cause of war,) was going on.

rors. In the month of February, Lord Dorchester had returned from England, and meeting a deputation from the western Indians, had delivered to them an inflammatory speech, asserting among other things, that he should regard as invalid, any acquisition of the United States, of Indian lands since the peace of 1763. [Appendix, No. 14.] This of course included all of the Genesee country. Following up the hostile demonstration, Gov. Simcoe, early in April, with a body of troops had proceeded to the west, and erected a Fort, at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami, far within the boundaries of the United States, as acknowledged in the treaty of 1763.

Although General Chapin, as many of the old Pioneers well remember, endeavored to quiet alarm, and prevent the desertion of the country, he was far from feeling all the security and freedom from apprehension of danger, that he with good motives professed. All eyes were turned to him: from all the backwoods settlements, messengers would go to Canandaigua, to learn from him all that was going on—to consult him as to anticipated danger—if he had shown misgivings, or favored alarm, a desertion of the country would have ensued, the necessity of which he was laboring to obviate. During the previous winter he had been to Philadelphia, and delivered to the President a message from a council of the Six Nations, and brought back an answer. In February he had convened a council at Buffalo and delivered it. It had proved satisfactory except in one particular—it had failed to give an explicit answer upon the vexed question of the disputed western boundary. He however distributed presents among them—of which was a large supply of warm winter clothing—and left them with renewed professions of peaceful intentions.* In April he wrote to the Secretary of War that he had entertained confidence that the Six Nations intended to hold a council with the U. States, in order to bring “about a general peace,” but that he feared that the “inflammatory speech of Lord Dorchester,” (which had been interpreted to the Indians at Buffalo Creek, by Col. Butler,) “with what passed between the British and Indians on that occasion, had changed their intentions.” “Captain Bomberly attended the council in behalf of the British government, and took pains on all occasions to inform the Indians that war between

* At this period the Senecas were almost wholly clothed and fed by him. It was the only policy which could prevent them from resorting to the king's store house at Niagara.

their government and ours, was inevitable. When I was at Buffalo Creek, Gov. Simcoe had gone to Detroit. He started for that place immediately on receiving Lord Dorchester's speech to the Indians." "The expenses of the Indians increase with the importance they suppose their friendship to be to us; however, you may be persuaded that I endeavor to make use of all the economy I can." The letter closes as follows:—"This part of the country, being the frontier of the State of New York, is very much alarmed at the present appearance of war. Destitute of arms and ammunition, the scattered inhabitants of this remote wilderness would fall an easy prey to their savage neighbors, should they think proper to attack them."

On the 5th of May, General Chapin informed the Secretary, that the British had commenced the erection of a Fort at Sandusky. "If," says he, "it is consistent with the views of the United States, to put any part of this country in a state of defence, this part of it calls aloud for it as much as any. We are totally unprovided with arms and ammunition, and our enemy is within a few miles of us. If 12 or 1500 stand of arms could be spared from the arsenals of the United States, to the inhabitants of this frontier, together with some ammunition, it would contribute much to their security."*

The apprehension of danger extended over all the region west of Utica. In the small settlements that had been commenced in Onondaga, it had been enhanced by an unfortunate local occurrence: Early in the spring, Sir John Johnson, through an agent, had attempted to take from Albany to Canada, a boat load of groceries and fruit trees. A party of men waylaid the boat at Three River Point, and plundered the entire cargo. It was a lawless attempt of individuals to take the power into their own hands, and redress national wrongs; gratify an ill feeling against Johnson, and retaliate for British offences upon the Ocean, and the annoyances of American Lake commerce at Oswego. An invading force from Canada to land at Oswego, and march upon the settlements in Onondaga, was threatened and anticipated. Rumors came that Johnson and Brant were organizing for that purpose.

In reference to the whole complexion of things at the west, and in Canada, the legislature of New York had resolved upon erecting fortifications upon the western borders, and had appropriated

* Some arms and ammunition were shortly afterwards sent to Gen. Chapin, either by the general or state government.

£12,000 for that purpose. The commissioners under the act, were Generals Stephen Van Rensselaer and William North, Adjt. Gen. David Van Horne and Baron Steuben, who was then a resident of Oneida county. Soon after their appointment, they had enlisted the co-operation of General Chapin, Charles Williamson and Robert Morris, as to the location of the defences. Although Baron Steuben came west, and corresponded with the last named gentleman in reference to the matter, the author can not learn that any thing was finally consummated west of Onondaga. Before any thing could have been matured, the clouds of war had begun to disperse. In the hour of alarm, the State commissioners came west as far as Salt Point, and ordered the erection of a block house, which was soon completed. The Baron mustered together the backwoodsmen of Onondaga, officered and inspected them; a committee of public safety was organized. Before the block house was completed and garrisoned, on several occasions, the inhabitants fled to the woods with their most valuable effects. At this time, there was an unusual number of Indians at the British posts of Oswego and Niagara; it was inferred that they were only waiting for Wayne's defeat at the west, as a signal for a movement in this quarter.

A new element of trouble was interposed to embarrass the relations of the Six Nations with the United States. Complanter, with a few other chiefs, had sold to the State of Pennsylvania a district of country along on the south shore of Lake Erie, which included Presque Isle. The act was strongly remonstrated against, and Pennsylvania was early informed that it had not the sanction of competent authority, and would be regarded by the Indians as a nullity; but at a critical period, the authorities of Pennsylvania very inconsiderately commenced an armed occupancy and surveys. This threatened to undo all that had been done by General Chapin

NOTE.—The author of the excellent History of Onondaga, from which a portion of the account of movements in that quarter are derived, says:—"Frederick William Augustus Baron de Steuben, once an aid-de-camp to Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, Quartermaster General, Chevalier of the Order of Merit, Grand Master of the Court of Hohenzollern, Colonel in the Circle of Sardinia, Knight of the Order of Fidelity, Commander-in-chief of the armies of the Prince of Baden, Major General of the armies of the United States, and Inspector General of the same—the fortunate soldier of fifty battles, an admirer of freedom, the friend of Washington, the man of virtue, fidelity and honor—performed his last military service in reviewing a score of unarmed, half-clad militia, and in selecting a site for a block-house for the defence of the frontier of New York, in the county of Onondaga, at Salt Point, in 1794."

to keep the Six nations quiet. He took the advantage of a visit of Capt. Williamson to the seat of government, to represent the consequences, and induce the President to interfere and persuade the authorities of Pennsylvania to abandon the enterprise. In a letter to the Secretary of War, dated on the 7th of June, he had foreshadowed the difficulty that was springing up in a new quarter — "The Cornplanter, whose steadiness and fidelity has been, until lately, unshaken, has, I am apprehensive, been induced to join their interests. He has lately returned from Niagara, loaded with presents. Shortly after his return to his home, he despatched runners to the different tribes of the Six Nations, requesting them to meet in a general council at his castle, to proceed from thence to Venango: informing them that an Indian had been killed by our people, and that it would be necessary for them to inquire into the circumstances." "I am afraid that the murder of the Indian is not the real cause of calling this council. The lands at Presque Isle, were sold to the State of Pennsylvania by Cornplanter, and a small party, without the consent of the nation. No division of the money was ever made. The Cornplanter has always denied having made the sale, and they have never considered it as a valid one. The troops sent on by the State of Pennsylvania, prove to the Indians that the property is considered by the State as belonging to them; and the Cornplanter, in order to extricate himself from the unpleasant situation he is placed in, is perhaps desirous of inflaming the Six Nations against the United States." General Chapin signified his intention of attending the council at Venango, as he had been invited, to thwart any mischief that might be engendered there. He succeeded, however, in changing the council to Buffalo Creek, to be held there on the 15th of June.

Cornplanter was present at this council, and the principal speaker. He led off with a speech to be transmitted to the President, in which he nearly threw off all disguise, and from a conservative, became an ultraist. He opened smoothly and artfully, however; addressing the President through Gen. Chapin, he said: — "Brother, I have for a long time aimed at the good of both parties. I have paid you different compliments, as that of brother, and father, and now I shall call you friend. We were pleased when we heard that you was appointed to have chief command of the United States." He closed a long speech, and one of a good deal of ability, by join-

ing the western Indians in their ultimatum, in reference to making the Ohio the boundary line: thus, in fact, nullifying his own acts. He demanded redress for two of their people killed by the whites; and even had the effrontery to complain of the occupation of Presque Isle, adding very significantly that it might "occasion many accidents," and presented the Gen. with ten strings of black wampum. General Chapin made a judicious reply: and in answer to a request that Cornplanter had made in behalf of the Six Nations, for him to go to Presque Isle, disclaimed any right he had to interfere with the acts of Pennsylvania; but said he would accept the invitation, and go there and give his advice.

Accompanied by William Johnson,* two Seneca chiefs and ten Indians as a guard and as oars-men, General Chapin left Buffalo Creek on the 19th of July for Presque Isle, where he arrived on the 24th. Their slow progress had been owing to head winds that frequently obliged them to camp on shore and await their subsiding. There were then no Indian or white occupants at Presque Isle. A company of troops and a corps of surveyors were stationed at Le Boeuf, on French Creek, 16 miles distant, to which place the embassy plodded their way through the woods on foot. A Captain Denny commanded troops at Le Boeuf, and Mr. Ellicott † was at the head of the surveyors. The arrival of the ambassador of peace and his dusky retinue, was honored by the discharge of cannon. Rumors had preceded the party, and on its arrival, a considerable number of Indians were collected. General Chapin delivered to Messrs. Denny and Ellicott, a message from the chiefs he had met at Buffalo Creek, which contained a demand for the suspension of surveys and a withdrawal of the troops: a day or two was spent in making speeches, and in friendly intercourse with the Indians. The council, or interview, terminated in a promise from General Chapin of a general treaty to settle not only that, but all existing difficulties, and the representatives of Pennsylvania signified a willingness to abide by the result. Before leaving Le Boeuf, General Chapin despatched a letter to the Secretary of War, in which he said, that

* Johnson was a trader and interpreter in the British interests, residing at Buffalo Creek. When the Holland Company purchased, he owned, by deed of gift from the Indians, almost the entire site of the present city of Buffalo. A compromise gave him 45 acres, now in the heart of the city, and a tract of wild land near the city. He had been a Border Ranger. He died in 1807.

† Either Joseph or Benjamin Ellicott.

"although the minds of the Six Nations are much disturbed at the injuries they say they have sustained, they are still opposed to war, and wish, if possible, to live in peace with the United States. They are much opposed to the establishing of a garrison at this place, as they say it will involve them in a war with the hostile Indians.* They are likewise much displeased with the having those lands surveyed, as they say they have not been legally purchased." In this letter, General Chapin earnestly recommended a general treaty, as the only means which could keep the Six Nations aloof from the dangerous confederacy at the west.

To the letter of General Chapin, the Secretary answered on the 25th of July, saying:—"Your ideas of a conference are adopted. It will be held at Canandaigua on the 8th of September. Colonel Pickering will be the commissioner, to be assisted by you in all respects. Notify the Six Nations that their father, the President of the United States, is deeply concerned to hear of any dissatisfaction existing in their minds against the United States, and therefore invites them to a conference, for the purpose of removing all causes of misunderstanding, and establishing a permanent peace and friendship between the United States and the Six Nations."

No time was lost by General Chapin in disseminating the invitation among the Indians; holding "talks" and councils with them, personally, in their villages. A crisis was at hand; Gen. Wayne was marching into the Indian country; legions of the western and southern Indians were assembling to give him battle; unless the Six Nations were diverted, there was strong probability that they would be with them; and if Gen. Wayne was defeated, there was the additional fearful probability that an attempt of the confederates would follow, to address the alleged wrongs of the Six Nations, by bringing the war to this region. Runners, or messengers, were despatched to the seat of government; frequent communications passed between Generals Knox and Chapin, and frequent speeches came from the President, through General Knox, to the Six Nations. On the 30th of July, General Chapin reported progress, and informed General Knox that the complexion of things at the west looked discouraging; that although he entertained hopes of a general at-

* Oblige them to join the hostile Indians, it is presumed, is the meaning intended to be conveyed.

tendance at the treaty, he had to stem a strong tide of opposition, principally instigated by the British. "Captain O. Bail does not feel satisfied respecting his villanous conduct in making sale of the lands at Presque Isle, which gives general dissatisfaction to the Six Nations, as they were not informed of his proceedings. The Indians' enmity to him, induces him to be more attached to the British, as they tolerate every kind of such conduct to disturb the Indians and bring about their own purposes." In this letter, the General mentions that the warriors on the Allegany had been persuaded that Wayne would march in this direction, and had removed their old men, women, and children, to a new location on the Cattaraugus Creek, with the ultimate intention, as he thought, of crossing the Lake to Canada.

In the fore part of September, General Chapin employed William Ewing, whom the reader will find alluded to in connection with reminiscences of Pioneer settlement on the Genesee river, to repair to Buffalo creek and Canada, use his influence in getting the Indians in that quarter to attend the treaty, and watch and counteract as far as possible, British interference. A letter from Mr. Ewing to General Chapin after his return, contains so much of the cotemporary history of that period, that the author has inserted it entire in the Appendix, No. 15.

The most ample provisions were made for the treaty; while the Secretary of War would caution against the unnecessary expenditure of public money, he transmitted funds liberally, and ample stores of Indian goods, liquors, tobacco, &c., were purchased in New York, sent up the Hudson, and started upon the long and tedious water transit, while at Canandaigua, the local superintendent, laid in provisions and prepared to fulfil a promise to the Indians, that he would "hang on big kettles." Col. Pickering wrote to General Chapin to have quarters provided for him where he could entertain friends: that he had sent on liquors, provisions, tea and coffee, for a private establishment.

The Indians gathered tardily. Col. Pickering anticipating this, did not arrive until after the 20th of September. In a letter to the Secretary, dated on the 17th, Gen. Chapin mentions a rumor, that Wayne had defeated the Indians. In reference to the treaty he says: — "Since the Indians were first invited to it, the British have endeavored if possible to prevent their attendance, and have used

every endeavor to persuade them to join the hostile Indians, till at last they found the Indians would not generally join in the war, the Governor told them in the council at Fort Erie, that they might attend the treaty, and if anything was given them by the Americans, to take it." "The Indians will generally attend the treaty in my opinion, or especially those of the best part of them; such as are generally in council, and the best friends to the United States."

Previous to the treaty, or Wayne's victory, a little light had broke in to the darkness that pervaded. The prospect of a general war with England was lessened. Gen. Knox wrote to Gen. Chapin in June, that the "British conduct in the West Indies," and Lord Dorchester's speech had "rendered it pretty conclusive, that last autumn the ministry of Great Britain entertained the idea of making war upon us. It is however, now pretty certain that they have altered or suspended that intention. This conclusion is drawn from the orders of the 8th of January, and the general opinion entertained in Great Britain." Favorable as were these indications, they had no immediate effect upon British agents in this quarter.

It was not until near the middle of October, that a sufficient number of Indians were collected at Canandaigua, to warrant the commencement of business. About that period General Chapin wrote to the Secretary, that he should "endeavor to make use of the shortest ceremony in procuring supplies, but the number of Indians is greater than I expected, and the expenses also." It is apparent from the cotemporary records, that the Six Nations, a large proportion of them at least, hung back from this treaty, even until they began to hear of Wayne's victory, from such of their number as had been in the fight, as allies of the confederates; and in fact they did not assemble at Canandaigua, in any considerable numbers, until Wayne's success was fully confirmed, and they were clearly convinced that the fortunes of war had turned decidedly against those with whom they would have been fully allied, if Wayne had met with no better success than had his predecessors, Harmar and St. Clair.

The general proceedings, and favorable termination of Pickering's treaty of 1791, at Canandaigua, are already incorporated in history. Wayne's victory, and the success of the treaty, which was in a great measure consequent upon it, were the commencement of events that finally gave a feeling of security to this region,

and enabled settlements and improvements to go on, unannoyed by the alarms and prospects of war and invasion. There was a lingering state of uncertainty after the two fortunate events; for months rumors came, that the western confederates were again making a stand, and refusing any compromise: indications in Canada, and at the British posts at the west, favored the conclusion of British alliance with them; but the news at last came, that the far western nations were retiring across the Mississippi, discomfited, and chagrined with an alledged breach of faith on the part of the British, in not coming to the rescue when they were hotly pressed by Wayne—in shutting the gates of their fortress against them, when his iron hail was strewing the ground with their warriors; * and finally, that the nations more immediately interested in the contest, had signified their willingness to do what was soon after consummated at the treaty of Grenville. Jay's treaty followed, Oswego and Niagara were surrendered, and years of peace and security followed, and continued until the war of 1812.

The Hon. Thomas Morris, it will have been seen, was a citizen of Canandaigua. He was present at the treaty. He thus speaks of it in his manuscript reminiscences:—“For some months prior to the treaty at Canandaigua, the Indians would come among us painted for war; their deportment was fierce and arrogant; such as to create the belief that they would not be unwilling to take up the hatchet against us. From certain expressions attributed to Gov. Simcoe, in connection with his conduct at Sodus Bay, it was believed that the British had taught the Indians to expect that Gen. Wayne would be defeated, in which event they might easily have persuaded the Six Nations, to make common cause with the hostile Indians, and our settlements would have been depopulated. Such were the apprehensions entertained at the time of an Indian war on our borders, that in several instances, farmers were panic struck, and with the dread of the scalping knife before them, had pulled up stakes, and with their families, were on their way to the East. Arrived at Canandaigua, they found that I was painting my house, and making improvements about it; believing that I possessed better information on the subject than they did, their fears became quieted.

* Mr. Morris says that the hostile Indians at the west, sent runners to the Canandaigua treaty with a full account of their disaster, which closed by saying:—“And our brethren, the British, looked on, and gave us not the least assistance.”

and they retraced their steps back to their habitations. After the defeat of the hostile Indians, those of the Six Nations became completely cowed; and, from that time all apprehensions of a war with them vanished.

Brant has almost been lost sight of in the progress of this narrative; though he was by no means inactive. He was in correspondence with General Chapin, on terms of personal friendship with him, receiving from his hands considerable sums of money in payment for promised services; but it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he was insincere and faithless. His own partial biographer, Col. Stone, places him in arms, with an hundred Mohawks, against St. Clair, and gives a letter of his to Gov. Simcoe, in which he acknowledges the receipt of ammunition from the British, and said he was about to join his camp of warriors at "Point Appineu,"* to act in co-operation with Cornplanter in an attack upon Le Boeuf. In short, with the exception of a growing distaste for war, of which he had had a surfeit, his relations to the British government, and attachment to its interests, were not materially changed, until growing out of land difficulties in Canada, he had a quarrel with the colonial authorities. Cornplanter finally made some amends for the conduct of which Gen. Chapin so very justly complained.

The visit of General Chapin to the disputed territory in Pennsylvania, as a mediator, and the fortunate turn he gave to affairs by his judicious suggestion of a general treaty, was an important event not only to this region, but to our whole country. It diverted the Six Nations from marching against Wayne; had they been in main force with the confederates, the result of the contest, in all probability, would have been adverse. Little Turtle would have been aided by the counsels of "older and better" warriors than himself; the ancient war cry of the Iroquois that had so often spread dismay and terror among the confederates, would have been equally potent in rallying them in a common cause of their race. In a letter to Gen. Knox, dated in December, after the treaty, in which he congratulates the Government through him of the favorable turn of affairs, and gives the assurance of a settled state of things in this region, General Chapin says:—"My journey to Le Boeuf, I shall ever believe was the means of preventing the Six Nations from lending

* Point Abino on the Canada side of Lake Erie.

their assistance to their western brothers, as they term them; and in which I got my present sickness from which I am fearful I shall never recover. But believe me, Sir, to be useful to the frontier upon which I live, and my country in general, has been the prevailing object of my pursuits."

Other than the mutual pledges of peace and friendship which was made at the treaty, the settling of the lands about Presque Isle was the important consummation. This was the result of a compromise. By the treaty at Fort Stanwix, the western boundary of the Senecas was a line due south from the mouth of Buffalo creek to the Pennsylvania line; thus cutting them off from Lake Erie and taking from them all the territory that is now embraced in Chautauque county, besides a strip which is now in Cattaraugus, and a gore in Erie county. This was restored, making their western boundary the shore of Lake Erie, and a strip of land on the Niagara River, an addition to what had been ceded to Great Britain, was also restored. The Senecas surrendered all claim to a smaller amount of land—the triangle at Presque Isle.

In the Maryland Journal of Nov. 5th. 1794, there is a letter dated at Whitestown, in this state, which says that "Wm. Johnston a British Indian agent" was present at the treaty and secretly attempted a diversion of the Indians. The author finds but little of this in General Chapin's correspondence with Gen. Knox, but he infers that something of the kind occurred. In a letter to Brant General Chapin speaks of the sudden departure of Johnston from the treaty ground, as if he had advised it in consequence of a fear that some outrage would be committed upon him by citizens in attendance: as if he had interfered, and a summary punishment was threatened.

The forebodings of General Chapin, in his last letter to General Knox, in reference to his declining health, unhappily for his country, and especially the local region where he had been so useful, was destined to be realized. He continued to decline, under the effects of what is presumed to have been in some form the then prevailing disease of the country, which finally terminated in dropsy. He died on the 7th of March, 1795, aged 54 years. In the discharge of his official duties, he had won the esteem and confidence of the government, testimonials of which were given before and after his death. Apprized of his illness, his friend Colonel Pickering, who had

succeeded Gen. Knox as Secretary of War, carefully consulted the eminent physician, Dr. Rush, and communicated his advice by letter; and equal solicitude was felt throughout a large circle of acquaintance. In all this local region, his death was mourned as that of a public benefactor; and no where more sincerely than among the Indians, whose esteem he had won by his uniform kindness and strict regard for their welfare. Soon after his death a large number of chiefs assembled at Canandaigua, and in public council demonstrated their high sense of the loss they had sustained, Red Jacket, addressing Captains Israel Chapin and Parrish, said:—

“BROTHERS—I wish you to pay attention to what I have to say. We have lost a good friend; the loss is as great to us as to you. We consider that we of the Six Nations, as well as the United States, have met with a great loss. A person that we looked up to as a father; a person appointed to stand between us and the United States, we have lost, and it gives our minds great uneasiness. He has taken great pains to keep the chain of friendship bright between us and the United States; now that he is gone, let us prevent that agreeableness and friendship, which he has held up between us and the United States, from failing.

“BROTHERS—It has been customary among the Six Nations, when they have lost a great chief, to throw a belt in his place after he is dead and gone. We have lost so many of late, that we are destitute of a belt, and in its place we present you with these strings, [9 strings black and white wampum.]

“BROTHERS—As it is a custom handed down to us by our fathers, to keep up the good old ancient rules, now we visit the grave of our friend, we gather leaves and strew them over the grave, and endeavor to banish grief from our minds, as much as we can.” [14 strings black and white wampum.]

After this the chiefs adopted a message to be sent to the President, informing him that the “person whom he had appointed for us to communicate our minds to, has now left us and gone to another world. He with the greatest care communicated our minds to the great council fire.” They concluded the message by recapitulating the services that had been rendered them by Captain Israel Chapin, his son; reminded the President that he is conversant with all the relations of his father with them, and request that he may succeed to his place.

The President being of the same mind of the Indians, the appointment of Captain Israel Chapin soon followed. In announcing to him his appointment, Mr. Pickering says:—"The affairs of the Six Nations will henceforward be managed with much less trouble than formerly. The treaty made with them last fall, must supersede all pre-existing cause of complaint. The treaty entered into by Mr. Jay with Great Britain, will, I trust, rid you of all such embarrassments, as heretofore have sprung from British influence, and peace with the western Indians, is now in fair prospect. The hostile nations have all sent in their chiefs to Gen. Wayne, to sue for peace: and have agreed upon a treaty, to be held at his head quarters, about the first of June next. So your principal concern will be to protect the tribes under your superintendence from injury and imposition, which too many of our own people are disposed to practice upon them: and diligently to employ all the means under your direction, to promote their comfort and improvement."

As the Secretary suggested, the principal difficulties with the Six Nations had been adjusted, but a vast amount of labor and responsibility still devolved upon the local agency. Annuities were to be paid, not only the general ones, but special ones, to a large number of chiefs and warriors, who had recommended themselves to favor: schools and school-masters were to be looked to: blacksmiths were to be employed and superintended in all the principal Indian villages: depredations upon Indian lands were to be prevented, and frequent difficulties between Indian and white settlers were to be adjusted: Indians killed by the white men were to be paid for.* The Indians had learned to lean upon the local Superintendent with all the dependence of childhood. All these arduous duties seem to have been faithfully discharged until 1802, when he was removed from the agency. His successor was Captain Callender Irwin, of Erie, Pennsylvania. The change would seem to have been one of an ordinary political character, and not from any cause that implicated his private or official character.

In connection with these events, it should be mentioned that

* Killing was a matter of business compromise:—"Received of Israel Chapin, agent of Indian affairs for the Six Nations, two hundred dollars, to satisfy the widow and children of a deceased Indian, who was murdered at Venango, in 1795, by a soldier of that garrison.

Witness: Wm. Johnston, Jasper Parrish.
Carruthers, April 8, 1797.

JOHN X O'NEIL.
mark.

the Six Nations found in the Yearly Meeting of the society of Friends of Philadelphia early and faithful guardians of their interests and welfare. A committee of their number hospitably entertained their chiefs when they visited Philadelphia; at the especial request of the chiefs, a committee attended the treaty of '94, at Canandaigua. For almost half a century there has been a standing committee of that Yearly Meeting, having especial care of the Six Nations. In 1793 this committee, availing themselves of a visit of Jasper Parrish to the seat of government, prevailed upon him to visit the Indians and tender to them their assistance in a plan to instruct them in "husbandry and the most necessary arts of civil life." They soon after established schools, sent men and women among them to teach them farming and house work, and built mills for them, in at least one locality.

The sons of General Israel Chapin were:—Thaddeus, who was an early merchant in Canandaigua, and subsequently, a large farmer near the village; Israel, the official successor of his father, who was the founder of what was called "Chapin's Mills," a few miles north of Canandaigua, on the Palmyra road; the only survivors of his family, are, Mrs. John Greig, and a maiden sister; Henry, who was an early merchant in Buffalo, a resident of Ohio; and George, a farmer near Canandaigua. A daughter of General Chapin, was the wife of Benjamin Wells, who came to Canandaigua with his father-in-law, in 1789. The surviving sons of Mr. Wells are, Walter Wells, of Webster, Monroe county, Benjamin Wells, of Conhocton, and Clement Wells, of Canandiagua. A daughter became the wife of Jonas Williams, who was one the founders of the village of Williamsville, Erie co.

JASPER PARRISH.

His family were emigrants from the state of Connecticut to the head waters of the Delaware river in this State, where they were residing on the breaking out of the border wars. In 1778, when but eleven years of age, the subject of this sketch was with his father, who was six miles from home, assisting a family of backwoodsmen to move nearer the settlement, where they would be less exposed. Attacked by a small party of Munsee Indians, they were made captives. The father was taken to Niagara, and after being a

captive two years, was exchanged and enabled to rejoin his family. The protector of young Jasper, was a war chief, by whom he was well treated. After remaining a while at the "Cook House," he was taken to Chemung. When entering the Indian village, the war party that accompanied him set up the war shout, when a posse of Indians and Indian boys sallied out and met them; pulling the young prisoner from the horse he was riding, they scourged him with whips and beat him cruelly with the handles of their tomahawks—subjected him to one form of their gauntlet—until his master humanely rescued him. He was soon after sold by his master to an Indian family of Delawares, and taken to reside with them at their village on the south side of the Delaware river, where he remained during the year 1779, suffering a good deal during the winter for the want of warm clothing, and in consequence of the scanty fare of the Indians. To inure him to cold, the Indians compelled him almost daily, to strip and plunge into the ice and water of the river. Adopted by the family who had become his owners, he was kindly treated, and accompanied them in all their hunting and fishing excursions.

He was at Newtown with his captors, when Sullivan invaded their country, and used to relate what transpired there:—As the army approached Newtown point, a large body of Indians collected four miles below to make an attack, after having placed their squaws, prisoners and baggage in a safe place. They soon found they could not stand their ground, and sent runners to the squaws directing them to retreat up the river to Painted Post, where they followed them soon after. The whole made a hasty march to Niagara, via Bath, Genesee and Tonawanda. The family to whom Parrish belonged were of this retreating party. In a short time after their arrival, nearly the whole of the Six Nations were encamped on the plain, in the vicinity of the Fort. They subsisted upon salted provisions during the winter, dealt out to them from the British garrison, and great numbers died in consequence. To induce them to disperse and go back to their villages on the Genesee river, or go out on scouting parties, the British officers offered them an increased bounty for American scalps.

Before winter young Parrish was sold for twenty dollars, to Captain David Hill, "a large fine looking Mohawk Indian," a relation of Joseph Brant, who conducted him to his tent and gave him to

understand that he would thereafter live with him. He disliked the change of masters at the time: it involved the necessity of learning another Indian language, and he had become attached to the Delaware family; but it all turned out for the best. He resided in the family of Captain Hill for five years, in all of which time he was kindly treated, and well provided for. His time was chiefly spent in accompanying the Indians in travelling excursions, hunting, fishing, and when put to labor, but light tasks were imposed upon him. Soon after he was purchased by Captain Hill, a general council of the British and Indians took place at Fort Niagara; upon which occasion Capt. Hill took his young American captive into the midst of an assembly of chiefs, and adopted him as his son, going through the ceremony of placing a large belt of wampum around his neck. After which an old chief took him by the hand and made a speech, as is customary on such occasions, accompanying it with a great deal of solemnity of manner. Then the chiefs arose and all shook hands with the adopted captive.

On one occasion, while with the Delaware family at Niagara, he came near being the victim of the British bounty for scalps. Left alone with some Indians who were on a carousal, he overheard one propose to another, that they should kill the "young Yankee," take his scalp to the Fort and sell it for rum. In a few minutes one of them took a large brand from the fire and hurled it at his head, but being on the alert, he dodged it and made his escape. The Indians pursued him, but it being dark he was enabled to avoid them.

In May, 1780, Brant founded a village of Mohawks near the present village of Lewiston, to which Capt. Hill removed. There Parrish remained until the close of the Revolution. He travelled with his Indian father a good deal among other Indian tribes, by whom he was always well treated. At the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784, he with other prisoners, were surrendered in accordance with treaty stipulations. He immediately joined his father's family, whom he found in Goshen, Orange county. Having nearly lost the use of his own language, he attended school for about one year, which was all the opportunity for acquiring an education he ever enjoyed, other than what a strong native intellect enabled him to acquire in his intercourse with the world.

He was employed by Mr. Pickering in his Indian treaty in 1790, and '91, and his qualifications as an interpreter, together with his

character for faithfulness and integrity, coming to the knowledge of the then Secretary of War, General Knox, he employed him in the Indian department in 1792, giving him a letter to General Chapin, with whom he became associated as interpreter for the Six Nations. In all the crisis of Indian difficulties, he was the active co-operator of General Chapin, and contributed much to the final adjustment of them. A "winged Mercury," in the earliest years his appointment after he was now here, and now there; alternating between the seat of government, at Philadelphia, Buffalo Creek, Genesee River, Onondaga, Oneida and Canandaigua; the interpreter at councils, and the bearer of messages. The captive boy of the Indian wigwams, becoming a man, remembered only the virtues and kindnesses of his captors — not the wrongs they had inflicted upon him or his countrymen — and was the faithful interpreter of their complaints and grievances to him, whom they called their "Father, the great chief of the Thirteen Fires" — Washington. In 1803 he had the additional appointment of local Indian agent, and continued to hold both offices, through all the changes of the administration of the general government, down to the second term of General Jackson's administration.

He retained to the close of his life, a strong attachment to the Indians, as was the case generally with liberated captives; and by means of his position, and the influence he had acquired with them, was enabled to render them essential service: to assist in ameliorating their condition, by introducing among them the Christian religion, schools and agricultural pursuits. While a prisoner, he acquired the Mohawk language, and before the close of his life, he spoke that of five of the Six Nations with great fluency. Captain Parrish died at his residence in Canandaigua, July 12th, 1836, in the 69th year of his age.

He married in early life, a daughter of General Edward Paine, one of the Pioneers of the western Reserve, and the founder of Painesville. She died in 1837. His surviving sons are, Isaac, a farmer on the Lake shore, near Canandaigua; Stephen and Edward, residents of the village of Canandaigua. One of his daughters became the wife of Ebenezer S. Cobb, of Michigan, who was lost with the ill-fated Erie, near Dunkirk, in 1841; another, the wife of Peter Townsend, of Orange county; and another, the wife of William W. Gorham, of Canandaigua.

CHAPTER IV.

ATTEMPT OF GOV. SIMCOE TO BREAK UP THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE
GENESEE COUNTRY.

THE reader has already learned, generally, what was the temper and bearing of the British authorities in Canada, touching the early Pioneer movements in the Genesee country. A British and Indian alliance, a connected movement, having in view the re-possession of the country, was with much difficulty but barely prevented. In all the controversy — or pending the issue of the whole matter — there was, other than what may have transpired at the west, but one overt act, in pursuance of British pretensions and threats. This was an actual invasion, by a British armed force, of the Genesee country, at Sodus Bay.

Previous to coming in possession of the valuable manuscripts of the late Thomas Morris, the author had drawn up for this work, an account of the event, the materials for which were derived principally from the papers of Mr. Williamson. Mr. Morris having included it in his reminiscences, it being a matter, "all of which he saw, and a part of which he was," his history of the transaction is substituted: —

"Gov. Simcoe had, from his first assuming the government of Upper Canada, evinced the greatest jealousy of the progress of the settlement of our western country; he was even said to have threatened to send Captain Williamson to England in irons, if he ever ventured to come into Canada. In 1794, Capt. Williamson had commenced a settlement at Sodus Bay.

In the month of August of that year, Lieut. Sheaffe, of the British army, (now Major General Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, who, during the last war, commanded at the battle of Queenston, after the death of Gen. Brock,) was sent by Governor Simcoe, with a

protest to be delivered to Captain Williamson, protesting against the prosecution of the settlement of Sodus and all other American settlements beyond the old French line, during the inexecution of the treaty that terminated the Revolutionary war. Finding there only an agent of Mr. Williamson's, (a Mr. Moffat, who is yet living,) Lieut. Sheaffe informed him of the nature of his mission, and requested him to make it known to Capt. Williamson, and to inform him that he would return in ten days, when he hoped to meet Capt. Williamson there. Mr. Moffat came to me at Canandaigua, to acquaint me with what had taken place, and induce me to accompany him to Bath, to confer with Capt. Williamson in relation to this very extraordinary protest. I accordingly went to Bath, and it was agreed between Capt. Williamson and myself, that we would both meet Lieut. Sheaffe at Sodus, at the time he had appointed to be there. Accordingly, on the day named by Lieut. Sheaffe, we were at Sodus; and shortly after our arrival there, we perceived on the lake, a boat rowed by about a dozen British soldiers, who, after landing their officer, were directed by him to pull off some distance in the bay, and remain there until he made a signal to return for him. Capt. Williamson, in consequence of the threats imputed to Gov. Simcoe, in relation to himself did not think proper to expose himself unnecessarily to any act of violence, if any such should have been meditated against him. He therefore requested me to receive Lieut. Sheaffe on the beach, and to accompany him to the log cabin where Capt. Williamson was, with a brace of loaded pistols on his table. The ordering his men to remain at a distance from the shore, shows that the precaution that had been taken, though proper at the time, was unnecessary, and that no resort to force was intended. The meeting between the Lieut. and Mr. Williamson, was friendly; they had known each other before, and while in the same service, had marched through some part of England together. The Lieut. handed to Capt. Williamson the protest, and was desired by the Capt. to inform Gov. Simcoe that he would pay no attention to it, but prosecute his settlement, the same as if no such paper had been delivered to him; that if any attempt should be made forcibly to prevent him from doing so, that attempt would be repelled by force. Lieut. Sheaffe having, during the interview between them, made some allusion to Capt. Williamson having once held a commission in the British

army, he replied, that while in the service of the Crown, he had faithfully performed his duty : that having since renounced his allegiance to that Crown, and became a citizen of the United States, his adopted country, having both the ability and the inclination, would protect him in his rights, and the possession of his property. I asked Lieut. Sheaffe if he would be so good as to explain what was meant by the old French line, where it ran, and what portion of our country we were forbidden in Gov. Simcoe's protest, to occupy. He replied, that he was merely the bearer of the paper : that by the orders of his superior officer, he had handed it to Capt. Williamson : that no explanation had been given to him of its purport, nor was he authorized to give any. After about half an hour, I accompanied him to the beach, where he had landed : and on a signal having been made by him, his boat returned for him, and he departed. This is what my father, in his letter of the 10th of September, 1794, alludes to, and terms a treaty, and for which he hopes that Simcoe will get a rap over the knuckles from his master. So many years have elapsed since the complaints made both by the British and our own Government, were adjusted by negotiation, that you may be at a loss to know what Governor Simcoe meant when he spoke of the inexecution of the treaty that terminated our Revolutionary struggle. The complaint on the part of Great Britain, was, that those parts of the treaty which required that those States in which British subjects were prevented by law, from recovering debts due to them prior to the Revolution, had been repealed, — as by the treaty, they ought to have been, — and also, that British property had been confiscated, since the period limited in the treaty for such confiscations, and no compensation had been made to the injured parties. On our part, the complaint was, that after the cessation of hostilities, negroes and other property, were carried away by the British army, contrary to stipulations entered into by the preliminary treaty of peace. The British retained possession of the posts on our borders, and within our bounds, until an amicable settlement of these difficulties, and which settlement, I think, took place in 1796."

NOTE.—The conversation that passed between Mr. Williamson and Lieut. Sheaffe, as copied from Mr. Williamson's autograph, is as follows :—

LIEUT. SHEAFFE.—"I am commissioned by Governor Simcoe to deliver the papers, and require an answer."

MR. WILLIAMSON.—"I am a citizen of the United States, and under their authori-

The news of this hostile demonstration on the part of one, seeming to act by authority from the British government, was soon spread through all the backwoods settlements of the Genesee country. At no period since the settlement commenced, had the conduct of the Indians so much favored the worst apprehensions. Har-mar and St. Clair had in turn been defeated and repulsed by the western Indians, and the issue that Wayne had made with them was pending; his defeat being not improbable, in view of the formidable enemy with which he had to contend. Evidences of British aid to the western Indians, against General Wayne, was furnished by returning adventurers from the west, and every traveller that came through the wilderness from Niagara, confirmed the worst suspicions of all that was going on at that focus of British machinations, against the peace of the defenceless border settlers. It was, too, ominous of danger, that the Senecas in their immediate neighborhood, in their midst, it may almost be said, had armed and moved off in considerable numbers, to become confederates against General Wayne, bearing upon their persons the blankets, the broad cloths, calicoes, and war decorations, served to them from the king's store house at Niagara, by the hands of one whose very very name* was a terror, for it was mingled with the chiefest horrors, and the darkest deeds of the Border Wars of the Revolution. Wayne defeated, it was but natural to suppose that the Senecas who had gone west and made themselves confederates against him, would bring back with them upon their war path, allies from the western tribes, to renew the bloody scenes that had been enacted upon the banks of the Mohawk and Susquehanna. Such being the cotemporary state

ty and protection, I possess these lands. I know no right that His Britannic Majesty, or Gov. Simcoe, has to interfere, or molest me. The only allegiance I owe to any power on earth, is to the Great Spirit, and so far from being intimidated by threats from people I have no connection with, I shall proceed with my improvements, and nothing but superior force shall make me abandon the place. Is the promise of Gov. Simcoe intended to apply to Sodus, exclusively?"

LEWIS. SHAEFFLE. -- "By no means! It is intended, to evidence all the Indian lands purchased since the peace of 1763."

MR. WILLIAMSON. -- "And what are Gov. Simcoe's intentions, supposing the protest is disregarded?"

LEWIS. SHAEFFLE. -- "I am merely the official bearer of the papers; but I have a further message to deliver from Gov. Simcoe; which is that he repudiates your conduct exceedingly for endeavoring to obtain four from Upper Canada; and that should he permit it, it would be acknowledging the right of the United States to these Indian lands."

* Col. John Butler.

of things, it is hardly to be wondered, that the landing of a small body of British troops upon the soil of the Genesee country; though they came but small in numbers, their errand but to bring a threatening protest, was a circumstance of no trifling magnitude. And the reader will not fail to take into the account, how feeble in numbers, how exposed, and how weak in all things necessary to a successful defence, was the then new settlements of the Genesee country. In all this he will be aided by a brief retrospect of the commencement and progress of settlement; and added to what this will show, should be the consideration, that the settlers came into the wilderness unprepared for war. They came, relying upon a treaty of peace. Wearied with war and all its harrassing effects, they had more than figuratively beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. They had come to subdue the wilderness, and not to subdue their fellow men. The rumors of war came to the sparse settlements, and the solitary log-cabins dotted down in the wilderness, like the decrees of fate, to be added to all the sufferings and endurances of pioneer life. But a few weeks previous to all this, there had been, as if by concert, a far more than usual emigration of New York Indians to Canada. They went from most of the Six Nations, in detached parties, and a very large proportion of the Onondagas had emigrated in a body. The demeanor of the Senecas had undergone a marked change. By some unseen but suspected influence, they had become morose and quarrelsome. A far more than usual number of outrages were committed upon the new settlers; in fact, the principal ones that are now remembered, happened about this period. These facts were not without their influence in converting the circumstances of the landing of an armed force at Sodus Bay, into a preliminary measure, the sequel of which might prove the breaking out of a general war, having for its object the recovery of the soil of the Genesee country by the Indians, and the bringing of it again under British dominion.

It will surprise those who are not familiar with early events in the Genesee country, when they are told that as late as 1794 — eight years after settlement had been commenced, there was but little of intercourse or communication with Albany and New York; Philadelphia and Baltimore, and especially the latter, had far more intimate relations with all this region. To the papers of those cities, the settlers in those then backwoods looked for news, and in them

events transpiring here were generally recorded. On the first of September, the affair at Sodus was announced in the *Maryland Gazette*, in a letter from Philadelphia, accompanied by the intelligence that an express had arrived at the then seat of government, with despatches for the War Office.

Immediately after the departure of Lieut. Sheaffe, Mr. Williamson, with the co-operation of other prominent citizens, adopted the most energetic measures, as well for the purpose of preparing for the contingency, which he had good reasons for supposing would occur, after what had transpired at Sodus, as to give assurances of safety and protection to the inhabitants.

He not only despatched an express rider to the seat of government, as indicated by the correspondent of the *Maryland Gazette*, but he also despatched one to Albany. He forwarded by these messengers letters to Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State, to Gen. Knox, Secretary of War, and to Gov. George Clinton. In these letters he detailed all that had transpired, suggested some measures of protection, and gave assurances that the mandate of Gov. Simcoe would be disregarded. In the letter to Gen. Knox, he says: — "It is pretty well ascertained that for some time past, quantities of military stores and ammunition have been forwarded to Oswego. This makes me think it not improbable that Lieut. Sheaffe will take a forcible possession of Sodus on his return. I shall, however, without relaxing, go on with my business there, until drove off by a superior force. It is needless for me to trouble you with any comments on this unparalleled piece of insolence, and gross insult to the government of the United States."

Mr. Williamson wrote a letter to Sir William Pakeney, in which he says:—

"I shall make no further comment on this business, than to observe, that any thing short of actual hostilities, it completes the unequalled insolent conduct of Mr. Simcoe toward this government. Mr. Simcoe's personal of myself and you, I treat with the scorn it deserves, but I beg leave to give you a sketch of his political conduct. On his first arrival in this country, by deep and cunning he has prevented every possibility of an accommodation between this country and the hostile Indians, and this summer, by his intrigues, he has drawn several tribes of friendly Indians from the territory of the United States to the British side of the line, and left nothing undone to induce the Six Nations, our neighbors, to take up the banner the moment he gives the word. You must be acquainted with his marching a body of armed troops, and erecting a Fort at the Rapids of the Mohai seventy miles within the territory

of the United States, but this being an extensive wilderness, seemed of less importance.

"Not content with this, he has now interfered with our settlements, in a manner so unlike the dignity of a great nation that it must astonish you. If it is the intention of the British ministry, by low and underhand schemes, to keep alive a harrassing war against helpless women and children, or by murders on this frontier, to add to the list of murders already committed by the influence of their servants here, and to treat this government with the most unwarrantable insolence and contempt. I allow that Mr. Simcoe is the most industrious and faithful servant the British government ever had. But if it is their intention to cultivate a friendly intercourse with this country, it never can take place while such is the conduct of their Governor here. For my own part, I think it would be doing the government of Great Britain a most essential service, should their intentions towards this country be friendly, to show to their ministry the conduct of Gov. Simcoe; and I write this letter that you may show it to Mr. Dundas, or Mr. Pitt, if you think proper. Their knowledge of me, I am convinced, will give it sufficient weight. If these transactions are in consequence of orders from Great Britain, and their views are hostile, there is nothing further to be said."

While all this was progressing, in four days after the affair at Sodus in fact, before Gov. Simcoe would have had time to execute his threats, the great measure of deliverance for the Genesee country and the few scattered border settlers of the west, had been consummated. "Mad Anthony," — [and there had been "method in his madness,"] — had met the confederated bands of the hostile Indians of the west, and almost under the walls of a fortress of their British allies, achieved a signal victory! Those upon whom Gov. Simcoe was relying for aid, (for it is evident that he looked to a descent of the western Indians upon the Genesee country in case the war was renewed,) — were humbled and suing for peace. This alone would have averted his worst intentions, and added to this, was the consideration that Mr. Jay had sailed for London on the 12th of May, clothed with ample powers from our government to arrange all matters of dispute.

Those familiar with the history of our whole country in the earliest years of its separation from England, are aware how important was the well planned and successful expedition of General Wayne. Important in its immediate consequences — the putting an end to protracted, harrassing Indian treaties, and the founding of that great empire of wealth, prosperity, and unparralleled progress, our western states. But few can now realize its local consequence, in the Genesee country. It gave security where there was little of it before, inspired hope and confidence with those who were half

determined to retrace the weary steps that had brought them into the wilderness, for they felt that if war was to be added to all the sufferings and privations they were encountering, it were better to abandon the field, if not forever, to a period more propitious. The news of Wayne's victory was communicated by Brant to Gen. Chapin, and it circulated briskly among the backwoods settlements. Here and there was seen small gatherings of Pioneer settlers, congratulating each other upon the event, and taking fresh courage to grapple with the hardships of Pioneer life. All was confirmed, when in a few days, the Senecas were seen coming back upon their war path, humbled, quaking with fear at the mere recollection of the terrible onslaught that Mad Anthony had made upon the dusky legions that had gathered to oppose him, and uttering imprecations against those who had lured them from home to take part in the contest and then remained far away from danger, or shut themselves up in a strong fortress, but spectators in a conflict in which they and their confederates were falling like autumn leaves in a shower of hail.

The haughty spirit of the descendants of the warlike Iroquois, was humbled within them, and chagrined by the terrible discomfiture they had witnessed, and been partakers of, as well as by the bad faith of their advisers and abettors at Niagara, they resolved to settle down quietly in their villages, and renew their peaceful and amicable relations with their white neighbors.

As early as the 3d of July, preceding the visit of Lieut. Sheaffe, to Sodus, a representation had been made to the War Department, of the exposed condition of the new settlers in the Genesee country, the danger of Indian disturbances promoted by British agents at Niagara, and the necessity of some means of defence. To which, Gen. Knox, the Secretary of War, had replied in substance, that some official use had been made of the communication, by the Sec-

NOTE.—There are some amusing anecdotes of the relations that the returning Indians gave of the battle. In its conduct, Wayne had made himself in their imaginations, more than human. His was a warfare they had been unused to:—impetuous, crushing: inspiring a terror that compared as effectually as his arms. A Seneca, who came away in an early stage of the battle, having seen quite enough to gratify his curiosity and love of adventure, gave to an informant of the author, the reason for his precipitate retreat. He said in his graphic description of the opening of the fight:—"Pop, pop, pop,—boo, woo, woo-o-on,—wish, wish, wish-o-on,—boo, woo!—kill twenty Indians one time: no good, by d—n!" This the reader will at once perceive, was an attempt to imitate the firing of small arms and cannon, and the whizzing of the fuse, and the bursting of bombs.

retary of War, in his correspondence with the British Minister, that a conference was to be held with the Six Nations at Canandaigua, in September, for the purpose of conciliating, and establishing finally a peace with them if possible. In reply to an application for arms, the Secretary says, that an order had been issued in favor of the Governor of New York, for one thousand muskets, cartridge boxes, and bayonets.

The following copy of a letter from President Washington to Mr. Jay, our then minister in London, possesses much of a general historical interest, and will aid the reader in a full understanding of the questions then at issue, so far as this local region was concerned :

“AUGUST, 30, 1794.

“As you will receive letters from the Secretary of States' office, giving an official account of the public occurrences as they have arisen and advanced, it is unnecessary for me to retouch any of them; and yet I cannot restrain myself from making some observations on the most recent of them, the communication of which was received this morning only. I mean the protest of the Governor of Upper Canada, delivered by Lieutenant Sheaffe, against our occupying lands far from any of the posts, which, long ago, they ought to have surrendered, and far within the known, and until now, the acknowledged limits of the United States.

“On this irregular and high handed proceeding of Mr. Simcoe, which is no longer masked, I would rather hear what the ministry of Great Britain will say, than pronounce my own sentiments thereon. But can that government, or will it attempt, after this official act of one of their governors, to hold out ideas of friendly intentions towards the United States, and suffer such conduct to pass with impunity?

“This may be considered as the most open and daring act of the British agents in America, though it is not the most hostile and cruel: for there does not remain a doubt in the mind of any well informed person in this country, not shut against conviction, that *all the difficulties we encounter with the Indians, their hostilities, the murders of helpless women and children, along our frontiers, result from the conduct of agents of Great Britain in this country.* In vain is it then for its administration in Britain, to disavow having given orders which will warrant such conduct, whilst their agents go unpunished; while we have a thousand corroborating circumstances, and indeed as many evidences, some of which cannot be brought forward, to prove that they are seducing from our alliances, and endeavoring to remove over the line, tribes that have hitherto been kept in peace and friendship with us at a heavy expense, and who have no causes of complaint, except pretended ones of their creating; whilst they keep in a state of irritation the tribes that are hostile to us, and are instigating those who know little of us, or we of them, to unite in the war against us; and whilst it is *an undeniable fact, that they are furnishing the whole with arms, ammunition, clothing, and even provisions to carry on the war.* I might go farther, and if they are not much belied, add, *men also in disguise.*

"Can it be expected, I ask, so long as these things are known to the United States, or at least firmly believed, and suffered with impunity by Great Britain, that there ever will or can be any cordiality between the two countries? I answer—No. And I will undertake, without the gift of prophecy to predict, that it will be impossible to keep this country in a state of amity with Great Britain long, if these posts are not surrendered. A knowledge of those being my sentiments, would have but little weight, I am persuaded, with the British administration, or perhaps with the nation, in offering the measures, but both may rest satisfied, that if they want to be at peace with this country, and to enjoy the benefits of its trade, to give up the posts is the only road to it. Withholding them, and the consequences we feel at present continuing, war will be inevitable."

CHAPTER V.

JAMES AND WILLIAM WADSWORTH—PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW LIVINGSTON.

THE advent of these two brothers to the Genesee country, marks an era in our early local history. They were from the first, large landholders and patroons of new settlements, and for many years intimately and conspicuously blended with the progress of improvement. The connection of their family with Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Hartford, Conn., was the primary cause of their early enterprise: of whom, as he was an early and large proprietor of land, by purchase from Phelps and Gorham, it will not be out of place to speak, incidentally. He was the son of the Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, of Hartford. Entering upon a sea-faring life in early years, for the benefit of his health, first as a sailor before the mast, and afterwards as mate and captain, he finally settled down in Hartford, where he resided upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary war. He received the appointment of commissary of the Connecticut line, and following that appointment, he had important trusts committed to his charge, not only by Connecticut, but by the Congress at Philadelphia, having reference generally to the pay, clothing

and subsistence of the Continental troops. Soon after the arrival of Rochambeau, with the French army, their subsistence was entrusted to his charge, jointly with John B. Church. He was one of those with whom Gen. Washington made an early acquaintance when the great crisis arrived, and in whose hospitable mansion, at Hartford, he was wont to meet, and have social intercourse and consultation with its owner, and other prominent men of the Revolution. It was the taking down and removal of this old mansion, that suggested the following beautiful lines of Mrs. Sigourney :—

“ Fallen dome, beloved so well,
Thou could'st many a legend tell
Of the chiefs of ancient fame,
Who, to share thy shelter came :—
Rochambeau and La Fayette,
Round thy plenteous board have met,
With Columbia's mightier son,
Great and glorious WASHINGTON.
Here with kindred minds they plann'd
Rescue for an infant land ;
While the British Lion's roar
Echo'd round the leagur'd shore.”

Annals of Conn., by R. R. Hinman.

“The services of Col. Wadsworth, during some periods of the war,” says a biographer, “were incalculable.” He was a member of the 1st, 2d, and 3d Congress. He died in 1801, aged 61 years.

Mr. Phelps having been in the commissary department during the Revolution, he had made the acquaintance of Col. Wadsworth, and soon after he obtained title, induced him to make investments in the Genesee country.* He purchased T. 6, R. 9, a part of T. 11, R. 7, and one 12th of “Big Tree.”† Being a man of wealth, and considerably advanced in years, their purchases were for investment and and re-sale, rather than with any intention to emigrate.

William and James Wadsworth were natives of Durham, Conn., the sons of John N. Wadsworth. James Wadsworth graduated at Yale College, in 1787, and spent the winter of '87 and '88, in Montreal, employed in school teaching. The father had died before James graduated at College, and left the homestead in Durham, which would have been called a “fair estate” in New England, to his three children, the care of which had devolved upon the elder brother, William. In the Spring of 1790, at a period when James, then 22 years of age, was undetermined as to the pursuits of life—

hesitating between the alternatives of seeking his fortune in the southern states, and acquiring the profession of law, and settling down in New England, his kinsman, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, proposed to him emigration to the Genesee country, the sale to him of a part of his tract at "Big Tree," upon advantageous terms, and an agency that would embrace the care and sale of his remaining lands. After consulting with his brother William, making it a condition of the proposed emigration that he should accompany him, the two brothers agreed jointly to accept the proposition.

In June, after a work of preparation which was of no little magnitude in New England, preliminary to an advent to this then far off and secluded wilderness: amid the farewells of kindred and friends, in which were mingled sad forebodings of the dangers and vicissitudes the bold adventurers were about to encounter, they commenced their journey. William, the practical working man of the two, so far as manual labor was concerned, started with an ox team and cart, two or three hired men and a colored woman, a favorite slave belonging to the family.† James came via the Sound and the Hudson, and the water route from Schenectady to the head of navigation on Canandaigua outlet, in charge of provisions and a small amount of household furniture. William, with his oxen and cart, made slow progress. The winter sleigh road west of Whitesboro, had to be adapted to wheels as they progressed: logs had to be cut and moved out of the track, and small streams and sloughs had to be cause-wayed. Arriving at Cayuga Lake, there was no ferry scow, and the party chartered two Indian canoes, which they lashed together, and making a deck of poles, succeeded in crossing. Between Whitesboro and Canandaigua their average progress was but twelve miles per day. The parties reunited at Canandaigua, James having arrived three days in advance.

After making some necessary preparations, the whole party start-

* Or, as is quite probable, Col. Wadsworth may have had an interest, originally, with Messrs. Phelps and Gorham.

† To which, James and William afterwards added a tenth, making the original Wadsworth tract at Genesee, about 5,000 acres.

‡ The identical "Jenny." She was for a long time almost the only one of her race, in that region; and an object of curiosity with the younger portion of the back-woodsmen. Turning to the travels of Lincourt, we find that on the morning he set "Big Tree," she was queuing and powdering "Capt. Wadsworth's" hair, preparatory to his departure for Canandaigua to "show a party of his friends, some of them his relatives."

ed from Canandaigua, with all the effects with which they had left Durham, to which had been added a small stock of cattle, purchased upon the Mohawk. They took the Indian trail and Sullivan's route, clearing their road for the passage of their cart, as they went along, camping the first night at "Pitt's Flats," and the next, at the foot of Conesus Lake. Breaking up their encampment in the morning, James, on horseback, with one companion, preceded the rest of the party, and pursued the Big Tree trail; William, with the oxen, cart, and other effects, following after, took the Branch trail that led to a large Indian village of the Oneidas, which was two miles below Big Tree, on the river. Wandering from the obscure trail, the party got lost, and brought up at night in a swamp about two miles north-east from Big Tree, tied their cattle to trees, and encamped. James, having spent the night at Big Tree, with his companion, in the woods, with no means of making an encampment, took his back track in the morning; arrived at the point where the Oneida trail branched off, followed the track of the cart wheels, and found the lost party, groping in the wilderness, undetermined as to the course they should pursue. He conducted the whole party to Big Tree, (Geneseo, the reader will bear in mind,) where they slept in the cart and upon the ground, for two or three nights, until they erected a rude cabin on the table land, a little below the present village, on the old River trail. On their arrival, they found, of their race, but one man, Lemuel Jennings, who had a cabin, and was herding some cattle on the flats for Oliver Phelps. James, returning to Canandaigua on the day he had located the party, on his way back, got benighted, but was attracted by a light, and pursuing the direction from which it proceeded, found the negro woman, Jenny, holding a light for his brother William, who was hewing some plank for their cabin floor.

The arrival was upon the 10th of June. In August of the same year, 1790, when Gen. Amos Hall took the census, the family of William Wadsworth consisted of nine persons. Beside him, there had then settled in the townships, others who were regarded as heads of families:—Phineas Bates, Daniel Ross, Henry Brown, Enoch Noble, Nicholas Rosecrantz, David Robb, Nahum Fairbanks. Horatio and John H. Jones had preceded the Wadsworths a few weeks, and were over the river, occupying an Indian cabin, and the shantee they had built the year before. They had come in

from Geneva, via Canandaigua and Ayon, with a cart. Horatio's wife and three children, household furniture, and some hired men. Their cart was the first wheel vehicle that passed over that route. From Ayon, they had no track, but picked their way along the ridges and open grounds. Horatio Jones built a comfortable block house the same year. Besides Horace Jones' family, there was in August, west of the river, on what was then called "Indian lands," the families of William Eving,* Nathan Fowler,† and Jeremiah Gregory.‡

The Indians residing upon the Genesee river in 1790, were located in villages, as follows:—At Squaky Hill, near Mount Morris, there were a small cluster of cabins, and a few families. The men had been southern captives, who had intermarried, and merged themselves with the Senecas. The principal chief, was "Black Chief." At "Allan's Hill," now Mount Morris, there were a few families; their principal chief, "Tall Chief." He was a fine specimen of his race, physically and otherwise. At Philadelphia on a visit to Congress, with Horatio Jones, he commanded much attention and respect.

Little Bear's Town, a large village, was upon the present site of Cuylerville. The chief, Little Beard, was one of the worst specimens of his race. He was chiefly instrumental in the horrid massacre of Lieut. Boyd, and all the early Pioneers give him a bad character. The manner of his death in 1806, was but a just contribution for his many acts of cruelty in the Border wars:—In a drunken row, in which both Indians and whites were engaged, at the old Stimson tavern, in Leicester, he was pushed out of a door, and falling from the steps, received an injury that caused his death.

Big Tree, a considerable village, was upon the bluff, opposite

* Eving was a surveyor in the employ of Mr. Phelps. His father, the elder Eving, lived a resident there in an early day, upon which is now the Decker farm, near Fall Brook. He was the father-in-law of John H. Jones. His son William, went from Geneva to Buffalo, and from thence to Samsbury. Another son, Alexander, was a Pioneer at Fort Warren, Indiana, where he engaged in an Indian trade. His son Charles, was the U. S. District Judge at Vincennes; another son, George W., was Sheriff of Indiana; William G. Eving, of Indiana, was a Congressman. The father had emigrated from Ireland, and was settled in Northumberland, Pa., when settlement of the Genesee country commenced.

† He was the father of "Mille Gregory," who was one of the white-painted Cherokees. He lived on the Cayuse river, near "Samsbury," (the spot upon which the emigration,) the present site of the Shaker Society.

Geneseo, upon the river, now embraced in the farm of Eason Slocum; Ken-de-wa, (Big Tree) was its principal chief.

There was a small village of Tucaroras on the river, a little above the Geneseo bridge, which was called Tuscarora; and two miles down the river from Geneseo, near the large Maple Grove of the Messrs. Wadsworths, was "Oneida Town," a large village of Oneidas.*

The other, and a principal village, was on the west bank of the river, opposite Avon, near where the main road crosses the river. The chief was Ga-kwa-dia, (Hot Bread,) in high repute among his people, and much respected by the Pioneer settlers.†

Gardeau, was the residence of the White Woman, and the several branches of her family went principally to make up the small village. Her husband was principal chief. At Nunda, there was a small village; "Elk Hunter" and "Green Coat," were principal chiefs.

At Caneadea there was a considerable village; the head chief, John Hudson. He was an old man, and had been a leading "brave" in the southern Indian wars, waged by the Senecas, and afterwards, in the English and French wars. Hon. George Woods, a prominent citizen of Bedford, Pennsylvania, became a prisoner with the Indians, on the Ohio or the Allegany. Hudson procured his release, after he had been condemned and tied to a stake. In after years, they met, and the Judge treated him with much kindness, making him a present of a fine house and lot at

* The Oneidas and Tuscaroras were divided on the breaking out of the Revolution. Those that adhered to the colonies, and the neutrals, remaining in their eastern villages; and those that followed Butler and Brant, coming upon the Genesee River. A partial re-union of the Tuscaroras took place at their village near Lewiston, in after years.

† This was the birth place of Cornplanter. In his letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in 1822, he says:—"I feel it my duty to send a speech to the Governor of Pennsylvania at this time, and inform him the place where I was from—which was Connewaugus, on the Genesee river." He then goes on to relate to the Governor, that on growing up, the Indian boys in the neighborhood took notice of his skin being of a different color from theirs, and on naming it to his mother, she told him who his white father was, and that he lived at Albany. He, after becoming a man, sought him out, and made himself known to him. He complains that he gave him victuals to eat at his house, but "no provisions to eat on the way home." "He gave me neither kettle nor gun, nor did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against Great Britain." This is authentic, and does away with the less truthful, but more romantic version of the first interview between Cornplanter and his white father, O'Bail or "Abeel."

Bedford, which he never occupied, but he used to often pride himself upon its possession, and the manner in which he came by it.

In a ramble, to give the reader some account of their neighbors, the adventurers who were more immediately under consideration, have almost been lost sight of. We left William Wadsworth hewing plank for their shantee, by candle light, and James emerging from the forest, where he had been lost on his return from Canandaigua. The shantee went up, and the work of clearing a small spot of upland and preparing a few acres of flats for summer crops, was immediately commenced. There was from the first, a division of labor between the two brothers:—William had been bred a farmer, and from habit and physical constitution, was well adapted to take the laboring oar in that department. Few men were better fitted for a Pioneer in the backwoods—to wrestle with the harshest features of Pioneer life—or for being merged in habits, social intercourse and inclinations, with the hardy adventurers who were his early cotemporaries. The backwoodsmen called him “Old Bill,” and yet he had not reached his 30th year:—not from any disrespect, but as a kind of backwoods conventional nomenclature. At a log house raising, “a bee,” or a rude frolic, “he was one of them;” and when there were any “doings” at “Old Leicester,” “Pitt’s Flats,” or Williamsburg, he was pretty sure to be there. He took an early interest in the organization of the militia, and mingled with the recollections of the author’s boyhood, is “General Bill,” at the fall musters, with his harsh, strong features, and bronzed complexion, mounted upon his magnificent black charger; the “observed of all observers,” the not inapt personification of the dark and frowning god of war; and to youthful backwoods eyes, he looked nothing less.

James, was by nature, of a different cast, and to natural inclinations had been added the polish and the discipline of mind acquired in college halls, and a mingling in the most cultivated of New England society. The transition, the change of a New England home, for that of a cabin in the wilderness, and the associations of the backwoods, was far less easy and natural; though by alternating between the settlement at “Big Tree,” and Canandai-

NOTE.—James Hudson, the son and successor of John, was one of the finest specimens of his race that was found here, in the early days of settlement. Staid and dignified in his deportment, he was truly one of “nature’s noblemen.”

gua, Albany and Connecticut, he managed to accommodate himself very well to circumstances. Upon him devolved the land agency, and soon extending its sphere, and purchasing largely on the joint account of himself and brother, even in early years, he became engrossed in a business of great magnitude.

They had left behind them a large circle of family connexions and friends in "old Durham," and great was their concern for the rash adventurers who had pushed away on beyond the verge of civilization, and set down in the midst of wild beasts, and then but recently hostile Indian tribes. How different is now the spirit and feeling of the age? Then, there had been brooding over New England the incubus of foreign dominion, binding, fettering enterprise, and confining it to narrow, sterile and unpropitious bounds; until when the fetters were shaken off, it seemed rashness to venture upon the extension of settlement and civilization even to this fair region, where all would seem to have been so inviting and promising. Now, under the blessings, the stimulus, the release from foreign thralldom, of something over half a century, our young men make a hasty preparation, and are off over a wide ocean track, founding villages and cities on the Pacific coast, in the interior, and following up, up, the dark ravines of the Sierra Nevada, are making their camps upon its slope and its summit; and in fond kindred circles at home, there is less concern for them than there was for the young adventurers who pushed out from New England to settle in the Genesee country.

An active correspondence commenced between James and his New England friends soon after their departure from Durham. In a letter to his brother, John N. Wadsworth, dated at Albany, he says:—"We have secured a boat and pilot, forage is pretty scarce, but our expenses do not exceed our expectations. We have now arrived where Genesee is much talked of, and all accounts confirm us in our choice. All hands are in good health and fine spirits; lay aside all anxiety for us. We expect many difficulties but are fast in the belief that perseverance will surmount them. There has arrived this day, two vessels from Rhode Island. One has 28 and the other 30 passengers, bound full speed for the Genesee country. The migrations to the westward are almost beyond belief. Gin's (the colored woman,) courage rather increases, as many of her color are going to the Genesee."^{*} A tender epistle to James, in no

masculine hand, dated at New Haven, imagines that at some Indian war dance, his scalp may be one of the trophies "that will dangle from the belt of a Seneca brave." She adds, that "nothing short of making a fortune could induce you to reside amongst an uncivilized people, exposed to the savages of the wilderness." Samuel Street, of Chippewa, C. W., writes a note from Canandaigua, on a small strip of paper, asking Mr. Wadsworth to excuse it "as paper is very scarce here." John B. Van Epps writes from Schenectady that "Peter and Gerritt Ryckman would not take up the four barrels of rum to Canandaigua, under \$4 per barrel; and to be paid likewise for riding the barrels over the carrying place."

As early as September, 1790, the progress of improvement was arrested:—William and all of his hired hands had the fever and ague, the wench Jenny being the only well one among them. Disheartened by disease, the hired men returned to Connecticut, where they were soon followed by James, leaving William and the negro woman, to winter in the shantee and take care of the stock.

James Wadsworth started from Durham, in April 1791; but was delayed in New York by the sprouting of the ague, the seeds of which had been sown the fall previous. He arrived however, at "Big Tree" in June, and writes back to his uncle James that he

* But she did not become wholly reconciled. Sometimes on foot, sometimes in the ex-cart, cutting out roads and carrying out rights, she would get out of all patience, insist that the expedition was a wild and foolish one; and offer her sage advice that it would be best to go back to "Old Durham" and give it up as a bad job.

NOTE.—Among the family connections in Durham, was an uncle, Gen. James Wadsworth, who had held the rank of a Major General in the Connecticut line in the Revolution, was a member of the Continental Congress; and was one of the prominent men of New England. It would seem that after the death of his father, he had been, if not the guardian, the kind mentor and counsellor of his nephews. Reverence for his memory is the natural impulse upon the perusal of his letters to them after they had departed for the Genesee country. His last letter, dated in May, 1790, was a long one, replete with advice and admonition, deeply marked with religious sentiment, and instructions as to the duties and pursuits of life. In the next, dated in July, he gives the nephews all the current news of the day, as if they were his, and the receipt of newspapers or mails, [as they really were] and closes with admonitions—"I must remind you of the importance of order and regular conduct in a new settlement, of a proper observation of the Sabbath, of justice in your dealings, especially with the Indians; and of invariably supporting your credit; cultivate friendship with your neighboring Indians. Whatever husbandry you undertake, do it thoroughly." Then again in another letter, he strikes off upon foreign news:—"The armistices in France, see the topics among our politicians and clergy. Cutting off heads, hanging and assassinating, are much the order of the day there. It will be a very bad case if they are not very properly applied in some instances. Report says, the King's head is cut off. La Fayette has gone over to the Austrians. I hope the six nations will observe a strict neutrality, on which your safety depends."

found "brother Bill well; and by persevering industry he has much improved the place, and given our settlement a very different and highly pleasing aspect. We have an excellent enclosed pasture within eight rods of our house, and please ourselves with the prospect of soon enjoying most of the conveniences of settlements of several years standing. We have the prospect throughout the country of a most extraordinary crop of wheat; ours far exceeds our expectations, and corn promises 60 or 70 bushels to the acre. Our flats bespeak a great quantity of hay.(wild grass.) Respecting the Indians, we are so far from dreading the Six Nations (our neighbors) that we consider them no inconsiderable security. They have given us the most satisfactory proof of their friendship. We shall not be troubled by the southern Indians. I am happy to say that on second view of the Genesee country, I am confirmed in my favorable opinion of it. We have received a great increase of inhabitants the winter past. Four barns were raised last week in Canandaigua, within a half mile distance. Ontario, from a dreary wilderness begins to put on the appearance of a populated country." In a letter to his uncle James, dated in August, same year, he says: — "The Indians have returned from the treaty(Pickering's at Newtown,) highly pleased. The inhabitants now do not even think of danger from the Six Nations; although fears are entertained that the southern Indians will attack the Six Nations."

In 1791, Oliver Phelps, First Judge of Ontario county admits James Wadsworth to practice as attorney and counsellor "to enable persons to sue out writs and bring actions, which at the present, for want of attorneys, it is impossible to do."

The Messrs. Wadsworths' from year to year, extended their farming operations, bringing the broad sweep of flats that they possessed, under cultivation, and stocking it with cattle. There being no access to markets for wheat, they raised but little, but were early large producers of corn. Their cattle went to the Philadelphia and Baltimore markets principally; some were sold to new settlers, and some driven to Fort Niagara and Canada. Independent of their cultivated fields, the uplands and flats in summer, and the rushes that grew in abundance upon the flats, in winter, enabled them to increase their cattle to any desired extent. The present town of *Rush*, upon its flats had extensive meadows of rushes, upon which their cattle were herded for several of the early winters.

They at one period had an extensive dairy. The cultivation of hemp engaged their attention in an early day, and along in 1800, and a few succeeding years, they were large cultivators of it, with others upon the river. They manufactured much of it into ropes, for which they found a market in Albany and New York. In common with others in their neighborhood, they commenced the cultivation of tobacco; but that business fell pretty much into the hands of a company, who came on from Long Meadow, in Connecticut, rented flats of them, and cultivated for a few years largely. They cured it and put it up for market after the Virginia fashion. The breeding of mules for the Baltimore market, was a considerable business with them in early years. In later years they turned their attention to sheep, and prosecuted wool growing to an extent that has never been exceeded in the United States. In some observations of Professor Renwick, they are ranked with Gen. Wade Hampton, of S. Carolina, in reference to the magnitude of their operations, at the "head of agricultural pursuits in the United States."

While the immediate care of all this chiefly devolved upon William Wadsworth, James participated in it by a general supervision, the purchase and sale of stock in distant markets, the procuring of improved breeds of cattle and sheep, and a scientific investigation of all matters of practical improvement in agriculture.

From their first coming into the country, they were constantly extending their farming operations, and adding to their possessions. In early years they were materially aided in all this, by the use of the capital of their friends in New England; especially that of their relative, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth; but their extensive and judiciously conducted farming, soon began to yield them large profits, which added to the commissions that James realized upon various land agencies, in the aggregate, of vast magnitude, and of profits of purchase and sale of wild lands upon his own account, enabled them to add farm to farm, and tract to tract, until they were ranked among the largest land holders in the United States; and in reference to present and prospective value of their possessions, probably the largest. Certainly no others owned and managed so many cultivated acres.

NOTE. — Major Spencer, the early merchant, manufactured the leaf into pigs, and for several years supplied most of the small dealers west of Seneca Lake.

In February, 1796, James Wadsworth sailed for Europe. He went upon his own account, upon that of joint partners with him in land operations, and other large land holders in the United States. And here it is not out of place to remark, that land speculations had become rife very soon after the close of the Revolution. Large quantities of wild lands were thrown into market by the different States, pre-emption rights were obtained. Indian cessions followed, and very soon most of the available capital and credit of the whole country was used in the purchase of lands. They rose rapidly in value, fortunes were made. but as we have seen in later years, a crash followed, ruin and bankruptcy overtook a large and prominent class of the operators. No matter how low they had purchased their lands; if they were in debt for them, sale, settlement and improvement, would fall behind the pay days of purchase money, and wide tracts of uncultivated wilderness was a poor resource for taking care of protested bills, and threatened foreclosures. Speculators had overbought, even with the quantity of wild lands then marketable, and when other wide regions in the north-west territory were thrown into market, and brought into competition, embarrassments were enhanced. In '95, '6, this untoward state of things had arrived at its culminating point; an exigency existed which created the alternatives of ruin to nearly all who had ventured in large land speculations, and the enlisting of capital in Europe.

In such a crisis, a distinct realization of which, can only be had by a general review of the history of that period, Mr. Wadsworth was selected as an agent to go to Europe, and make sales of lands to foreign capitalists. It was certainly no small compliment to the business reputation and character of one who had gone out in his youth and acquired his recommendations in the back woods, to be thus singled out from among the most prominent men in the United States, whose interest, with his own, he was to promote. His visit to Europe, was at the suggestion, and attended by the co-operation, of Robert Morris, Thomas Morris, Gouverneur Morris, Aaron Burr, Charles Williamson, De Witt Clinton, Robert Troup, Oliver Phelps, Nicholson and Greenleaf, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Hartford, and other prominent men of New England and Pennsylvania. His mission was undertaken under adverse circumstances: — What was understood in Europe to have been the highly successful ventures of the London associates, and the Holland Company of Amsterdam, in

lands in this region, had had the effect to stimulate others, and at first, to create a strong disposition for American land investments. Land agents had flocked to Europe, and it is not at all strange that impositions had been practiced, and that many had been, (to use a modern term,) victimized. The reader need only be told, that a system of operations had been carried on, not unlike the mapping and platting upon paper, which prevailed in 1836, '7. Mr. Wadsworth reached Europe at a period of reaction, and yet, with the testimonials he carried with him, added to the confidence he inspired by his dignity of deportment and manifest integrity of purpose, by a slow process, his mission was mainly successful. He visited, and resided temporarily in London, Paris and Amsterdam. His letters of introduction, coming from high sources in this country, gave him access to the society of prominent financial men of that period, and incidentally to that of some eminent statesmen and scholars. Favored at once by the countenance and friendship of Sir Wm. Pulteney and Mr. Colquhoun, and in Amsterdam, with that of the members of the Holland Company, among whom was one eminent statesman, and several who occupied a high position as bankers, the young backwoodsman, from then young America, was enabled to place himself upon a favorable footing, not only with reference to the immediate objects of his mission, but with reference to those advantages acquired by foreign travel and residence. He remained abroad until the last of November, 1798. In all this time, he effected a large amount of sales, and to this mission is to be attributed many of the foreign proprietorships in this region, as well as in other portions of the United States. Some brief extracts from his correspondence while abroad, possess not only local, but general historical interest, and are contained in a note attached. While in London Mr. Wadsworth obtained a commission agency from Sir William Pulteney, for the sale of lands upon the Mill Tract west of Genesee River, embracing what is now Ogden, Parma, Riga, Chili, and a part of Greece and Wheatland, from William Six, of Amsterdam, for the sale of the township, now Henrietta, and from others, the agency for the sale of other tracts. And added to all this, was the agency for the sale of lands in the Genesee country belonging to Jeremiah Wadsworth and other New England landholders. The duties thus assumed, together with the general management of what then constituted the Wadsworth estate, of farms

and wild lands, threw upon his hands an amount of business seldom devolving upon one individual, and requiring all his time and energies. He must be regarded as the patroon of new settlements in his own neighborhood, in a large portion of the present county of Monroe, and in several other localities. His European agencies were upon terms that gave him an interest in the sale and settlement of wild lands, in some instances more than equal to that of the proprietors, and he was indefatigable in promoting sales. The fine regions coming under his supervision, unbroken by sales or settlement, principally west of the Genesee river; were put in market, and going to New England, he prosecuted upon a large scale, a system that Mr. Phelps had began, of exchanging wild lands for farms, when the occupants would become residents. He thus secured a good class of new settlers, and no where in the whole history of new settlements in this country, have they been more prosperous, abating such drawbacks as were beyond his control, than those were of which he may be regarded the founder. And while he was thus the instrument, eventually, to promote the prosperity of others, he was laying the foundation, or accumulating, the large estate which his family now possess. The profits of his agencies were large ones, and were invested in wild lands and farms. These being generally retained and well managed, the rise in value chiefly helped

NOTE.—From London, June, '96. J. W. writes to Charles Wilkes,* that he was upon the point of effecting large sales of land, "but all had been frustrated by opposition in the H. of Rep. to Jay's treaty." "The fear of sequestration and confiscation has destroyed all confidence with capitalists in England. Besides they fear the effect of French influence in the United States." "Mr. Young, a large East India capitalist, to whom I was going to sell 30,000 acres of land at half a guinea per acre, backs out in consequence of news from America." J. W. to Thomas Morris, May, '90, says:—"I am prevented from making sales by the proceedings of H. of Representatives." J. W. to Charles Wilkes, June, '96:—"Things are looking better; news has been received that Congress have passed the necessary laws to carry the treaty into effect; confidence in American investments are reviving." J. W. to Benj. West, (the celebrated painter.)—"Be kind enough to use your influence in quieting alarm and getting up confidence in London. I have no doubt that the United States will be as happy, and their government as permanent, as is allowable to men, and human institutions in the world." A correspondence between Mr. Wadsworth and Aaron Burr was kept up during the absence of the former; the letters of Mr. Burr, would sometimes be upon matters of business, sometimes upon politics, which subject would suddenly be arrested by his favorite theme, gossip upon courtship and marriage. Some portions of his letters are obscured by the use of his ciphers. A. B. to J. W., Nov. 1796:—"I refer you to the gazettes for the name of the electors, and the particulars yet known respecting the election: 4 I think will be 15; 1, has, I think no chance; 12 and 4 will run generally together, but the latter will not succeed by reason of some disaffection in 14;—16, 10, had been at home, 13 would have been the man as

* An eminent early merchant of New York; a namesake and family connexion of Charles Wilkes, of London.

to make the largest estate, perhaps, that has ever been accumulated in the United States, by the same process.

But let no one, while viewing the broad domains of which he died possessed, suppose that they came to him in the absence of industry, economy, good management, or of long years of severe trial and embarrassments. Dependent, chiefly, in his early enterprises, upon the capital of others, he carried along through an extended period of depression, a slow growth of the country, a war that bore heavily upon this local region — a large debt, and all the trials and vexations which it carries in its train.* It was not until the war of 1812 made a good market for his produce, that he began to be relieved from embarrassment; his large clip of wool, his cattle, grain, and the produce from his dairy, enabled him to rapidly diminish his indebtedness; then followed a few years of depression: then came that great measure of deliverance, and source of prosperity to all this region, the Erie Canal; and participating largely, as his possessions enabled him to do, in the rapid advance in the value of real estate, in the facilities for market that it at once afforded freedom from debt, unincumbered wealth that was soon rated by millions, was the reward of his early wilderness advent, and over half a century of industry and enterprise.

In a history of pioneer settlement, such as this is intended to be, one who bore so conspicuous a part in it, must necessarily occupy a considerable space, and yet one entirely inadequate to the task of detailing his immediate and intimate connection with the growth

you will be convinced when you shall return home. Upon the whole I am quite satisfied with the state of things." "Except the little box already acknowledged, and which appeared to have been sent by my booksellers, probably under your orders, I have not received a book or a pamphlet from you since your residence abroad." I have it from the very best authority, that your friend Linklaen is soon to be married to a daughter of Major Lettyval, a pretty and agreeable girl. Not a bad match I think on either side. I continue an inviolable bachelor, but have been much softened by De-gex of Naef-az, who is at present indisputably at the head of my list. Under other dates, A. B. to J. W.:—"I have been quite a recluse and a farmer this summer; have not been two miles from home since my return from Philadelphia; and am married, nor have made any approaches to it, though shall not probably pass another six months single, though no particular object has yet engaged my attention. Good-bless and prosper you." "It is hoped by some, feared by others, and believed by all, that the President will decline being a candidate at the next election. The chances will be Bar-w-k.—12, 4 and 1. The event seems pretty doubtful. I have heard (this day,) and fully believe it, that 20 and 21 were publicly married a few days ago. Adieu once more."

* In a letter to a friend after he had had an experience of fifteen years he says:—"It is slow realizing from new lands. I will never advise another friend to invest in them. Men generally have not the requisite patience for speculating in them."

and prosperity of this region. His biography alone, if it followed him in all his relations to our local region, would be almost its early history. To say that his was a useful life, would be but a natural deduction from his early advent, and his leading participation in laying the foundation of that unexampled prosperity, which now exists in a region that he entered, the wheels of his cart, and shoes of his horse, making the first impress of civilization upon its soil! The abatement, if any, from his life of usefulness, would be the amount of territory he encompassed, and held on to with a tenacity, almost amounting to dotage, or an inordinate desire to possess extended fields and forests. This ambition was first excited when a young adventurer, on his way to Montreal, in company with John Jacob Astor, to seek employment as a school teacher, he saw an extensive and beautiful estate, in one of the valleys of Vermont; and traveling in Europe, a few years afterwards, making a sojourn, occasionally, at the hospitable seats of immense land proprietors, he seems to have been confirmed in his desire for a similar position, and to have steadily pursued his object in after life. Great landed estates in a country like ours, are a sore evil; the effects, in various ways, bearing heavily and vexatiously upon their immediate neighborhoods. It is no "vote yourself a farm" spirit, no sympathy in common with agrarianism, that dictates the expression of a hope, that by all legal means, the evil may be abated. It would have been far better for the beautiful valley, where Mr. Wadsworth cast his lot in early life, and with which he became so intimately blended, if his ambition for large possessions had been more moderate; but, "may I not do as I will with mine own?" is an interrogation he might well have opposed to those who cavilled at his monopoly of the soil.*

* And this reminds the author of an anecdote of an early and venerated cotemporary of Mr. Wadsworth, the late Augustus Porter. The possession in his family of "Goat Island," and all the most desirable grounds on the American side, at Niagara Falls, and the tenacity with which they were held, when improvements were sought to be made, had occasioned much of murmuring and fault finding, in which the author, as the editor of a paper in the same county, had participated, occasionally giving some thrusts at what used to be called the "monopoly." While engaged in a preceding historical work, the old gentleman had kindly given him the benefit of days and nights of conversation upon the early history of all this region; his personal narrative, that began with his early adventures in the wilderness, his early years spent in surveyor's camps, encountering hardships and privations; his after long years of toil. At the close of this interview, suffering under bodily infirmities, partly consequent upon all this, he observed:—"Now you have my whole history; you have seen how I

At an early period — almost as soon as the farming operations of the Wadsworths were fairly commenced — James Wadsworth gave much of his attention to agricultural improvements. He may be said to have given the impetus, in this state, to the application of science, the heeding of the simple teaching of nature, the elevation of rural labor from mere uninstructed handicraft, to the position and the dignity it has been rapidly assuming. He had cotemporaries, co-operators — there were perhaps those before him in the state, who had labored in the same field — but he had entered upon the work with an earnestness, with practical views, and aided with his pen and his purse, effectual measures, that helped to mark a new era in agricultural improvements. Practical in his views upon all subjects, his theories and recommendations occupied the middle ground between a judicious and healthy reform in the cultivation of the earth, and stock breeding, and the extravagancies of mere theorists. The practicability and the usefulness of a thing with him were always allied. Had he been in the place of Mr. Jefferson, his spirit of enterprise may have dictated the erection of a saw mill upon an eminence, to be propelled by wind, but before he had ventured upon the experiment, he would have seen how his saw logs were to be got up the steep ascent.

His, was a mind too active to repose upon the possession of wealth, or fall into supineness and inactivity, when the stimulus of gain had in a measure subsided. It reached out after new objects, when old ones were accomplished. Education, — education of the masses, allied to political economy, in all its later years, became with him, if not a hobby, an object of intense interest. He was not unmindful of the higher interests of religion, but even those he would have made secondary in the economy of life, believing that education of the mind was the broad superstructure upon which all of spiritual as well as temporal good should be based. As the possessor of property, he urged upon the wealthy of the state, by strong appeals, that it had no security short of the education of the masses, out of which alone would grow a respect for the laws, and vested rights. He was the patron of J. Orville Taylor, in his first movements: had essays upon education, upon political economy, towns,

have earned what I possess; upon the whole, do you not think that I should have the privilege of managing it as best suits my choice and inclinations?" There was certainly no convenient way of meeting the rebuke, or answering the interrogatory.

printed and distributed through the state, at his own expense; enlisted newspapers in the cause of education, by paying them for setting apart a space for its discussion; aided in the establishment of the District School Journal, and paid salaries to public lecturers, to go through the State, and arouse public attention to its importance. If the system of District School Libraries did not originate with him, (as there are some reasons to suppose it did,) it had the benefit of his early and efficient aid. In the way of agricultural improvement, he had essays printed and distributed, and was an early and efficient patron of Judge Bucl, in the starting of the *Cultivator*, at Albany.

A love of order, system and regularity, was one of his leading characteristics. This is strikingly exhibited in his correspondence, and the careful manner in which it was preserved; and equally so in the written instructions to his agents. His office clerks he reminded of the maxim:—"Every thing in its place, and a place for every thing;" and they were forbidden to hold any conversations with those who came to the office to do business, on the subject of party politics, but instructed to interest themselves, and hold conversations "in reference to schools, and the means of their improvement." His out-door clerk, or farm agent, was instructed to "frequently visit every farm, make suggestions to tenants: see how they manage affairs, see that every farm has growing upon it good and wholesome fruit; look to the compost heaps and manure; see that the premises are made conducive to health." All short comings, negligencies, and slovenly, or bad management, you are to report to the office. Your inquiries should be:—"Are the gates in good order? Is the wood-pile where it ought to be? Are the grounds around the house kept in a neat and wholesome manner? Are the sheds, and yard fence around the barn in a good state of repair? The land agent should make suggestions to the tenants on the leading principles of good husbandry, with frequent reference

NOTE.—In a letter to Mr. Troup, after he had succeeded to the Pulteney agency, in 1805, Mr. Wadsworth urges the setting apart of land in each township "for a school house, meeting house, glebe, and parsonage." He adds:—"I am not superstitious, but I believe in Christianity; I am no partisan, but I believe in the piety of patriotism; and amidst the afflictions of this wayward world, it appears to me that the sweetest consolations that attend advanced life, is a recollection of substantial benefits conferred upon our country of having contributed our full mite to the improvement and happiness of our fellow men; especially to that portion of them whose destinies are influenced more or less by our decisions, and by the situations, which, under Providence, we are placed."

to sound morals, founded on the sanction of religion and just reasoning; and also the unappreciable importance of the education of youth, and of a vigilant attention to the state of common schools in the lessees' district. Shade trees must be about each house. From a look or two about the garden or house, you can easily ascertain if the occupant drinks bitters in the morning, or whiskey with his dinner. If he drinks bitters, you will find his garden full of weeds."

To a natural love of rural scenery, skirted and dotted with forests and shade trees, had been added observation in European travel where time had enhanced their beauty and value. In England, in fact, he had learned to love trees, and appreciate the importance of their preservation; and in nothing has he so distinctly left traces of himself, as in the beautiful woodland scenery and magnificent forest trees, so much admired, in the immediate valley of the Genesee. With the same forecast that enabled him to estimate the prospective value of lands, he saw far ahead what this whole region is now beginning to realize, the evil of destroying the native forests, without planting and rearing trees for future practical uses, as well as ornament.

The personal character of Mr. Wadsworth may mostly be inferred from this imperfect sketch of him, as the Pioneer and founder of settlements. Almost his entire history is blended with this local region — its early settlement and progress; though he took a deep interest in public affairs, it was in the retirement of private life, from which he would seem to have never had a disposition to be drawn by any allurements of official stations. His private correspondence, the ability with which he discussed various subjects of political economy, scientific agriculture and education, evince a clear, sound judgment, strengthened by judicious, practical reading; indeed, his library, like all the appointments of his farms, his stock, his dwelling, and his garden, is chosen with a strict regard to utility. "He was," (says a surviving cotemporary, *) "a good judge of men — seldom erred in his estimation of them — and relying upon his judgment, was even arbitrary in the withholding and bestowal of confidence. He had not the elements of popularity; or if he had, did not choose to make them available; usually absorbed in the cares of business, or some favorite study, he was reserved in his

* *Western Messenger*, 1847.

deportment, and liable to be regarded as austere and unsocial ; but relaxing, as he sometimes would — freeing his mind from its burdens, he would exercise fine conversational powers, not unmixed with humor, wit and gaiety."

William Wadsworth, as has already been indicated, was the practical farmer, and has little of history disconnected with the immediate supervision of large farming operations, and his early and prominent position in the local military organization. At the battle of Queenston, after the wounding of Gen. Solomon Van Rensselaar, the immediate command devolved upon him, and he acquitted himself with honor, and won even something of laurels, upon a badly selected and generally unfortunate battle field, where they were scarce, and hard to acquire.* He was a bachelor, and a bachelor's history has always an abrupt termination. He died in 1833, aged 71 years. His property which had been mostly held in common with his brother James, was willed to his children ; thus leaving the large estate unbroken.

James Wadsworth died at his residence in Geneseo, in June, 1844, aged 76 years : leaving two sons and two daughters. His eldest daughter, was the wife of Martin Brimmer, of Boston, at one period the Mayor of that city ; she died in 1834. His second daughter, Elizabeth, was married in January, of the present year, in Scotland, to Charles Augustus Murray, second son of the late Earl of Dunmore, and a nephew of the Duke of Hamilton ; and now resides at Cairo, in Egypt, where her husband is the diplomatic representative of the British Government.† His son, William

* Mansfield, one of the biographers of Gen. Scott, says that when he had crossed the Niagara, at the battle of Queenston, and arrived upon the Heights, he proposed to Gen. Wadsworth, instead of assuming the chief command to limit it to the regular force ; to which the brave and patriotic Wadsworth replied : — " No, you know best professionally what ought to be done ; I am here for the honor of my country, and the New York militia." And the biographer adds : — " Scott assumed the command, and Wadsworth throughout the movements that ensued, dared every danger in seconding his views. Though they had met for the first time, he had become attached to the young Colonel, repeatedly during the battle, interposing his own person to shield Scott from the Indian rifles, which his tall form attracted." This statement, illustrating the modesty of his courage, is confirmed by General Scott.

† He is the grand son of Lord Dunmore, the governor of the colony of Virginia on the breaking out of the Revolution. In 1834, he visited this country, upon a tour undertaken with the two fold objects of business and pleasure. Upon investigation he ascertained that by some defect or omission in the Virginia acts of confiscation, he could recover a large tract of land that had belonged to his grand-father, but he declined consummating the recovery upon learning that the land was nearly valueless. Striking off into the western States, he organized at St. Louis a corps of adventurers, and with them visited one of the far western Indian nations — the Pawnees — spending the most of a summer with them, joining them in their rural sports, and accom-

Wadsworth, who married the daughter of — Austin, of Boston, resides at the old family mansion in Geneseo. His son, James S. Wadsworth, who married the daughter of John Wharton, of Philadelphia, is the occupant of a fine mansion he has erected in a grove, a short distance north of the village of Geneseo, upon a bluff that overlooks a broad sweep of the valley of the Genesee. Upon him, in consequence of the absence of the surviving sister, and the infirmities of his brother, devolves the entire management of the Wadsworth estate; a difficult task, with all its diversified interest, its numerous farms, and tracts of wild lands; but one that is well performed, not only in reference to the estate itself, but with reference to the public interest in which so large landed possessions are necessarily merged. The representative of the early Pioneers — his father and uncle — “to the manor born” — while he knows little of the hardships, self-denial, the long years of trial and anxiety which attended the accumulation of the immense wealth he controls, he entertains liberal and enlightened views in reference to its management and disposition: is not unmindful, as his frequent acts of public munificence bear witness, of the local interests and prosperity of his native valley of the Genesee. While in many portions of our country, the evil attending the accumulation of great estates, is much enhanced by the narrow and sordid views of those into whose hands they fall; in this, as well as in other instances, in our own prosperous region, it has been mitigated. It was something more than the mere possession of wealth — something of the more legitimate claims to popular esteem — that during the last winter created that intense anxiety in the local public mind, when the worst fears were entertained in reference to the fate of the packet ship, in which the subject of this incidental notice, had taken passage on his return voyage from Europe.

panying them in their buffalo hunts. He is the author of a book of “Travels in North America,” and of the popular tale of fact and fiction — of wild adventure and romantic incidents — entitled the “Prairie Bird,” which the author is informed by one of the trade, has reached a tenth edition, in this country. James Wadsworth made the acquaintance of the family during his residence in Europe, and the younger member of it brought a letter of introduction to him when he came out to this country in 1834: thence the acquaintance; the sequel, after a long delay, consequent upon the usual question of country and residence, has been the transfer of one of the daughters of the Genesee from her native valley, to the court and the diplomatic circle of one of the far off capitals of the Old World.

Now, — James Wadsworth in his life time, founded a library in Geneseo, erecting a building for the purpose, and for its support deeding to its trustees two farms and some village property. He made it free to every citizen of Livingston county. It has

In the primitive division of Ontario into Districts, the second district, Geneseo, embraced all west of the east line of the present towns of Pittsford, Mendon, Richmond. The first town meeting for the "District of Geneseo," was held at Canawagus, April 9, 1791. John Ganson was chosen Sup. David Bullen, T. C. Other town officers: Gad Wadsworth, Nathan Perry, Amos Hall, Israel Stone, Edward Carney, Hill Carney, Jno. Ball, Isaiah Thompson, Benj. Gardner, John Lusk, Jasper Marvin, Norris Humphrey.

It will be observed that these officers were distributed throughout the entire settled region west of the line named above. It used to be alledged that a little feeling of aristocracy had thus early crept into the backwoods, and manifested itself in the choice of supervisor — shoes, moccasins, and bare feet, were the order of the day, but "Capt Ganson," glorying in the possession of a pair of boots, the choice fell upon him.

The town meeting in 1793, was held at "Miles Gore," Lima; Amos Hall was elected Supervisor. This year, most of all the early roads in Livingston, east part of Monroe, and west part of Ontario, were laid out and recorded. Store and tavern licenses were granted to Gilbert R. Berry, Wm. Wadsworth, Simon Stone, Elijah Flowers, Pierce and Ransom, John Johnson, Donald McDonald, Elijah Starr, Abel Willey, Peter Simms, Nathaniel Fowler, James Rogers, Wm. Hencher, Abner Migells, Nathaniel Perry, Christopher Dugan.

At that early period, when stock of all kinds ran in the woods, ear marks were appended. It is presumed that nearly all of the inhabitants had their peculiar marks recorded. In many of the old town books, the picture of a hog or a sheep's ear, is drawn, with each man's mark delineated opposite his name. In 1796, there were upon the town books of the district of Geneseo, the following names of those who had chosen ear marks, in all the wide region west of East Bloomfield to the western boundaries of the State. There is no other form in which so many Pioneer names are recorded:—

now about 2,300 volumes, and a yearly income of about \$600. In his will, he constituted his immediate heirs its trustees. Its management devolves upon James S. Wadsworth, under which it is carrying out the designs of its founder, and promises to become one of the largest Libraries in the State. He gave \$10,000 the income of which is to be employed in the education of any indigent relative. He also gave \$10,000, the income of which is to be devoted to the benefit of the common schools of the State.

Benjamin Gardner,
 Isaac Gardner,
 J. P. Sears,
 Clark Peck,
 Jasper Marvin,
 John Alger,
 John Gardner,
 John Miner,
 Solomon Hovey,
 Amos Hall,
 Asa Baker,
 Samuel Barker,
 Paul Davison,
 Samuel Baker, jr.,
 Elijah Morgan,
 Thomas Peck,
 Sylvester Marvin,
 Nathaniel Fowler,
 Wm. Harris,
 Ebenezer Merry,
 Jacob Wright,
 Abednego Wright,
 S. C. Brockway,
 Eliska Wade,
 Stephen Tucker,
 Amariah Bates,
 Jos. Wright,
 John Parks,
 John Gannon,
 David Seymour,
 Alexander Forsyth,
 John Beach,
 Reuben Thayer,
 Nathaniel Munger.

Henry Redding,
 Joseph Smith,
 Adria Haterack,
 Marvin Gates,
 Daniel Gates,
 Phineas Bates,
 Asahel Burchell,
 Ebenezer Spangrow,
 Simon Tiffany,
 Ezra Ditchell,
 Seth Lewis,
 Alexander Ewing,
 Gad Wadsworth,
 Wm. Markham,
 Ebenezer Merry,
 Wm. Wadsworth,
 Jed. Cummings,
 Benjamin Thompson,
 Lorin Wait,
 Thomas Lee,
 Richard Wait,
 Wm. Moore,
 John Barnes,
 David Davis,
 Samuel Goodrich,
 Gershom Bond,
 Daniel Fox,
 Aaron Lyon,
 William Layton,
 Hezekiah Fox,
 Joseph Baker,
 Zebulon Moses,
 Asahel Warner,

Tim. Hosmer,
 John Rhodes,
 David Bailey,
 Thomas Mizzels,
 Theo. Shepherd,
 Ransom Smith,
 Philip Simms,
 David Markham,
 Reuben Heath,
 Daniel Wright,
 Jos. Arthur,
 P. and J. Sheffer,
 Jos. Morgan,
 Erast Hart,
 Abel Wilsey,
 John Morgan,
 Asa B. Simmons,
 David B. Morgan,
 Samuel Bullen,
 Samuel Stevens,
 George Gardner,
 Joseph Norton,
 Jesse Pangburn,
 Joel Harty,
 David Benton,
 Jeremiah Olmsted,
 Joshua Whitney,
 David Pierson,
 Justus Minaal,
 Jonathan Gould,
 Ariel Gardner,
 Ezekiel Chamberlin,
 Benjamin Parsons,

The location of the Wadsworths at Geneseo, made that point the nucleus of a considerable neighborhood, though for many years, there was but a small cluster of buildings. The business of the new settlements was divided between Geneseo, "Old Leicester," and Williamsburg. The Wadsworths resided in their primitive log house until 1794, when they built a large block house on the site of the old Wadsworth mansion. About 1804, they had erected the upright part of the present building, a large square roofed house that made an imposing appearance in a region of log houses, where a framed house of any size was a rarity. The early clerk of James Wadsworth, after he had opened his land office, was Samuel B. Walley, an Englishman, the father of Mrs. Dudley Marvin; he was succeeded by Andrew McNabb, who went into the Bath land office; Joseph W. Lawrence was first blacksmith in Geneseo. He removed to Michigan, where he died in 1845. Among the prominent early settlers, were: — Lemuel B. Jennings, Benjamin Squire, Wm. Crossett, Rodman Clark, Wm. Findlay, David Findlay. As

early as 1804, Mr. Wadsworth visited Marlborough, Connecticut, and exchanged lands for farms, thus inducing several families to remove, who settled on the road leading to Conesus, among whom was David Kneeland; their location was early called "Marlborough Street."

The early merchants at Geneseo were Minor & Hall. In 1805, one of the firm, Hall, died at Oneida Castle, on his way to New York to purchase goods.

The prominent early merchant of Geneseo was the late Major Wm. H. Spencer. He was from East Haddam, Conn. Arriving upon the Genesee River in 1803, with his axe upon his shoulder, he was a Pioneer of "Fairfield" now Ogden; breaking into the wilderness on Rush creek, about a mile east of Spencer's Basin, he built a cabin, kept bachelor's hall, bought provisions of Mr. Shaeffer, carrying most of them in on his back; built a saw mill, and in a little over a year cleared fifty acres. Getting ready for his saw mill irons, he went to Connecticut, and brought them all the way from there with an ox-team. In 1804 he struck the first blow in Riga, making an opening, and erecting a house for Mr. Wadsworth, a mile and a half southeast of Churchville.

In 1805 he was induced by Mr. Wadsworth to take an interest with him in a mercantile establishment in Geneseo. Starting with a large stock of goods for that period, his business extended as settlement advanced, and there were many early years that his trade embraced a wide region. His goods came by the water route from Schenectady to the foot of Cayuga Lake, and from thence on wheels to Geneseo; the transportation usually costing about \$3,00 per cwt. Doing principally a barter trade, his furs, tobacco, hemp, grain, pork, and maple sugar, were in the earliest years marketed at Baltimore; by wagoning to Arkport on the Canisteo, and from thence by water. The first produce shipped at Arkport, was from Dansville; the second shipments were by Spencer & Co., from Geneseo. This was the avenue to market for all the southern portion of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, until the Jefferson embargo; then it changed to Lake Ontario, by wagon roads to the mouth of Genesee River, until bateaux were introduced upon the river. These ran from the rapids above Rochester, as high up as Geneseo; and Durham boats used to ascend to Mount Morris. In the war of 1812 Maj. Spencer was the aid of Gen. Wadsworth. Many years since he retired

from the mercantile business to his extensive farm of flats and upland, on the river opposite Geneseo. He was the owner of the beautiful sweep of flats, field after field, along on either side of the road from Geneseo to Pillarlinia: and had become one of the largest grazers, wool and wheat growers in the valley of the Genesee. He died suddenly, of apoplexy, in January of this year, while engaged in the active management of the large estate that had been gained by early Pioneer enterprise, industry and perseverance.

In 1805 Geneseo had but about a dozen dwellings, there were two public houses, one kept by Faulkner, and the other by Bishop: John Pierce had started the hating business. Seymour Woleon was a tavern keeper there as early as 1809 or '10. Dr. Sill was the early physician. He died in early years: he was the father of Dr. Sill, of Livonia, and — Sill of Wheatland. He was succeeded in practice by Dr. Augustus Wolecott, who emigrated west in early years. Ashbel Atkins was the early tanner and shoe maker. The earliest religious meetings were held in a small building called the "town house," opposite the Park, which also answered the purposes of a school-house. Elder Joseph Lindley was the first resident clergyman. That portion of Morris Reserve and the Holland Purchase lying west of Geneseo, commenced settling along in 1805 and '6, and Geneseo being upon the main thoroughfare, its trade, and the business of its public houses, derived a considerable impetus from it. Much of the trade of the new settlers was done there and the grain raised upon Wadsworths, Jones, and Mt. Morris flats, was their principal dependence.

A RECLUSE.

In 1793 or '4, De Boui, a Frenchman, wandered to this region with a single companion, a negro slave, built a log cabin on Wadsworth's flats, and lived the life of a recluse. He was a native of Alsace. While a youth, he quarrelled with a friend, wounded him in a duel, fled to St. Domingo, where he served as a private soldier, until his superior attainments recommended him for employment in the public service as an engineer. He finally received the appointment of Inspector General of the High roads, and became besides, a considerable planter. The revolution in St. Domingo, breaking out, he fled to America, bringing with him one faithful servant, and the remnant of his estate, a

few bills on France. Col. Wadsworth, of Hartford, assumed the negotiation of his bills, advanced him money, and granted to him the use of a small tract of land, which he came on and occupied. When the Duke Liancourt, and his French companions were upon the river, in 1795, they visited him and spent the night in his hut. They found him a confirmed misanthrope, but pleased at the unexpected visit of his countrymen to his backwoods retreat. A highly cultivated mind had been soured by misfortune; and he had contracted a disgust for his race, seeking no other associates but his faithful servant, who cooked his food, and cultivated a small patch of ground for their mutual sustenance. Unless he is right in assuming that he finally joined a colony of his countrymen at Asylum, in Pennsylvania, the author is unable to state what became of him.

HORATIO AND JOHN H. JONES.

In 1788, John H. Jones had joined his brother Horatio, in Geneva. In the spring of 1789, having obtained a yoke of oxen, the two brothers went into what is now Phelps, found an open spot, ploughed and planted five or six acres of corn, which they sold on the ground. In August of that year, the Indians having promised Horatio a tract of land west of the Genesee river, the advent of the two brothers, was as related in page 328.

With the history of Horatio Jones, the public have already been made familiar. In a previous work of the author's—the history of the Holland Purchase,—there is a sketch of his life. Identified as he had become, with the Senecas, and sharing largely in their esteem and confidence, in his settlement west of the river, he had relied upon their intention of granting him his location, in which he was not disappointed, as will be seen in connection with the Morris treaty. Receiving from President Washington the appointment of Indian interpreter, in early years, his attendance upon treaties, the accompanying of Indian delegations to the seat of government, and various other trusts connected with the Indians, employed most of his time. When alive, there was none of our race, save Mary Jemison, who had been so long a resident of this region. He was with Col. Broadhead in his expedition to the Allegany, and as an Indian prisoner, he resided at Nunda, as early as 1781. The

NOTE.—No one whose lot was ever cast with the Senecas, was a better judge of their character; and no one has in a greater degree contributed to our knowledge of them. His brother gave to the author, some observations of his, in reference to their

farming principally devolved upon John H. Jones, and in early years the brothers were large producers, especially of corn, for the new settlers who dropped in around and beyond them. At a primitive period, when the Indians in all that region, far out numbered the whites — at a period too, when they were unreconciled, and undetermined, as to their relations with the whites, Horatio Jones exercised a salutary influence; and to him much of the credit is due, for the success of Indian treaties, and the suppression of hostilities. The Indian captive boy became the arbitrator between his captors and his own race; and by an inherent strength of mind and energy of character, which marked him as no ordinary man, made early misfortune the means of conspicuously identifying himself with the early history of all this region: rendering to it essential service in years of weakness; becoming in fact, a founder of settlement and civilization upon soil where he began his career as an alien and captive.

Among the captives with whom he became acquainted while in captivity himself, was the daughter of — Whitmore, of Schenectady. She was released with him at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, soon after which they were married. She died in 1794. He died 1836, aged 75 years. The surviving sons, are: — William, Hiram and Charles, of Leicester, Horatio, of Moscow, Seneca, a California adventurer. Daughters: — Mrs. Lyman of Moscow, Mrs. Fitzhugh, of Saginaw, Michigan, Mrs. Hewitt and Mrs. B. F. Angell, of Geneseo, Mrs. Finley, of Ann Arbor, Michigan. Two sons, George and James, were killed at the British attack on Lewiston, in the war of 1812.

John H. Jones, is now living at the age of 80 years, his mind but little impaired, and with the exception of rheumatism, a physical constitution but little broken. In 1792, he was engaged in the Indian trade at the mouth of Genesee river, upon the Allegany river, and Cattaraugus creek. He speaks familiarly of being at Buffalo, when the only white inhabitant was Win-

warlike character, which, it is believed has never before been published. He used to say that their southern wars with their own race, their success in them, were often their themes in the war dance, and in their wigwams. He has often heard the old men relate that the very name of Seneca, had a terror with Indians of other nations. At the south and the west, and among the nations of Canada, the Seneca war-whoop would almost conquer of itself. He said that even as late as the war of 1812, the Indians of Canada were struck with terror, when they learned that they must encounter the Senecas in battle.

ney, a Butler Ranger, and the only resident on all the south shore of Lake Erie, west of Buffalo, other than Indians, was "Black Joe," a fugitive slave, at the mouth of Cattaraugus creek. Judge Jones was a magistrate of Ontario before the division; soon after Genesee was set off, he became one of its Judges, and from 1812 to 1822, was first Judge of Genesee, and after that for several years, of Livingston. He was the first supervisor of Leicester, and was in all early years, a prominent, active helper in pioneer movements. His surviving sons are, George W., Horatio, Thomas J., James M., John H., Lucien B., Hiram, and Fayette, all residing in his immediate neighborhood; and Napoleon N., of Scottsville. Daughters: Mrs. Clute, of Cuylerville, Mrs. William Jones, of Leicester, Mrs. James Jones, of Cincinnati.

The three brothers, Jellis, Thomas and William Clute, from Schenectady, were early settlers at Leicester. Jellis was engaged in the Indian trade at Beardstown. Thomas and William settled at Gardeau.

The Rev. Samuel J. Mills was a graduate of Yale College, a native of Derby, Conn. He emigrated to the Genesee river in 1795. He joined Thomas Morris and others in the purchase of 10,000 acres of land in Groveland and Sparta, at a period of high prices, paying and contracting to pay \$6 per acre. The price soon fell below \$2. He settled near where Col. Fitzhugh afterwards located; erecting a framed house and moving into it, it burned down, with all his household furniture, the family barely escaping. This, with his unfortunate investment in lands, embarrassed him, and discouraged the spirit of enterprise that had brought him from New England. He was the early minister, for several years itinerating among the new settlements, until the period of his death, soon after 1800. His wife returned to Connecticut. One of his sons, the late Gen. William A. Mills, was destined to a more fortunate career. Thrown upon his own resources at the age of 17, he rented flats of the Indians, occupying a shantee, where he lived alone at Mount Morris, his nearest neighbors, the Indians. Renting his land upon easy terms, and hiring the Indians and Squaws to assist him in working it, he was soon enabled to erect a distillery; and when the Mount Morris tract was opened for sale, he purchased from time to time, until he became possessed of eight hundred acres, including several hundred acres of the fine flats opposite the present village

of Mount Morris. His Indian name, "Sa-nem-ge-wa," (generous) would indicate their esteem for him, and the probity that governed his early intercourse with them. He spoke their language fluently, and from early associations, was much attached to them. When, after their removal, they would occasionally revisit their old homes upon the Genesee, he met them, and treated them as old friends.* To his distilling and grain raising in early years, he added grazing upon the Mount Morris and Gardeau flats, and became finally largely engaged in that business; and successful, as many have witnessed at our early county and State fairs. He was for twenty years, the Supervisor of Mount Morris; a commissioned officer in the early military organization in his region, he was upon the frontier in the war of 1812, and in later years, rose to the rank of Brig. General. He died in 1844, aged 67 years. His sons are:—William A., Sidney H., Minard H. and Julius F., of Mount Morris, and Dr. Myron H., of Rochester. Daughters:—Mrs. Levi Beach of Knox county, Ohio, Mrs. Dr. G. W. Branch and Mrs. William Hamlin, of Mount Morris.

Alexander Mills, another son of the early Pioneer, Rev. Samuel J. Mills, located at Olean in an early day, where he was extensively engaged in the lumber trade; now resides in Cleveland. Major Philo Mills, another son, located in Groveland, emigrated to Tecumseh, Michigan. Frederick L. Mills, another son, located on flats; he died in 1834; his living descendants are:—George, of Mount Morris, Philo, of Groveland, Lewis, of Allegany, and Mrs. Hunt, of Groveland.

The first saw mill west of Genesee river, (save one at Niagara Falls, erected by Stedman,) was erected by Ebenezer Allan, on the outlet of the Silver Lake. This supplied the first boards had in the upper valley of the Genesee. It was built in 1792, and raised by the help of the Indians, for the want of sufficient white men in the country. In some of the earliest years, Judge Phelps had a distillery erected near the present village of Moscow. In 1800, Augustus Porter, as the agent of Oliver Phelps, laid out the village of

* And this, the author would here remark, was not unlike the relation that existed between most of the Pioneers of the Genesee country and the Indians, where they became neighbors in early years, and something of mutual dependence existed. Even now, in our cities and villages, the old Pioneers are pained often in witnessing their degradation, and prompt to resist any insult offered to them.

Leicester,* on a tract he had purchased of Jones and Smith, and opened the direct road across the flats to "Jones' Ford;" previous to which, it had gone via Beardstown. He also erected a saw mill on Beards' Creek, near the present village of Moscow. For several years after 1800, the village of Leicester bore an important relation to the new settlements forming in Wyoming, Allegany, and south part of Erie. The early and well known tavern keeper, was Leonard Stimson, from Albany, who had been engaged in a small Indian trade at Mount Morris. He opened the first store, and started the first blacksmith shop. He left Geneseo soon after the war of 1812; his descendants reside in the neighborhood of Rochester. The first physician was Dr. Paul Newcomb. Colonel Jedediah Horsford, the present M. C. from Livingston, was an early teacher of a missionary school at Squaky Hill, and an early landlord at Moscow. Joel Harvey was an early tavern keeper a little west of Old Leicester.

The first town meeting in Leicester, was held at the house of Joseph Smith. John J. Jones was elected Supervisor; George A. Wheeler, Town Clerk. Other town officers:—Samuel Ewing, Alpheus Harris, Dennison Foster, Abel Cleavland, Samuel Hascall, George Gardner, Wm. A. Mills, Joel Harvey, David Dickinson, James Dale.

One hundred dollars was raised to pay "bounty on wolves and wild cats, killed by white people."

By a resolution of a special town meeting, in 1803, town of Angelica was set off from Leicester.

The village of Moscow was started just after the close of the war of 1812, under the auspices of the late Samuel M. Hopkins, who in company with Benjamin W. Rogers, had purchased three fourths of the original Jones and Smith's Indian grant, of Isaac Bronson. Hopkins built the fine residence now owned by W. T. Cuyler, between Cuylerville and Moscow. The first merchant was Nicholas Ayrault, late of Rochester; Wm. Robb, William Lyman, and Sherwood and Miller, were early merchants. The early landlords were:—Jessee Wadhams, Wm. T. Jenkins, Homer Sherwood. Early lawyers, other than S. M. Hopkins:—Felix Tracy, John Baldwin, George Miles, recently one the Judges of the Su-

* Name, from Oliver Leicester Phelps.

preme Court, of Michigan. Rev. Mr. Mason founded the first Presbyterian church. An Academy was founded principally under the auspices of Mr. Hopkins, in 1817; the first Principal was Ogden M. Willey; his assistants, the Miss Raymonds, one of whom became the wife of the Rev. Calvin C. Colton, the author of the life of Henry Clay, then a settled Presbyterian minister, at Batavia. The early physicians were:—Asa R. Palmer, J. W. Montross, Daniel H. and Daniel P. Bissell.

Cuylerville sprung up after the completion of the Genesee Valley Canal. W. T. Cuyler, who was an early citizen of Rochester, purchased the Hopkins house and farm, of Richard Post, a son of the late Dr. Post, of New York, in 1830. The village has grown up on or near the site of the old Indian village of Beardstown, where the road from Perry and Warsaw crosses the canal. Mr. Cuyler started the first forwarding and commission house; the early merchants were:—Odell and Evans, and Joseph Wheelock.

From Ebenezer Allan, the Mt. Morris tract, of four square miles, went into the hands of Robert Morris, and afterwards his son Thomas became a joint owner with others. Col. John Trumbull, of Revolutionary memory, the celebrated artist, was one of the early proprietors. He visited the country, and selected for his residence, the site, in the present village, now occupied by George Hastings, Esq.; planted an orchard, and made some preparations for building. The name, which had been "Allan's Hill," he changed to "Richmond Hill." Afterwards, when he had abandoned the idea of making it his residence, the name was changed to Mt. Morris. The early proprietors of the tract, other than those named, were:—Mr. Fitzsimmons, of Philadelphia, Charles Williamson, Robert Troup, the Messrs. Wadsworths, John Murray* & Sons, of New York, (of which firm Wm. Ogden was a partner,) Benj. W. Rodgers, Isaac Bronson, Gen. Mills, and Jesse Stanley, were the prominent pioneers of settlement. Deacon Stanley was from Goshen, Conn., his residence was the site now occupied by James Bond. He died in 1846, aged 90 years; he was the father of Oliver Stanley, of Mt. Morris. The village has grown up principally on the lands of Messrs. Mills, Stanley, and Mark Hopkins, a brother of Samuel M.

* John B. Murray, of Mt. Morris, is the grandson of John Murray, the early proprietor at Mt. Morris, and owner of the township, now Ogden.

Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins came on as agent for owners, soon after the tract was opened for sale. He died soon after 1820.

VALLEY OF THE CANASCraga.

Following the tract of Mr. Williamson when he broke in from Pennsylvania and made a commencement at Williamsburg, settlers soon began to drop into the valley of the Canascraga. In Groveland, other than at Williamsburg, John Smith was the Pioneer. He was from New Jersey, a surveyor in the employ of Mr. Williamson. He purchased a mile square, upon which he resided until his death in 1817. Benjamin Parker, a step son of John Smith, John Harrison, William and Thomas Leinen, William and Daniel Kelley, James Roseborough, were among the earliest. Smith in '99, built a mill between Hornellsville and Arkport, and as early as 1800 took lumber from it to the Baltimore market. Michael Roup was an early Pioneer upon the up lands in Groveland, with his son Christain Roup. He died during the war of 1812; Michael Roup, of Groveland is his son. The early minister that visited the neighborhood was the Rev. Mr. Gray; the first school taught was by Robert M'Kay, in one of the houses that the Germans had deserted.

The early Pioneers of Sparta, on the Canascraga, between Mount Morris and Dansville, were:—J. Duncan, John Clark, Thomas Ward, Wm. McCartney, Henry Driesback, Benjamin Wilcox, Geo. Wilkenson, Rev. Andrew Grey, John McNair.

In Groveland, other than those named in another connection:—Samuel Nibleck, (Nibleck's Hill,) William Martin, Samuel Stilwell, John Vance, ——— Doty, ——— Ewart.

In reference to all the upper valley of the Canascraga, Dansville was the prominent pioneer locality, as it is now the focus of business and enterprise. The Pioneer in the town of Sparta, near the present village of Dansville, was Hugh McCartney, who had accompanied Mr. Williamson from Scotland, and of whom, the author has no account other than the fact of his early advent. Upon the site of the village of Dansville, Neil McCoy, was the first settler. He came from Painted Post, and located where his step-son, James McCurdy, who came in with him, now resides. The family were four days in

making the journey from Painted Post, camping out two nights on the way. The only tenement they found, was a small hut built for surveyors, where Conrad Welch now resides on Ossian street. At this time there was no white inhabitant in what is now the town of Dansville. Preparing logs for a house 14 by 18 feet, help to raise it came from Bath, Geneseo and Mount Morris, with Indians from Squaky Hill and Gardeau. It is mentioned by Mr. McCurdy, in some reminiscences he contributed several years since to a local history of Dansville,* from which the author derives many facts to add to what he has gleaned from other sources, that his mother, Mrs. McCoy, the first season heard of the arrival of Judge Hurlburt's family at Arkport, on the Canisteo, eleven miles distant, and as an act of backwoods courtesy, resolved upon making the first call. Taking her son (McCurdy) with her, she made the visit through the woods by marked trees, dined with her new neighbors, and returned in time to do her milking, after a walk, going and coming of twenty-two miles! During the first winter they needed no hay for their stock, the rushes upon the Canaseraga flats furnishing a substitute, upon which their cattle would thrive. The Indians belonging in the villages along the Genesee river, were almost constantly encamped on the flats of the Canaseraga, as high up as Dansville, principally engaged in hunting, though they cultivated small patches of ground. Their venison and corn was a part of the subsistence of the new settlers.

Mr. McCoy died in 1809, childless; his representative, and the occupant of his primitive locality, is James McCurdy Esq., his step son.

The venerable Amariah Hammond, for a long period a patriarch of the settlement and village of Dansville, after living to see a young and flourishing city grow up in the wilderness, where he so early cast his lot, died in the winter of '50, '51. His large farm, is immediately adjoining the village, on the main road to Geneseo. Daughters of his, became the wives of L. Bradner, Esq., and Dr. James Faulkner, both of whom are prominently identified with the locality. L. C. Woodruff, Esq., formerly of Lockport, graduating in his youth from a printing office, and now the principal active manager of the Bank of Dansville, a sound and flourishing institution, married the daughter of Mr. Bradner, the grand-daughter of

* "Miniature of Dansville," by J. W. Clark.

the early and much respected Pioneer. The first wife of Mr. Hammond died in 1798. "She had," says Mr. M'Curdy, "endeared herself to all of us by her many virtues. When she died, all wept who had hearts and eyes."

The author of the small local history already named, states that Mr. Hammond on coming in to explore, slept two nights under a pine tree on the premises he afterwards purchased. Early in the spring of 1796, "he removed his young family from Bath to this place; his wife and infant child on horseback, his household goods and farming utensils on a sled drawn by four oxen, and a hired man driving the cattle." Some difficulty occurring in getting the cattle through the woods, Mr. Hammond after arriving at his log cabin, went back upon his track, and remained in the woods all night, leaving his young wife with her infant child to spend the first night alone. Mr. Hammond among other instances of the embarrassments of pioneer life, that he used to relate, said that the first scythes he used, cost him a journey to Tioga Point. Two scythes and the journey costing him eleven dollars.

In relating to his London principals the progress of settlement, Mr. Williamson says:—"I sold also on six years credit, the west half of township No. 6, 6th range," (this includes a large portion of the site of Dansville,) to a Mr. Fitzgerald, at \$1 50 per acre. He sold the land to gentlemen in Pennsylvania for a large profit. The purchasers were, a Mr. Wilson, one of the Judges of Northumberland co., a Mr. C. Hall, a counsellor at law in Pennsylvania, a Mr. Dunn, and a Mr. Faulkner. These gentlemen have carried on the settlement with much spirit, and Mr. Faulkner is at the head of it. They have a neat town, a company of militia, two saw mills and a grist mill, and indeed, every convenience. Mr. Faulkner, although he came from Pennsylvania, was originally from the State of New York, north from Albany. This winter he went down to see his father and other connections; the consequence was, that he moved

NOTE.—In "Descriptions of the Genesee country," written by Mr. Williamson, in 1795, he remarks:—"Of those settlements begun in 1796, there are two worthy of notice, that of the Rev. Mr. Gray, in T. 4, 7th Range, who removed from Pennsylvania with a respectable part of his former parish, and a Mr. Daniel Faulkner, with a Jersey settlement, on the head of Canaseraga creek; both of them exhibit instances of industry and enterprise. The ensuing season, Mr. Faulkner being appointed captain of a company of grenadiers to be raised in his settlement, at the organization of the militia of Steuben, appeared on parade at the head of 27 grenadiers, all in a handsome uniform, and well armed, and composed solely of the young men of his settlement."

up about fifteen very decent families, who passed through Albany with excellent teams, every way well equipped. He sold to some very wealthy and respectable men of Albany, 5,000 acres at a large profit." The Captain Faulkner, who Mr. Williamson names, was Daniel P. Faulkner, an early patroon of Dansville, as will be inferred. "Capt. *Dan.* Faulkner," was his familiar backwoods appellation, and thence the name — *Dans-ville*." He was the uncle of Dr. James Faulkner.

Soon after settlement commenced, Mr. Williamson had erected a grist and saw mill, on the site afterwards occupied by Col. Rochester. David Scholl, who was Mr. Williamson's mill-wright at the Lyons mills, erected the mills. The early mill-wright of the Genesee country, emigrated many years since to Michigan. Mrs. Solomon and Mrs. Isaac Fentztermacher, of Dansville, are his daughters. The mill was burned down soon after 1800, after which, before rebuilding, the neighborhood had to go to Besley's mills at the foot of Hemlock Lake.

Jacob Welch came from Pennsylvania to Dansville, in 1798. He died in 1831. His widow still survives, aged 86 years. His sons, Jacob, Henry and Conrad, are residents of Dansville. His daughters became the wives of John Beltz, Peter Labach, William Kercher, and Valentine Hamsher. The descendants of Jacob Welch, residents of Dansville and its vicinity, number over one hundred and thirty. The part of his farm inherited by his son Conrad Welch, embraces the Dansville canal slip and basin. Mr. Conrad Welch, a prominent and worthy citizen of Dansville, gave the author some account of the early advent of his father, and others:— "My grand-father, Jacob Martz, resided near Sunbury, Northumberland county, Pa. The advent of Charles Williamson through that region, his road, and all that was going on under his auspices, created a good deal of interest for the Genesee country. Jacob Martz came out and viewed it, and returning, reported so favorably, that an emigrant party was soon organized. It consisted of Jacob Martz, his son Conrad Martz, George Shirey, Frederick Barnhart and Jacob Welch, and their families. The party came via Bath, and up the Conhoecton. From what afterwards became Blood's corners, the emigrants had their own road to make through to Dansville. A winding road had been underbrushed, but no streams bridged, and high winds had encumbered it with fallen trees

They were three days coming in from Bath, camping out two nights. Hearing of our approach, the new settlers in Dansville nearly all turned out, met and assisted us. Prominent of the party was Mr. Faulkner, who was alway ready to assist new settlers by such acts of kindness. Occupying an old deserted hut, and quartering ourselves upon the settlers in their log cabins, we got through the winter, and in the spring erected log cabins for ourselves. When we arrived, Samuel Faulkner had opened a small framed tavern, near where Mr. Bradner's store now is. In addition to the Faulkners, Hammond, and M'Coy, there was here when we arrived, Wm. Phenix, James Logan, David Scholl, John Vandeventer,* the father-in-law of Esq. Hammond, Jared Erwin, Wm. Perrine. There was three or four families along on the road to Williamsburg."

"There had been, where Dansville now is, a pretty large Indian settlement, fifteen or twenty huts were standing when white settlement commenced, and several Indian families lingered for several years in the neighborhood."

"Game was very abundant; the new settlers could kill deer about when they pleased. After yarding their sheep, they would often have to go out and scare the wolves off. In cold winter nights, the wolves would set up a terrific howl in all the surrounding forests. They attacked cattle: in one instance, they killed a cow of my grand-father Martz. Steel traps, dead falls and pits, were put in requisition, and soon thinned them out. There was fine fishing in the streams. Mill Creek, especially, was a fine trout stream. Pigeons were so abundant, that almost uniformly, newly sowed fields had to be watched almost constantly."

* A brother of Isaac Vandeventer, the early settler on Buffalo road west of Clarence Hollow.

NOTE.—The author copies from the manuscripts of W. H. C. Hosmer, Esq., the following account of an "ancient grave at Dansville:"—

"Before the Revolution, according to Indian tradition, a battle took place on a hill a few miles distant from the village of Dansville, between the Canistota Indians and those living on the 'Ga-nose-ga-go,' [Canaseraga] Creek. A chief of the latter, of great renown, was slain, and buried with great pomp by his tribesmen. When the whites first settled here, the spot where he fell was marked by a large hole dug in the shape of a man prostrate, with his arms extended. An Indian trail led by the place, and the passing red man was accustomed to clear away the dry leaves and brush blown in by the winds. The chief was interred in an old burial place near the present site of the Lutheran Church in the village of Dansville. The ground was formerly covered with graves to the extent of two or three acres. His monument consisted of a large pile of small stones, gathered from time to time by the natives, from a hill, a mile distant; passing, they would add to the heap, by tossing on it, after the manner of the ancient Caledonians, their rude tributes of affection."

The primitive settlers of Dansville were mostly Lutherans, or Dutch Reformed. The first meetings were held from house to house; Frederick Barnhart or Adam Miller, usually taking the lead. The Rev. Mr. Markle, a Lutheran preacher from Geneva, occasionally visited the place, as did Elder Gray. The first located minister, was the Rev. Mr. Pratt. The Rev. — Hubbard, a son-in-law of Moses Van Campen, was an early settled minister. He was the father of John Hubbard, of Oswego.

Jonathan Rowley was an early landlord in Dansville; he erected for a tavern the first brick house in the village. He died in 1830, childless; the only representative of the family, residing in Dansville, is a niece of Mr. Rowley, the wife of Samuel W. Smith.

William Perrine, has been before named as one of the primitive class of Pioneers, died in 1847, at the advanced age of 93 years. He was a soldier of the Revolution in the Pennsylvania line. His son, Peter Perrine, occupies the farm on which his father originally settled, near the village. William Perrine, of South Dansville, and Robert Perrine, of West Sparta, are also sons of the early Pioneer. Mrs. Robert Thompson, of Dansville, is a daughter of his.

Harman Hartman was one of the earliest of the Pennsylvania emigrants. His descendants are numerous, residing principally in Dansville and its vicinity.

Hugh McCurdy, Esq., in a statement made for the author of the published reminiscences of Dansville, already alluded to, says: — "The first tanner and currier was Israel Vandeventer; the first blacksmith, James Porter; the first marriage was that of Wm. McCartney to Mary McCurdy; our first school was taught by Thomas MacLain; the first established preacher and founder of a church among us, was the Rev. Andrew Gray; the first Justice of the peace was Dr. James Faulkner, (uncle to the present Dr. James Faulkner); the first Supervisor was Amariah Hammond; the first death was that of Captain Nathaniel Porter; the first P. M. was Israel Irwin; the first merchant goods were brought in by Captain Daniel P. Faulkner; the next merchant, Jared Erwin. He died of the prevailing fever during the war of 1812; his widow became the wife of Col. James M'Burney; Mrs. Gansevoort, of Bath, is his daughter."

Joshua Shepherd, L. Bradner and S. W. Smith, were early and

prominent merchants of Dansville. Mr. Shepherd died in 1829; Mr. Bradner is the President of the Bank of Dansville; Mr. Smith is a son of the early landlord on the main road from Avon to Caledonia.

Pioneer settlers of Dansville, other than those named:—Nathaniel Porter, John Haas, Thomas McWhorter, Samuel Shannon, James Harrison, Daniel Hamsher, Mathew Dorr, Oliver Warren, a nephew of Dr. Warren, of Revolutionary memory.

Col. Nathaniel Rochester became a resident of Dansville in 1810, purchasing a large tract of land, which includes the greater portion of the water power now within the limits of the corporation. The old Williamson mills were embraced in his purchase. He added to the mills, a paper mill, the pioneer establishment in that line, in all western New York.* In 1815, Col. Rochester sold his land, mills, and water power, to the Rev. Christian Endress from the borough of Easton, Pa., and Mr. Jacob Opp, from Northampton Co., Pa. Mr. Endress resided in Dansville but a year, when he returned, and resumed the charge of a German Lutheran congregation in Easton. He died in Lancaster, Pa., in 1827. His interest in Dansville was purchased by Dr. James Faulkner. Judge Endress and Dr. Endress, of Dansville, are his sons. Mr. Opp died in Dansville, in 1847, aged 84 years. Henry B. Opp, of Dansville, is his son.

North Dansville, in which is the site of Dansville village, was in the county of Steuben, until 1822, when it was attached to the town of Sparta, Livingston county. In 1846, the old town of Sparta was divided into three towns—of which the town of North Dansville, three miles square, was one. The town of Dansville, is still in Steuben county.

Although it is one of the pioneer localities, of the Genesee country, and commenced in an early period to be a place of considerable business, Dansville was but little known in the northern portion of western New York, until after the completion of the Genesee Valley Canal; and even now, away from the main eastern and western thoroughfares, as it is, it may well be presumed that this work will fall into the hands of many readers, who have neither

* The pure water at Dansville and fine water power, has invited this branch of manufactures there to a great extent. There were four large paper mills there in 1844, manufacturing over \$100,000 worth of paper per annum.

seen the bustling, prosperous large village, hid away among the southern hills, nor perhaps, read any account of it. For this reason, a brief topographical sketch will be given — a departure from the uniform purpose of the author, in this history of pioneer settlement.

Though some sixteen miles from the Genesee River, it is in fact at the head of the Genesee Valley.* Coming down through the narrow gorges of Allegany and the southern portion of Livingston, the river has but an occasional broad sweep of flats, until it reaches Mt. Morris. The flats of the river are continuous, and mostly of uniform width, from a few miles above Rochester, to Mount Morris, from which point gradually narrowing, they follow the course of the Canaseraga to Dansville, where, after widening out, and gradually rising in beautiful table lands, they come to an abrupt termination, and are hemmed in by hills. The Canaseraga, Mill Creek, and Stony Brook, coming down from the highlands, through narrow gorges, enter the valley and unite mainly within the village limits. The Canaseraga enters the valley through a narrow pass called "Pog's Hole," through which, climbing along a steep acclivity, and then descending to a level with the stream, passes the Hornellsville road. Upon the opposite side of the stream from the road, through the whole length of the narrow pass, is a perpendicular ledge of rocks, an hundred feet in height. Beyond this pass, the valley widens out occasionally, into small areas of intervale, but ranges of highlands rise in near proximity on either hand. The scenery is wild and romantic, at every step reminding the contemplative observer, of the written descriptions of the passes of the Alps. Mill creek making in from another direction, has a rapid descent for a considerable distance, before reaching the valley, furnishing a succession of hydraulic facilities, as does the Canaseraga, where it passes from the highlands, and for a considerable distance below. The aggregate durable water power of both streams, before and after their union, is immense — largely improved now — and equal to any present or prospective requirements.

At the head of the valley, is a succession of promontories, overlooking the town, upon one of which is a rural cemetery, not unlike the Mt. Hope, at the other extremity of the Genesee Valley. Moulder-

* The term "valley" is here used not in its enlarged sense — the term "thrust" would perhaps be better.

ing in its shades, upon its slopes and summits, are all that was earthly of nearly all the Pioneers, who, entering that beautiful valley, when it was a wilderness, laid, amid toil, disease, and privations, the foundation of that busy scene of enterprise, prosperity and happiness. Admonished may their successors and inheritors be, that their spirits may be lingering upon that summit, guardians and watchers, over those to whom they bequeathed so rich an inheritance. Let that elevated city of the dead, be to them a Mount Sinai or an Horeb, from which to catch, as if by inspiration, a moiety of the stern resolves, the moral courage, the patriotism, of the Pioneers.


The main street of the town is parallel with, and at the base of an unbroken range of high land, rising to the height of nearly five hundred feet — steep, but yet admitting of cultivation. Cultivated fields and woodlands, rising one above another, form the back ground, or rural landscape; in the foreground are gentle offsets, or table lands, at the termination of which, the Canaseraga winds along the base of another similar hill, or mountain range: to the left are the headlands, that have been named, and to the right, the Canaseraga, winding along between the two ranges of highlands, flows to mingle its waters with the Genesee, at Mount Morris.

The Genesee Valley Canal, terminates a half mile from main street, where it is fed from Mill creek, and a mile below, at Woodville, receives the waters of the Canaseraga. The canal terminating too far from the central business locality of the town, individual enterprise has supplied a side cut, or slip which remedies the inconvenience.

In reference to the whole scenery of the southern portion of the Genesee country, the upper vallies of the Genesee, the Canaseraga, the Allegany, the Cattaraugus, the Conhocton, and the Canisteo, it may here be remarked, that the traveller or tourist of what Mr. Williamson called the "northern plains," who breaks out for a summer excursion to the east, the north or the west, may be told that a day's journey to the south, will bring him to a region of hill and valley, rivers and creeks, mountains and rivulets, cultivated fields and wild woodlands, which should satisfy any reasonable desire for the romantic and picturesque. And if health is the object of his summer wanderings, no where can he breathe "freer and deeper," of a pure and invigorating atmosphere — or drink from purer springs and streams, — than in all our local southern region.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH.

He was of a family, the name and services of which are intimately blended with the history of the stirring events of the Revolution in the colony of Maryland. The father, Col. William Fitzhugh, held the commission of Colonel in the British army, retired upon half pay, when the troubles between the colonies and the mother country commenced. He resided at the mouth of the Patuxent, where he had a large estate, a farm, mills and manufactories. Exercising an unusual share of influence with his fellow citizens, the British colonial Governor made him the extraordinary offer of a continuance of his rank and half pay, and the quiet possession of his property if he would remain a neutral in the contest. Though an invalid, by reason of physical infirmities, he rejected the overture, surrendered his commission — (or rather left it upon the Governor's table when he refused to receive it) — encouraged his two sons to take commissions in the "rebel" army, taking himself a seat in the Executive council of Maryland, to assist in devising ways and means for his country's deliverance. His fine estate, easy of access from its locality, was of course doomed to pillage and the torch. In the absence of the father and sons, a small British party landed, but resistance came from an unexpected source. The Revolutionary wife and mother, Mrs. Fitzhugh, armed the slaves upon the estate, and carrying herself cartridges in her apron, went out to meet the invaders, and intimidated them to a hasty retreat. It was however, but a warding off of destiny for a brief season. A stronger party came and ruthlessly executed their mission, the family fleeing to an asylum fifty miles up the river where it remained until the contest ended.*

The son, Col. Peregrine Fitzhugh, was first commissioned in a corps of light horse, but in a later period of the war was enrolled in the military family of Washington.  See Nodus. William, the more immediate subject of this brief sketch, served as a Colonel in a division of cavalry, and after the war, was a member of the Maryland Legislature. Previous to 1800 Col. Peregrine Fitzhugh had made the acquaintance of Mr. Williamson, and had visited the

* Principally from Mrs. Ellet's "Women of the Revolution."

Genesee Country. When Col. William Fitzhugh first visited the country in 1800 in company with Col. Nathaniel Rochester, Major Charles Carroll, and several others, he brought a letter of introduction to Mr. Williamson from his brother, for himself and Col. Rochester; Major Carroll as would seem from the reading of the letter, having previously known him. During this visit, in addition to a third interest in the "100 acre Tract" at the Falls of the Genesee, purchased in company with Messrs. Rochester and Carroll, jointly with Mr. Carroll he purchased on the Canaseraga, in Groveland and Sparta, 12,000 acres of Mr. Williamson, paying \$209 per acre.* Their tract embraced the old site of Williamsburg, Mr. Williamson having abandoned his enterprise of forming a town there after the failure with his German colony. Leaving their property in the care of an agent, Messrs. Fitzhugh and Carroll did not emigrate with their families until 1816, when a division of the joint purchase was made.

Col. Fitzhugh died in 1839, aged 78 years; his wife, who was the daughter of Col. Daniel Hughes, of Washington county, Md., died in 1829, aged 56 years. The surviving sons and daughters are:—Wm. H. Fitzhugh, residing upon the old homestead in Maryland; Dr. D. H. Fitzhugh, residing upon the Canaseraga four miles from Mt. Morris; James Fitzhugh, in Ohio county, Ky.; Richard P. Fitzhugh, on the Canaseraga near his brother Daniel; Henry Fitzhugh, in Oswego; Mrs. Dr. Frederick F. Backus, of Rochester; Mrs. James G. Birney, of Kentucky; Mrs. Gerrit Smith of Peterboro; Mrs. John T. Talman, of Rochester; Mrs. Lieut. J. W. Swift, of the U. S. Navy, residing at Geneva. A son, Judge Samuel

* Their tract was principally up lands; a strange choice it was thought at the time, when they were offered the Mt. Morris tract, with its beautiful sweeps of flats, at \$3.00 per acre. But they had come from a region where timber was scarce, and they had learned to appreciate its value and with reference to intrinsic relative value of soil; time, and improved systems of cultivation are fast demonstrating that their choice of lands was far less injudicious than it used to be considered. The late Major Spencer told the author that the up lands upon his fine farm were worth as much per acre as his flats.

NOTE.—The Shaker settlement at the junction of the Kishaqua creek with the Canaseraga a few miles above Mt. Morris, where the Genesee Valley canal enters the valley of the Canaseraga, is a part of the original Fitzhugh and Carroll tract. The society purchased of Dr. Fitzhugh, a few years since, 1700 acres, for which they paid \$92,000; and to which they have added several hundred acres. Their organization is after the manner of the societies at Niskayuna and New Lebanon; they are enterprising and prosperous; themselves and their beautiful location one of the many objects of interest in the southern portion of our local region.

Fitzhugh, residing at Mt. Morris, died in 1849; and a younger son, Robert, died in Groveland, in 1836. There are over 80 descendants of Col. Wm. Fitzhugh.

CHARLES CARROLL.

His connection with Messrs. Rochester and Fitzhugh, and his advent to this region with them in 1800, will have been noticed. He had previously in the year 1798, with a brother, Daniel Carroll, been here upon a tour of exploration. They came via the Susquehannah route, with pack mules, made a general survey of the country, were pleased with it, but made no investments as will be observed, until 1800. Their residence in Maryland was at Beloeue, near Hagerstown; the earlier home of the family had been upon the site of the city of Washington; the capital of the United States, now occupies a portion of the estate of their father, Charles Carroll, who was a cousin of "Charles Carroll of Carrollton."

The author has little of the history of Major Carroll, disconnected with that of his associates, Messrs. Rochester and Fitzhugh. He died at his residence in Groveland, in 1837, aged 60 years. His living sons are:—Charles Carroll, the occupant of the homestead, recently the representative in Congress of the Livingston and Ontario district, and a State Senator; Dr. Daniel J. Carrol of New York; William T. Carroll, a clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States. Daughters became the wives of Henry Fitzhugh, of Oswego; Moses Tabbs, of Washington, D. C.; Dr. Hardage Lane of St. Louis. The eldest son was the private Secretary of Mr. Clay, at Ghent; becoming soon after the clerk of his father, who held the office of Receiver at Franklin, Missouri, he was killed in an affray which occurred in that town.

There came to the Genesee country with Messrs. Fitzhugh, Rochester and Carroll, or at about the same time, Col. Jonas Hogmire, of Washington county, Md., Wm. Beal, and John Wilson, of Frederick county. Col. Hogmire purchased of Mr. Wadsworth, on the river, in Avon, 1500 acres of land, upon which his sons Con-

rad and Samuel Hogmire now reside. The father never emigrated. Messrs. Beal and Wilson purchased a large tract on the Canascraga, in Sparta.

AVON.

Gilbert R. Berry, was the first permanent settler in what is now Avon.* He was from Albany. He married the daughter of the early Indian trader, Wemple, who has been named in connection with the Rev. Mr. Kirkland. Engaging in the Indian trade, he located first at Geneva, and in 1789, removed to the Genesee river, erected a log house on the west side of the river, near the present bridge, opened a trade with the Indian village of Canawaugus, established a ferry, and entertained the few travellers that passed through on the old Niagara trail. He died in '96 or '7, and was succeeded by his widow. The Holland Purchase being opened for settlement soon afterwards, the "Widow Berry's" tavern was widely known in all early years, west of the river; and besides furnishing a comfortable resting place for early Pioneers, in her primitive tavern, some of the best wives and mothers of the Genesee country, were reared and fitted for the duties of life. Her daughters became the wives of Geo. Hosmer, Esq., of Avon, E. Clark Hickox, the early merchant of Batavia and Buffalo, John Mastick, Esq., the Pioneer lawyer of Rochester, and George A. Tiffany, whose father was one of the early printers of Canandaigua.

Capt. John Ganson, was the pioneer settler following Mr. Berry. Holding a commission in the Revolutionary war, he had accompanied

* This is assumed from the best information the author has been able to obtain. William Rice was at Avon in the same year, and must have settled there soon after Mr. Berry. Morgan and William Desha, were upon the "Desha Flats," as early as 1789, claiming under an Indian grant; but the title failing, they removed to Canada. There were there in that year, besides, several heads of families, who are supposed not to have been permanent settlers. The son of the Wm. Rice named above, was the first born upon the Phelps and Gorham's Purchase. He was named "Oliver Phelps Rice." Judge Phelps gave him an 100 acres of land in Livonia, which he occupied when he became of age. Mrs. Rice was a good specimen of the strong minded, energetic women, who were the Pioneer mothers of this region. Skilled as a midwife and nurse, she went from settlement to settlement, and from log cabin to log cabin, often supplying the place of a physician. Her many acts of kindness are gratefully remembered by the early Pioneers. Mrs. Gould of Lima, and Mrs. Rhodes of Genesee, are her daughters.

the expedition of Gen. Sullivan. Before the treaty was concluded, in 1788, he revisited the country, and selected a fine tract of land on the river, about two miles below Avon. His sons John and James wintered in a cabin in 1788, '9, upon the premises: and the father and family came on in the fall of 1789. During the following winter they erected a rude "tub mill" on the small stream that puts into the river on the Markham farm. It was a small log building: no boards could be had; the curb was made of hewed plank: the spindle was made by straightening out a section of a cart tire; the stones were roughly carved out of native rock. There was no bolt, the substitute being hand sieves, made of splints. It was a rude, primitive concern; but it would mash the corn a little better than a wooden mortar and pestle; and was quite an acquisition to the country. It preceded the Allan mill a few months, and if we shall call it a mill, it was the first in the Genesee Valley. The buckwheat that has been mentioned, produced upon Boughton Hill, was ground or mashed in it, having been carried there twenty miles through the woods, by Jared Boughton, in the fall of 1789; and the producer, and mill boy (or man) lives to eat buckwheat cakes, now in the winter of 1850, '51. Borrowing the language of Shakspeare, and applying it to this one of the few survivors of that early period, may

"Good digestion wait on appetite,
And health on both."

Capt. Ganson had claimed title either under the Indian grant, or under the Lessees, which failed, and Col. Wm. Markham became his successor. He resided for several years afterwards, four miles east of Avon, on the main road. As early as 1788, about the period of the commencement of surveys upon the Holland Purchase, Capt. Ganson, had pushed on to the west side of the river, and purchased the pioneer tavern stand of Charles Wilbur, on the then verge of civilization, one mile east of the present village of Le Roy. In this location he was widely known in early years. His house was the home of early land agents, surveyors, explorers and pioneer settlers. He was both loved and feared by the Indians; they came to him for counsel and advice; and when they became turbulent in their drunken frolics and threatened outrage, he would quell them by his determined will, or with his strong arm. He was even ultra in his Revolutionary principles. When he came upon the river, he and the Butler Rangers—the tories of the Revolution, were far from

being agreeable neighbors; he was impatient to see the last of them on their way to Canada.

Township 10, R. 7, (Avon,) was sold by Mr. Phelps to "Wadsworth, Lewis & Co." Those interested in the purchase, were:—William Wadsworth, of Farmington, Conn., (a cousin of James and William,) — Wells of Hartford, Isaiah Thompson, Timothy Hosmer, and — Lewis. The price paid was 1s 6d, N. E. currency per acre; "a high price at the period, in consequence of the large amount of open flats." Dr. Hosmer, and Thompson, were the only ones of the proprietors who became residents. Major Thompson, who had not brought his family, died the first season, of billious fever. His son Charles afterwards became a resident, and died in Avon, many years since. Mrs. Tompkins, of Batavia is a granddaughter of Major Thompson.

Dr. Timothy Hosmer was a native of West Hartford, Conn. With a little more than an ordinary academical education, he became a student of medicine with Dr. Dickinson, of Middleton. But recently settled in practice in Farmington, at the breaking out of the Revolution, he entered the service of the colonies, as a surgeon, in the Connecticut line. Serving in that capacity through the eventful crisis, he retired, happy in the recollection of its glorious result, but like most of those who had achieved it, poor and penniless, a growing family dependent on his professional services for support. In the army he had acquired a high reputation in his profession; especially for his successful treatment of the small pox, at Danbury, where an army hospital had been established for patients. The discovery of Jenner, having been but recently promulgated in Europe, its efficacy was a mooted question; with a professional boldness which was characteristic of the man, he espoused the new discovery, and used it with great success. His mate, in the army, was Dr. Eustis, afterwards Secretary of War.

Personally acquainted with Mr. Phelps, and hearing of his purchase in the Genesee country, partly from a love of adventure and

NOTE.—James and John Ganson, the sons, were early landlords at Le Roy and Stamford. Mrs. Warren residing near Lockport, is a daughter. James Ganson is still living, a resident of Jackson, Michigan; his sons, are John S. Ganson, of Buffalo, President of the Bank of Attica; Joseph Ganson, a merchant of Brockport, Hiram, Cornelius and Corneil, residents of Michigan, and another son resides in Milwaukee. The sons of John Ganson, are Dr. Holton Ganson of Batavia; John Ganson, an Attorney in Buffalo; and James Ganson, Cashier of the Marine Bank of Buffalo.

new enterprise, and partly to escape from a large practice that was requiring too much of constant toil, in 1790, he visited this region in company with Major Thompson, with whom, for themselves and associates, he made the purchase of a township. Spending the summer of '90 in Avon; in '91 he brought on his two sons, Frederick and Sydney; erecting a log house, the first dwelling on the present site of Avon, where Mr. Merrill's house now stands. His whole family joined him in 1792. Coming into the wilderness, with other objects in view, he was forced by necessity — by the absence of others of his profession, to engage in practice, which he continued until relieved by others. Among the old pioneers who in those primitive days, were in detached settlements throughout a wide range, you will hear him spoken of; and especially do they remember his disregard of fatigue, his long, night, wood's rides, prompted more by a spirit of benevolence than professional gain; his good humor, and the kind words he always had to cheer the despairing settler, who was wrestling with disease, or the hardships of pioneer life. The Indians early learned to appreciate his professional skill, and personal good offices. They named him "At-ta-gus," the healer of disease. In a period of doubt as to their relations with the new settlers, he helped to reconcile them and avert a threatened danger.

When Ontario was organized he became one of its Judges, and succeeded Mr. Phelps as first Judge, which office he held until he was sixty years of age, the constitutional limitation. He possessed naturally a fine literary taste; and his well selected library was an anomaly in the backwoods. In his correspondence with Messrs. Wadsworth and Williamson, which the author has perused, there are indications of the scholar, the poet,* and always, of ardent, enlightened patriotism.

He died in November, 1815, aged 70 years. His surviving sons,

* His early poetic effusions may be found in the files of the old Connecticut Courant. In a letter to James Wadsworth, intended to reach him on the eve of his departure from New York to Europe, after wishing him "a happy and prosperous voyage," he congratulates him on the "pleasing prospect," then "opening to the cause of freedom," and adds:—"May the resplendent day of Liberty pervade the universe, and enlighten every region where man is found. It has ever been my opinion that the spirit of freedom, which was kindled in Boston, in 1775, and spread with great rapidity throughout the United States, would not be circumscribed in its limits by the shores of the Atlantic. The men of reflection, in Europe, find that the extensive territory of the United States, can be governed with the greatest facility, and with a degree of happiness, unknown to eastern countries, without the pompous nothing, called a King, the dissipated paganism of a heathenish court, or the enormity of a vast but unpopulated by millions; and it is therefore not a matter of surprise, to see France, whose armies

most of whom came to the country as junior pioneers, are William T., of Meadville, Pa.; George, of Avon, who in early years occupied a conspicuous position at the bar of W. N. York, the father of Wm. H. C. Hosmer, the author of "Yonnondio," "Themes of Song," and other poems; who is justly entitled to the position that has been awarded him in the front rank of American scholars and poets. Geo. Hosmer pursued his early studies under the tuition of the Rev. Ebenezer Johnson of Lima; in 1799 entered the law office of the Hon. Nathaniel W. Howell, as a student; and in 1802 was admitted to practice, opening his office in Avon, then the only lawyer west of Canandaigua. In the war of 1812 he was upon the frontier as the aid of Gen. Hall. He is now 69 years of age. Timothy, the early and widely known landlord at Avon, resides at the Four Mile creek, near Fort Niagara; Sylvester, in Caledonia; Albert in Hartland, Niagara co. An only daughter of Judge Hosmer is the wife of the Rev. Flavel F. Bliss, of Churchville. Frederick Hosmer, deceased, was a son of Judge Hosmer; he was the first merchant at Avon; another son, A. Sydney Hosmer, was long known as a tavern keeper at Le Roy; he emigrated to Wisconsin, where he died in 1835.

Colonel William Markham, who had first settled at Bloomfield, moved to Avon in 1790. In Bloomfield he had purchased an hundred acres of land, and paid for it with the proceeds of one acre of potatoes. With the proceeds of that land, he purchased and paid for the fine farm on the river, now owned by his son, Guy Markham, which has rented for \$1,000 per year. He became a useful, public spirited citizen, and his name is mingled with the reminiscences of the town, in all early years. He died in 1827, or '8. His surviving sons are: Guy and Ira, of Rush, Wayne, on Ridge Road, near Clarkson, Vint, in Michigan. Daughters: — Mrs. Whitney, Michigan; Mrs. Boughton and Mrs. Dr. Socrates Smith, of Rush.

Gad Wadsworth was a distant connexion of James and William, and came in with them, in their primitive advent in 1790, in care, personally, of the stock. James and William having become, by purchase from first hands, land proprietors in Avon, he settled

have fought the battle of Independence, in America, victorious over the minions of despots. And if I may be allowed the privilege of a prediction, I shall have but little hesitation in pronouncing, that the extirpation of tyrants and tyranny from Europe, is but a small remove from the present era."

there in 1792, his farm being what are now the farms of his son, Henry Wadsworth, and Asa Nowlen, upon which are the Avon springs. He died soon after 1820, nearly 80 years old. Another son of his, Richard, inhabited that part of the farm upon which the springs are situated, and sold to Mr. Nowlen. He emigrated to Sandusky.

Major Isaac Smith was the early and widely known landlord, four miles west of the river, commencing there as early as 1800. Under his roof, a large proportion of the Pioneers west of the river, have found rest and refreshment; and from under it, it may also be added, have come not less than half a dozen excellent wives and mothers. They were:—Mrs. Isaac Sutherland, and Mrs. E. Kimberly, of Batavia, Mrs. John McKay, of Caledonia, Mrs. A. Sidney Hosmer, formerly of Le Roy, Mrs. Faulkner, of Dansville, and Mrs. Sylvester Hosmer, of Caledonia. S. W. Smith, of Dansville, and Nelson Smith, of Michigan, are sons of the early landlord.

The next landlord at Avon, after Gilbert R. Berry, was Nathan Perry. He built a framed house, north side of square, on the site now occupied by the dwelling of Mr. Curtis Hawley. Perry emigrated to the Connecticut Reserve, and was succeeded by Sydney Hosmer, who made additions to the house. In 1806 James Wadsworth built the hotel on the corner, and soon after sold it to Sidney and W. T. Hosmer, after which it was long known as the Hosmer Stand.* During the war, and for many years after, it was kept by Timothy Hosmer. The old landlord and his lady are still alive, the owners and occupants of one of the finest farms, in that region of fine farms, Niagara county. The first school house was a log one, erected a little north of the Episcopal church. Judge Hosmer and the Wadsworths, built saw-mills on the Conesus, as early as 1796. The first meetings were held in the log school house, Judge Hosmer usually reading the Episcopal service. Mr. Crane, an Episcopal clergyman, and Rev. Samuel J. Mills, were early itinerant ministers.

Jehiel Kelsey yet survives, of the early Pioneers of Avon. He has reached his 80th year. The old gentleman speaks familiarly of early events, of the period when not over twenty or twenty-five

* Previous to the sale, however, David Findlay and Joshua Lovejoy were occupants, Lovejoy removed to Buffalo. See account of the massacre of Mrs. Lovejoy, at the destruction of Buffalo, in History of Holland Purchase.

men could be raised in all the Genesee valley, to put a log bridge over Deep Hollow, in the now city of Rochester. In 1798 he brought the first cargo of salt that came from Onondaga, by water, and around the Portage, at Genesee Falls. He paid for each bushel of salt, a pound of pork, and sold his salt at \$10 per barrel. He well remembers seeing companies of surveyors fitting out, and loading their pack horses at Avon, to break into the Holland Purchase.

In 1805, a Library was established at Avon. The trustees were: A. Sidney Hosmer, Job Pierce, Joshua Lovejoy, Jehiel Kelsey, Elkanah Whitney, James Lawrence, Wm. Markham, George Hosmer, Stephen Rodgers.

In 1810, "a number of persons being stated hearers of Rev. John F. Bliss, of Avon," met and organized "Avon Religious Society." Samuel Bliss and Asa Clark presided. Trustees:—John Pierson, George Hosmer, Nathaniel Bancroft, John Brown, Ezekiel Mosely, William Markham.

AVON SPRINGS.

The rapidly increasing celebrity of Avon Springs, as a summer resort for invalids, pleasure parties, and tourists; invited as well by the healing waters, as by charming scenery, the broad, cultivated fields, and beautiful forests, that surround them, will perhaps render some early reminiscences of them not uninteresting:—They were known to the Jesuit Missionaries, and Jonceire, under French dominion, and they recognized their use by the Indians, for medicinal or healing purposes. The Seneca name for them was "Can-a-wau-gus," (fœtid, bad smelling water,) and thence the name of their village, in the immediate neighborhood. When settlement commenced, sixty years since, they were surrounded by a dense cedar marsh. The waters of the springs flowed into a basin or pond, covering a space of several acres, the margin of which, was pure white sand, thrown up by the action of the water. The waters were clear and transparent, and shaded by the dark forest, the spot had a secluded and romantic aspect. It was first noticed as a resort of the wild pigeon. Indian paths were found leading to the spot, from the old Niagara trail, and from the branch trails; and the Indians told the earliest settlers of the efficacy of the waters in cutaneous diseases. At an early period in the settlement of the country, as many will remember, the measles, (as it was called*) was

* If the medical faculty will excuse a non-professor for the introduction of a new name, in their vocabulary, it was the "Genesee itch," to which men as well as animals were subject in this region, when first coming here—endemic in its character—or rather incidental to forest life here. The Jesuit missionaries were afflicted with it.

prevalent among the hogs. It was observed, that when thus afflicted, they would go and wallow in the mud and sulphur water, penetrating the forest apparently for that object. In early years, Miss Wemple, a sister of Mrs. Berry, upon the recommendation of Dr. Hosmer, bathed in and drank the waters, and was relieved; and other similar cases occurred. Soon after the war of 1812, visitors from abroad began to resort to the Springs, and Richard Wadsworth, at the suggestion, and with the aid of George Hosmer, Esq., erected a small bathing establishment, and shower bath. After the purchase of the property by Mr. Nowlen, and the erection of a boarding house by Mr. Houghton, a new impetus was given to improvements; visitors began to increase, from year to year, improvements have been progressive; until sick or well, there is no spot more inviting in western New York. But a pioneer history was only intended.

REMINISCENCES OF GEORGE HOSMER.

Mr. Hosmer confirms the position, that the domestic hog will go back to his native state, soon after he has re-entered a forest life. In early years of settlement, there were droves of hogs, generally roaming over the uplands, along the Genesee river, the immediate progenitors of which had been those domesticated by the Indians, and those brought here by Butler's Rangers. They were wild, as are those now seen by California adventurers in crossing the Isthmus of Panama. They were untamable, and when wanted for pork, or when ravaging badly fenced fields, were hunted and shot like other wild game.

In 1795, Frederick Hosmer, at the instance of Mr. Williamson, went to reside at the mouth of the river. Erecting a log shanty, he kept a few goods to barter with the Indians for furs, and trade with the batteau-men that used to make that a stopping place. George Hosmer was frequently with him. British deserters from Niagara would frequently come down the Lake. Upon one occasion, some deserters were followed by a young Lieutenant and a guard of 8 men in a boat. Arriving at the mouth of the river, and hearing nothing of the refugees, the Lieutenant hunted and fished; lending his fowling piece to two of his soldiers who were going up to the Falls, they too deserted. The Lieutenant pursued them to Orange Stone's, in Brighton, where he heard of them, but they were fleeing to some new settlement in the "land of liberty," so rapidly, that he gave up the chase, and returned to Fort Niagara, minus two of his guard, added to the deserters. The unfortunate Lieutenant was the afterwards Lord Hill of the Peninsular war, the hero at the storming of Badajoz.

Desertion from the then British Fort, Niagara, was frequent as soon as the soldiers knew that there were new settlements in this quarter — places of refuge; — Indians were hired by the British officers to pursue them, and failing to arrest, to shoot them. White hunters, and citizens visiting the Fort,

The French soldiers of De Nonville's army, were attacked with the "rhum." The families of early settlers in some localities, before the forest was cleared away, would be attacked with a cutaneous disease, more inveterate, and otherwise materially differing from the common "itch."

and intending to pass through the wilderness to the eastward, were furnished with a medal, or a token, to show the Indians thus employed, to prevent arrest. "Tuscarora," or "Stiff-armed George," was thus employed, and he was one of the worst specimens of his race; a terror wherever he was known. He shot and scalped several deserters, carrying his trophies to Fort Niagara for reward. Upon one occasion, when George Hosmer was left to take care of the shantee in the absence of his brother Frederick, George demanded rum, which being refused, the Indian pushed him back against a post, and striking at his head with his tomahawk, the blow was averted, making an impression upon the post which evidenced the intention of the revengeful savage. Mr. Hencher and his hired man came to the rescue.*

Ebenezer Allan was rather imposing in his appearance, usually mild and gentlemanly, but he had a bold and determined look; could easily put on the savage character. He had acquired a distaste for civilized life. Mrs. Dugan, his sister, was mild and amiable — somewhat accomplished.

The "On-ta-gua," or Horse Shoe Pond, a mile and a half below Avon village, abounded in fine fish, especially large black bass, in an early day; and it was also the favorite resort of ducks, geese, and other wild water fowl. Speckled trout were plenty in the river, and in all the tributary streams. There was no pickerel, or pike, above the Genesee Falls, until 1810, when William Wadsworth, and some others, caught pickerel in Lake Ontario, and other Lake fish, and put them into Conesus Lake; and pickerel abounded there now; have been taken weighing 20 lbs. As the pickerel came down from the Lake into the Genesee river, the trout disappeared.

The most troublesome wild animals in early days, other than bears and wolves, were the foxes and wild cats preying upon the fowls, pigeons preying upon the newly sowed crops, chipmunks, ravens, hawks, owls, wood chucks, and black squirrels. There were a few turkey buzzards upon the river, and a few turkeys upon the uplands; several panthers were killed. The crow, the grey squirrel, the quail, came in with civilization. New species of birds have been coming in almost yearly. The opossum is a new comer.

LIMA.

Paul Davison, in the summer of 1788,† about the period that Mr. Phelps was negotiating his Indian purchase, in company with his brother-in-law, Jonathan Gould, came from the valley of the Susquehannah, to look out a new home in the Genesee country. Passing

* He finally met his deserts. Enlisting as an ally of the western Indians against Wayne, he was among the killed.

† If the author's informant is correct in the year, this was the first advent of an household west of the Adam's settlement, in Bloomfield.

the last white habitation at Geneva, they pursued the Indian trail to the present town of Lima; where, finding a location to suit them, they erected a cabin and commenced making an opening in the forest. Going to the Indian lands at Canawaugus, they planted and raised a patch of corn and potatoes. Their location was about one mile south of the Indian trail, near the west line of the town. After some improvements upon their cabin, such as the luxury of a bark roof, and a hewed plank floor, and gathering the small crop they had raised upon Indian lands, they returned to the Susquehannah, and in the spring of 1789, Mr. Davison, with his family, consisting of his wife and her mother, and two children, came to make his permanent home in the wilderness. He was accompanied by Asahel Burchard. The family and household implements were conveyed in an ox cart, Mr. Davison and his companion sleeping under the cart, and the family in the cart, during the whole journey. Their route was Sullivan's track, the whole distance from the Susquehannah to where the Indian trail bore off in the direction of Canawaugus. They had bridges to build occasionally, and logs to cut out, before they left the track of Sullivan; after that, they had their own road to make for the greater part of the way to the place of their destination. The journey consumed three weeks. Mr. Davison raised a crop of oats and turnips, the first of any kind raised in Lima; and in that and a few succeeding years, cultivated Indian lands at Canawaugus. For two years, the family pounded all their corn in a stump mortar, getting their first grinding done at the Allan mill. Captain Davison and some of his Pioneer neighbors, took six or seven bushels of corn to Canawaugus, hired an Indian canoe, and took it down to the mill. On their return up the river, their canoe upset, and their meal became wet and unfit for use; a small matter to make a record of, some readers will say, and yet, let them be assured, it was no small matter with those new beginners in the wilderness. In 1790, Mrs. Davison's mother died; it being the second death in the Genesee country after settlement commenced. A daughter of Captain Davison, who became the wife of James Osis, of Perry, Wyoming county, was the first born white female west of Geneva. Captain Davison died in 1804, aged 41 years, after having become a successful farmer, and the owner of a large farm. Mrs. Davison died in 1844, aged 80 years.

Dr. John Miner and Abner Migells, had settled in Lima, in the

summer of 1790; and it is presumed that Mr. Burchard had then brought in his family; as his name, as the head of a family, occurs in the census of that period. He still survives to enjoy the fruits of his early enterprise and life of toil. "He was," says a correspondent of the author, "always a kind and good neighbor, and much esteemed by the early settlers."

Lima was called, in an early period, "Miles' Gore," the fraction of a township having been purchased in the name of Abner Miles, or Abner Migells, as the author finds it on some of the early records. According to the recollections of William Hencher, he must have left Lima soon after settlement commenced there; as he was early engaged with his father in trading trips to Canada, and erected a public house at Toronto in the earliest years of settlement there.

The brothers, Asahel and Matthew Warner, Miles Bristol, and others, who were early and prominent Pioneers in Lima, the author hopes to be able to speak of in another connection. At present, he has not the necessary datas.

Reuben F. Thayer must have settled in Lima before the close of 1790. The venerable Judge Hopkins, of Niagara county, was in the fall of 1789, with a number of companions, returning to New Jersey, after a trading excursion. Passing Canawaugus, they assisted Gilbert R. Berry in erecting his first log house; and the next day, finding a "settler just arrived by the name of Thayer, with logs ready for a house," they stopped and assisted him.

Wheelock Wood came to Lima in the winter of 1795, locating upon the present site of the college, where he commenced clearing, and erected a log cabin. He remained there a few years, and removed to Livonia, and from there, in 1807, to Gainesville, Wyoming county. He died in 1834.

In an early period of settlement in Lima, ancient remains, and relics of French occupancy were to be seen in various localities. The "Bail Farm," so prolific in these, and so often alluded to by antiquarians, is within the town. Upon the farm of Miles Bristol, a short distance west of Lima village, upon a commanding eminence, the embankments and ditches of an ancient Fort were easily traced. In ploughing upon his farm, in early years, Mr. Bristol picked up several hundred pounds of old iron, chiefly French axes.

James K. Guernsey, in connection with the Nortons, of Bloomfield and Canandaigua, and afterwards upon his own account, was

the early prominent merchant of Lima. He removed to Pittsford, where he died in 1839. George Guernsey, of Michigan, is his son ; Mrs. Mortimer F. Delano, of Rochester, is his daughter. For many years, his store in Lima commanded the trade of a wide region.

CHAPTER VI.

PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW WAYNE COUNTY.

IN the winter of 1788, '9, John Swift and Col. John Jenkins, purchased T. 12, R. 2, now Palmyra, and commenced the survey of it into farm lots, in March. Jenkins being a practical surveyor, built a camp on the bank of Ganargwa creek, about two miles below the present village of Palmyra. His assistants were his nephew, Alpheus Harris, Solomon Earle, — Baker, and Daniel Ransom. One morning about 2 o'clock, the party being asleep in their bunks, their fire giving light enough to show their several positions, a party of four Tuscarora Indians and a squaw stealthily approached, and the Indians putting their guns through the open spaces between the logs, selected their victims and fired. Baker was killed, Earle, lying upon his back, with his hand upon his breast, a ball passed through his hand and breast, mutilated his nose, and lodged under the frontal sinus between his eyes. Jenkins and Ransom escaped unhurt, and encountering the murderers — Jenkins with his Jacob staff, and Ransom with an axe — drove them off, capturing two of their rifles and a tomahawk. In the morning they buried their dead companion, carried Earle to Geneva, and gave the alarm. The Indians were pursued, and two captured on the Chemung river. The nearest jail being Johnstown, it was feared they would be rescued ; if an attempt was made to carry them there ; what in later years would be called a Lynch court, was organized ; they were tried and executed at Newtown, now Elmira. The execution was after the Indian method, with the tomahawk. They were taken back into the

woods, and blindfolded. One of the executioners dispatched his victim at a blow; the other failed; the Indian being a stout athletic fellow, parried the blow, escaped, was followed by a posse, who caught and beat him to death with stones and pine knots! This was the first trial and execution in the Genesee country. Horrid and lawless as it may now seem, it was justified by then existing exigencies.

During the summer, John Swift moved into the township, erecting a log house and store house at "Swift's Landing a little north of the lower end of Main street, Palmyra.

Before the close of the year 1789, Webb Harwood, from Adams, Berkshire county, with his wife came in and erected a cabin on the rise of ground near first lock west of Palmyra, upon the farm now owned and occupied by Dennison Rogers. He was accompanied by Noah Porter, Jonathan Warner and Bennet Bates, single men. The author is disposed to regard Harwood as the Pioneer, although it is generally supposed that Gen. Swift had previously brought in a family. No family but that of Mr. Harwood and David White

NOTE.—The Indian party had their hunting camp near the surveyors, and had several times shared their provisions; the incentive was hunger. One of them that escaped was "Turkey" well known in after years upon the Genesee river. He had a scar upon his face, the mark of a blow from Jenkin's Jacob staff. During the war of 1812, he contracted the small pox upon the frontier; came to Squaky Hill. The Indians dreading the spread of the disease, carried him to a hut in the pine woods near Moscow, where he was left to die alone. Earl recovered. He was the early ferry man at the Seneca outlet. There have been many versions of this affair. The author derived his information from the late Judge Porter, and from Judge John H. Jones, whose informants were Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish, who were present at the trial and execution. He has also a printed account of it in the Maryland Journal, of April 1789. A Iphicus Harris was living a few years since, if he is not now, at Spanish Hill, a few miles from Tioga Point. He says the Indians were "tried by committee law."

NOTE.—John Swift was a native of Litchfield County Connecticut. He took an active part in the Revolutionary war, and at its close, with his brother Philetus, was an emigrant to the disputed territory in Pennsylvania. He held a commission, and was at the battle of Wyoming; and was also engaged in the "Pennamite" war, where he set fire to a Pennamite block house. He became a commissioned officer in the earliest organization of the militia and in the campaign of 1814 upon the Niagara Frontier, he was commissioned as Brig Gen. of N. Y. volunteers. In reconnoitering the enemy's position and works at Fort George, he captured a picket guard, and while in the act of receiving their arms, one of the prisoners shot him through the breast; an attack from a superior British force followed; the wounded General rallied his men, commenced a successful engagement, when he fell exhausted by his wound. "Never" says an historian of the war, "was the country called upon to lament the loss of a firmer patriot or braver man." The Legislature voted a sword to his oldest male heir. The gift fell to Asa R. Swift of Palmyra who was drowned in Sodus Bay in 1829 or 31 by the upsetting of a boat while engaged in fishing. The sword is now in the hands of Henry C. Swift, his son, a resident of Phelps. His companion Ashley Van Duzer, was also drowned; his widow a sister of Mrs. Gen. Brooks, became the wife of Gen. Mills of Mr. Morris, and now resides at Brook's Grove. The Rev. Marcus Swift, of Michigan is a son of Gen. Swift.

is enumerated in the census taken in the summer of 1790. Mr. Harwood died in 1824. Wm. Harwood, of Ann Arbor, Michigan is a son of his; his daughters became the wives of Isaac Mace, of Perry, Wyoming co, and — Coe, of Kirtland, Ohio.

The settlers that followed, in 1790, '91, '92, in the order in which they are named, or as nearly so as the author's information enables him to arrange them, were:—Lemuel Spear, David Jackways, James Galloway, Jonathan Millet, the Mattisons; Gideon Durfee the elder, his sons Gideon, Edward, Job, Pardon, Stephen, and Lemuel; Isaac Springer; William, James and Thomas Rogers; John Russell, Nathan Harris, David Wilcox, Joel Foster, Abraham Foster, Elias Reeves, Luther Sanford; and to what was Palmyra, now Macedon, in addition to those that have been named, Messrs. Reid, Delano, Packard Barney, Brown, Adam Kingman, Hill, Lapham, Benj. and Philip Woods.

Lemuel Spear, was a soldier of the Revolution, as most of the Pioneer settlers of Palmyra were. He was from Cummingtown, Mass. The family came on runners, before the breaking up of the ground in Feb '90, with two yoke of oxen, some cows and sheep, having little more than a bare track and blazed trees to guide them from Vienna to their destination, a mile above Palmyra village, where Mr. Spear had purchased land of Isaac Hathaway, for twenty cents per acre. The season being mild, they turned their stock out upon the open flats, some of which had been cultivated by the Indians, where they got along well through the winter and spring; the family consisting of the parents and nine children, living in a covered sleigh and in a structure similar to the Indians camp, until they had planted a few acres in the spring, when they built a log house. Bringing in a year's provisions, and killing deer whenever they wanted fresh meat, or bartering for venison with the Indians, they got along very well until after the harvest of their few primitive acres of crops. In the first winters, the Indians camped upon the flats and were peaceable, good neighbors, hunting and trapping, occasionally getting a beaver, the last of a colony, selling their furs and skins to traders and bartering their surplus venison with the new settlers. Lemuel Spear died in 1809; his surviving sons, are:—Ebenezer Spear, of Penfield, Abraham Spear, of Jeddo, Orleans county, Stephen Spear, residing upon the old homestead. A daughter is the wife of Dr. Mallory, of Wisconsin.

Ebenezer Spear is now in his 78th year. Leaving Palmyra in early years he went to sea, engaged in mercantile business in Boston, returned to Palmyra in 1804, married for a second wife, a daughter of Francis Postle, an early tailor in Canandaigua and Palmyra, from the city of Prague, in Bohemia, moved to North Penfield in 1807. He was one of the Carthage Bridge company, and opened a tavern at Carthage, while the bridge was constructing.

REMINISCENCES OF EBENEZER SPEAR.

In 1790, after we had got settled at Palmyra, the wife of our predecessor in the wilderness, Webb Harwood, in a delicate state of health, preceding child-birth, required wine, and her indulgent husband determined upon procuring some. At his request, I went to Canandaigua, found none—to Utica, and was equally unsuccessful—and continuing my journey to Schenectady, procured six quarts of wine of Charles Kane. I was fourteen days making the journey on foot, carrying my provisions in a knapsack, sleeping under a roof but four of thirteen nights.

Our first boards came from Granger's saw-mill on Flint Creek, several years after we came in; Captain Porter built the first framed barn, and my father the next one. I burned the first lime kiln west of Seneca Lake, for General Othniel Taylor, of Canandaigua. In 1794, or '5, Abraham and Jacob Smith built mills in Farmington, on the Ganargwa Creek; previous to which, we used to go to The Friend's mills in Jerusalem. The first corn carried to mill from Palmyra, was by Noah Porter. He went to Jerusalem with an ox team in '90, carrying corn for all the settlers, taking ten days in going and returning. His return to the settlement was hailed with great joy, for pounding corn was very hard work. Our coffee was made of burnt corn; our tea, of hemlock and other bark; and for chocolate, dried evans root was frequently used.

David White died in early years—the first death and funeral in Palmyra. His sons were, the late Gen. David White, of Sylvania, Michigan; Orrin White, a resident of Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Drs. James and William White, who reside at Black Rock; a daughter married Col. Otis Turner, of Niagara Falls. Bennett Bates is still living at Ridgeway, Orleans county; is the father of Lyman Bates, of Ridgeway, and Orlando Bates, of Jeddo. Noah Porter died in early years; he was the father of Mrs. Seymour Scovell, of Lewiston, and John Porter, Esq., of Youngstown.

Jacob Gannett was an early settler, and founder of the mills near Macedon Locks.

The Durfee family, who have been named, were from Tiverton, Rhode Island. In the summer of 1790, Gideon and Edward came first to Farmington, and Gideon returning in the fall, represented the country so favorably, that the whole family resolved upon emigration. Gideon, with Isacc Springer, came back in the winter of '90, '91, with an ox sled, consuming 17½ days in the journey. Gideon purchased of John Swift his choice of 1600 acres. He located it on what was long known as "Durfee Street," a short distance below Palmyra, securing a large amount of the flats on the Ganargwa. Being soon re-joined by his brother Edward, the brothers and Springer built a cabin, and clearing six acres, and without the use of a plough, planted it to corn. The brothers returned to Rhode Island, and brought out their brothers, Pardon and Job, with their families, coming in a batteaux, and landing at their new home in the wilderness, almost destitute of food. They were rejoiced on their arrival to find their corn fit for roasting, a forwardness they have never since known. It served them the two-fold purposes of food, and confidence in the soil and climate. The six acres yielded 50 bushels to the acre, a quantity that served their own wants and over-stocked the market, as there were few consumers. The remainder of the large family came out in the winter of '91, '92. They had a large crop, some of which was marketed at Schenectady, probably the first that ever reached that market from as far west as Palmyra. Otherwise prosperous, sickness soon laid a heavy hand upon the large household, 17 out of 22 being prostrated at one time with fevers. Their first bread was made from pounded corn: their first grinding was procured at Wilder's mill, and occasionally at The Friend's mill, Jerusalem.

The descendants of the Pioneer and Patriarch, Gideon Durfee, were 11 sons and daughters, 96 grand-children, and the whole number are now over 200. The daughters became the wives of the Pioneers, Welcome Herendeen, of Farmington, Weaver Osborne, Humphrey Sherman and William Wilcox, of Palmyra. The only surviving son, is Stephen Durfee, of Palmyra, aged 75 years; and the only surviving daughter, is Ruth Wilcox, aged 76 years.

Elias Durfee and Mrs. Thomas Lakey, of Marion, Elihu Durfee, of Williamson, William, Isaac, Lemuel, Bailey Durfee and Mrs.

Brown, of Palmyra, Mrs. Wicks, of Ogden, Mrs. Edward S. Townsend, late of Palmyra, Charles Durfee, of New York, Philo Durfee, of Buffalo, Sidney Durfee, of Chicago, Allen, Barton and Nathaniel Durfee, of Michigan, are among the descendants.

REMINISCENCES OF STEPHEN DURFEE

There was general prosperity in the early settlement; all were friendly; mutual dependence made us so; and struggling with the hardships of pioneer life, there was a fellow feeling, a sympathy for each other's misfortunes, but little of which exists now. The first curse that came upon us was whiskey distilleries, when the new settlers would take their corn and rye, and get them converted to what was the cause in many instances, of their ruin, and that of many of their sons. There was not only habitual, every day drinking, but much intoxication. I saw so much of the evils of intoxication, that I refrained entirely, and was almost alone in it. I think the first temperance movement, practical one, in all this region, was made by me when I raised my house in 1811. When I invited my neighbors to the raising, I gave out that no liquor would be provided; and although it was a new experiment, I had no difficulty in raising my house. Strict temperance was not then a discipline with the society of Friends to which I belonged, but afterwards became so.

In the way of markets, our earliest grain mostly went to the distilleries, and supplied the new settlers. After Zebulon Williams, the early merchant established his store, he commenced a barter trade, receiving for goods, grain and cattle. Money was scarce; those who were pretty well off were troubled many times, to pay their taxes, and much property used to be sacrificed at public sale. Williams was the first cash purchaser for wheat, but the prices were fluctuating; running down sometimes to $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents. One of my neighbors once sold his wheat in Rochester, for twenty-five cents.

In early years we could hardly believe that settlement would go much beyond the Genesee River, during our life time. We thought we were quite far enough to the west; as far removed from markets as it would answer to venture; and we that had seen the hardest features of pioneer life, were surprised to see or hear of men attacking the dark heavy forests of the Holland Purchase.

Our first commerce was the navigation of the Ganargwa creek; then came the "big wagons," and then the Erie Canal, that gave us fair, steady prices for produce, raised the value of lands, and brought on a new era of enterprise and prosperity.

The Indians, were hunting and trapping, camping in our neighborhood, in all the earliest years. The flats of the Ganargwa, and the adjoining up lands were favorite hunting grounds. Many of the sons of the early settlers were trappers. It was about our only means of obtaining any money. I have realized from muskrat and coon furs, \$50 in a season. I caught a beaver in a trap that I set for otter. Henry Lovell, a famous hunter was here in early

years, he had trapped beaver for years. He said he had often tamed the young ones. Following their instinct (or reasoning,) when it rained they would know up chairs, and other household furniture, and go through with all the ceremony of erecting dams. When suffered to go out, they would commence dams upon the small streams.

All the low grounds of Palmyra were very heavily timbered; there were but small patches of open flats. To look out before we got clearings, we had to go upon the top of "Wintergreen Hill." Upon this hill, just before Wayne's victory, we contemplated the erection of a block house, fearing an outbreak of the Indians. But we were soon quieted by events that followed.

I remember very well the first town meeting. It was held at my father's house. All were well pleased with the idea that we had got along fast enough in the "District of Tolland" to have a town organization. John Swift was the Captain of our first training — his beat, all this north country. The company parade was at his house; he gave out a liberal supply of damaged powder — salutes were fired — occasionally an old revolutionary musket burst: as holidays were scarce then, we used to make the most of them.

We began to have apples, from the seed, soon after 1800. Previous to that we had plenty of wild plums, crab apples, cranberries, &c. Evans root chocolate was a common beverage; and we used wheat and tea for coffee. Our mills cost us 25 cents per lb., "hum hum" for shirts, 50 cents per yard, a luxury that but few could indulge in. Our wool had to be carded by hand, in all the early years. John Swift built the first carding machine, on the present site of Goddard's mill.

Nathan Harris was the principal early hunter of Palmyra; and fisherman too; in 1792 he drew a net across Gamogwa creek, near the present residence of Mrs. Williams, and caught eighteen large salmon. He was the father of Martin Harris, who was an early convert to Mormonism, and mortgaged his fine farm to pay for the printing of the "Gold Bible."*

Zebulon Williams, who has been mentioned by Stephen Durfee, as the early merchant, died several years since, his widow survives a resident at the old homestead. Platt Williams, of California, who was early engaged in canal transportations at Albany, and Richard,

* The late Mrs. Eden Foster, of Batavia, whose first husband was Moody Stone, of Palmyra, was an inmate of the family of Dr. Town. She gave the author a graphic description of a husking frolic in '96, at the house of Nathan Harris: — "We had a pot pie baked in a five pail kettle, composed of 13 fowls, as many squirrels, and due proportions of beef, mutton and venison; baked meats, beans and huge pumpkin pies. Hunting stories, singing, dancing on a split basswood floor, snap and catch 'em, jumping the broom stick, and hunt the squirrel, followed the feast. All joined in the rustic sports, there was no aristocracy in those days." "In Canadaigua" continued the old lady, "the dances were more fashionable, but there was no aristocracy there; though a hired girl, in families of Gen. Taylor, and Abner Barlow, I used to attend the frolics and dance with Peter B. and Augustus Porter, Thomas Morris, Samuel and Josiah Cobb, Dr. Atwater, and many others of distinction." The old lady was even eloquent when reminiscences of the past, one after another, would flash upon her memory.

Homer and Zebulon Williams, are his sons ; Mrs. Hiram P. Thayer, of Buffalo, is his daughter.

Stephen Phelps was the early landlord in the village ; afterwards the surrogate of Ontario county. The site he occupied, is now that of Nottingham's Eagle Tavern. He emigrated to Illinois in 1820. Enoch Lilley was another early landlord ; his wife was the daughter of the Rev. Eleazor Fairbanks. Preceding either, however, was Dr. Azel Ensworth, who was a brother-in-law of William Rodgers, and had come into the country in '92, and first settled in his immediate neighborhood. After keeping a public house in early years, in Palmyra, in the early start of Rochester, he was the founder of the Eagle Tavern, and for a long period he and his son were its landlords. He still survives, a resident of Buffalo, with his son-in-law, Benjamin Campbell.*

Silas Stoddard was from Groton, Conn. ; had been at sea, in the merchant service, emigrated to Palmyra in 1801, landing first at Sodus. He died in July last, at the age of 91 years ; his intellect and physical constitution but little impaired previous to his last illness. Col. James Stoddard, known of late years as an intelligent horticulturist, is his son ; now a resident of Palmyra, aged 66 years. He served an apprenticeship with Col. Samuel Green, of the New London Gazette, and emigrated to Palmyra with his father. From him the author obtained many early reminiscences. In 1804, he was in the employment of Major Samuel Colt, who had commenced merchandizing in Palmyra, and had charge of two Durham boats, which Major Colt owned at Palmyra. Loading them with flour and pork, he went down the Ganargwa creek to Lyons, and from thence to Schenectady. Among his companions, were Gilbert Howell, Cooper Culver, John Phelps, and Wm. Clark. The party were one month going and one month returning ; having merchandise for their return freight. About the time of the building of these boats, says Col. Stoddard, land transportation looked discouraging ; the merchants of Geneva, Canandaigua, Palmyra, Ithica, in fact all who did not depend on the Susquehannah as an avenue to market, held a consultation, and concluded that business must be done via the Rivers, Oneida Lake, and the Mohawk ; and to en-

* At the Pioneer Festival in Rochester, in 1850, he was present, and the medal was awarded to him as being the earliest Pioneer present.

courage them, stone locks had been built, at Rome and Little Falls. Many boats were built; for a few years business was brisk, but it proved too tedious and expensive; too dependant upon high and low water. Even land transportation, over bad roads, successfully competed with it.

"The first trip we made," says Col. Stoddard, "in passing through Oneida Lake, we stopped at Vanderkemp's settlement, now Constantia. Mr. Vanderkemp had erected an expensive dam, a large saw mill and grist mill, and there were eight or ten framed and some log dwellings; but one single family however, all the rest having been driven off by sickness.* When I landed with my father's family at Sodus, Mr. Williamson's settlement had much declined, and there were many deserted tenements between Sodus and Palmyra; sickness having driven off the occupants. I have known periods when a majority of all the inhabitants of the Ganargwa valley were prostrated by fevers."

Henry Jessup was the early tanner in Palmyra, and still survives, his sons being his successors in business. His partner for many years was George Palmer, of Buffalo.

William Rogers came in with his brothers, James and Thomas, in 1792, a widower, and his brother James dying in early years, he married his widow. The family were from Rhode Island. William was one of the early Judges of Ontario, one of its representatives in the Legislature, and a magistrate; prominently identified with the history of Palmyra and Ontario county. He died in 1836, aged 82 years. Major William Rogers, so favorably known to the traveling public in the early years of canal navigation, as a packet master, the father-in-law of Pomeroy Tucker, editor of the *Wayne Sentinel*, is a surviving son. He is now the occupant of a fine farm near Pultneyville; as stirring and energetic as when he used to sing out: — "Hurra, is the lock ready?" — or beat up the quarters of the sleepy drivers in dark and rainy nights. A daughter of his was the wife of Noah Porter. Gen. Thomas Rodgers, and Dennison Rodgers of Palmyra, are surviving sons of James Rodgers. Thomas Rodgers preceded his brother, and assisted in the survey of the town: of his family, only his son David remains in Palmyra.

* The founder of this settlement was the father of John J. Vanderkemp, of Philadelphia, the general agent of the Holland Co. He soon abandoned the enterprise, and removed to Oldenbarneveldt," [Trenton,] Oneida co.

The first winter after Judge Rodgers came in, the neighborhood was without salt. Learning that some had been brought up as far as Lyons, with a hired man, and an ox team, he cut his own sled path, and after three days hard labor, returned with his salt.

Zackariah Blackman was the early blacksmith. John Hurlburt, a brother of Judge Hurlburt, who was the Pioneer of Arkport, on the Canisteo, became a resident of Palmyra in 1795. His widow is now living at the age of 81 years. He set up a distillery as early as '96. He died in 1813.* William Jackway, who came in with Gen. Swift, died in 1849, aged 91 years. John Russell, who was one of the front rank of Pioneers, upon whose original farm a portion of the village has grown up, removed to Henrietta in 1821, where he died but a few years since, from the effects of the kick of a horse. John Russell was the step-father of Augustus Southworth, of Holley; Mrs. Russel now resides in Rochester.

Reuben Town was the earliest settled Physician in Palmyra. He removed to Batavia in early years. He was followed by Dr. Gain Robinson, as early as 1800. Dr. Robinson was from Cummington, Massachusetts. He married the daughter of Col. John Bradish, the father of Gov. Bradish, who was one of the early settlers of Palmyra. He continued in practice until his death, in 1830, enjoying a large share of professional eminence, and highly esteemed in the wide circle of his practice. There have gone out from under his instruction a large number who have conferred credit upon their early mentor; among them may be named:—His nephew, Dr. Alexander McIntyre, who for many years practiced with him, and is now his local successor; Drs. James and William White; Dr. West, of Cayuga county; Dr. Isaac Smith, of Lockport, (deceased;) Dr. Whippo, (now an engineer;) Dr. Durfee Chase, of Palmyra; Dr. Gregory of Michigan. The surviving sons of Dr. Robinson, are:—Clark, Darwin, and Rollin, of Buffalo. Daughters:—Mrs. Philip Grandin, of New York; her husband was an early merchant in Palmyra; and Mrs. Judge Tiffany, of Adrian, Michigan; Mrs. Hiram Niles, of Buffalo; and Mrs. Geo. Pomeroy. †

* A toast of the early Pioneer, in one of the early years, at a Fourth of July celebration, is worthy of preservation. The wish has been fully realized:—"May we cultivate the vine and sheaf in this new world, and furnish the old with bread."

† Judge Tiffany is a son of the early printer at Niagara, C. W., and Canandaigua. Mr. Pomeroy is one of the founders of Wells & Pomeroy's Express.

The first lawyer in Palmyra, was John Comstock, who also married a daughter of Col. Bradish. He survives, a resident near Adrian, Michigan.

In the year 1789, Joel Foster, Elias Reeves and Luke Foster, of Long Island, became the agents of a company that had been formed in Connecticut, New Jersey and Long Island, for the purpose of leasing lands of the Indians; an organization similar to the Lessee Company of this State. Proceeding to Fort Pitt, where they were joined by others, they traversed the wilds of Virginia, and returning to the north, struck the Ohio river, and followed it down to the desirable location called Turkey Bottom, where they purchased a claim to a large tract, and left Luke Foster to keep possession for the winter, Joel Foster and Elias Reeves returning to take on a colony of settlers in the spring. An act of Congress interfering with their title or possession, frustrated the enterprise. "Turkey Bottom," in process of time, became Cincinnati, the queen city of the west.

Thus disappointed, and Indian wars growing more threatening at the west, the Long Island adventurers turned their attention to the Genesee country. Elias Reeves, Abraham Foster, William Hopkins, Luther Sandford and Joel Foster, in the summer of 1791, bought 5,500 acres on the Ganargwa Creek, in East Palmyra; spotting a tree and planting some apple seeds, an earnest of their intended occupancy. In April, 1792, they built a sail boat, launched it in Heady Creek, embarked with their families, towing down the stream to South Bay, and sailing up to New York, and from thence to Albany, where they took their boat out of water, transported it on wheels to Schenectady, launched it in the Mohawk, and from thence came to Lyons; and obtaining a smaller boat, ascended the Ganargwa Creek to their new wilderness home. The journey consumed 28 days. Most of those named, became prominent founders of settlement, and have left numerous descendants.

NOTE.—For the facts connected with the pioneer enterprise of this Long Island colony, the author is indebted to a sermon delivered at Palmyra on Thanksgiving day, 1846, by the Rev. Nathaniel W. Fisher, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, who derived his information from Mr. Henry J. Foster, a descendant of one of the Pioneers. Mr. Fisher was one of the victims of the cholera at Sandusky, in the summer of 1848. The author makes an extract from the sermon, in which the Rev. gentleman bestows no more than a deserved eulogy upon the Pioneer mothers, who accompanied this expedition:—"Especially do we admire the character of those noble women, whose sacrifices, prayers and labors, aided in laying the foundations of society and those

It is stated by the Rev. Mr. Fisher, that a Presbyterian church was organized in 1793, in Palmyra. If this is so, it was the first organized church west of Seneca Lake. Mrs. Tice, a daughter of John Hurlburt, says their first religious meetings were conversational or social meetings, not sectarian, generally held at the house of John Swift. It is recorded that the Presbyterian church in Palmyra was organized in Sept., 1797; the trustees elected:—Jacob Gannett, Stephen Reeves, David Warner, Jedediah Foster, Jonah Howell. The first settled minister was the Rev. Eleazor Fairbanks, who was succeeded by the Rev. Benjamin Bell.

Jonah Howell erected the first mill, a mile east of the village, on the Vienna road; this was followed by one erected by Gen. Swift, on the site occupied by Goddard's mill.

The first death in Palmyra was that of David White; the first wedding was that of William Wilcox and Ruth Durfee; the first male child born in town, was Asa R. Swift, a son of John Swift; the first female, the daughter of David Wilcox, who became the wife of Alva Hendee.

WILLIAM HOWE CUYLER.

His father, John Cuyler, of Greenbush, had been (at what period the author is unable to state,) a General in the British service. He was a resident of Greenbush, opposite Albany, an attorney at law. It is presumed, that when Mr. Williamson arrived in this country, upon his agency, he found in him an old acquaintance, as he is one of the first with whom he held correspondence, and he was one of his first legal advisers. As early as 1793, his son, Richard, was in the employment of Mr. Williamson, as was his son Wm. Howe Cuyler, several years previous to 1800.

Soon after 1800, Wm. Howe Cuyler became a resident of Palmyra, having become the local agent of Mr. Williamson, for the

blesed institutions which are now the support and ornament of community. The legends of those times are adorned with the names of females that should descend to posterity, and be embalmed in their most grateful recollections. We often wonder if the mantle of those venerated matrons have fallen upon the wives of the present day; with all the improvements in modern education, are they better qualified to make happy homes? Have they larger hearts, better minds, purer patriotism, warmer zeal, in every good work?"

sale of lands in the north-east portion of what is now Wayne county. — Sawyer, the brother-in-law of John Swift, who had an interest with him in the original purchase of the town, wishing to return to Georgia, where he had formerly resided, sold his property to Major Cuyler, in 1805. Included in this sale, was the old Cuyler farm, upon which a considerable portion of the village of Palmyra has grown up.

Upon the breaking out of the war of 1812, Major Cuyler was early upon the frontier, as the aid of General Swift.* Stationed at Buffalo, he was the active co-operator with Lieut. Elliott, in the preparations for the gallant exploit of capturing the British vessels, from under the walls of Fort Erie, on the 8th of October, 1812. In anticipation that the expedition would return with wounded men, he had been engaged through the night in making preparations for their reception. Anxious for the fate of men who had engaged in so hazardous an enterprise, before day light in the morning, he had rode down upon the beach, towards Black Rock, when a chance grape shot, from a British battery, at Fort Erie, passed through his body, breaking the spine, and killing him instantly.† It was the first sacrifice of the war, on the Niagara frontier; the first and one of the dearest of the many sacrifices of western New York, in all that contest. And it may also be added, that Gen. Scott being near him, it was his first introduction to the terrible realities of war, of which he was destined to see so much through a long and brilliant military career.‡ After the war, his remains were removed to Palmyra, and are now entombed in the rural cemetery, which the citizens of that village, with much of good taste and public spirit, have within a few years added to their flourishing village.

In civil life, Major Cuyler was a man of much energy and enter-

* The author has an early evidence of his military spirit and ambition. When some of the earliest military organizations were going on in Sweden, he was a resident at Bath, a clerk of Mr. Williamson. Mr. Williamson being in Albany, the young aspirant to military distinction, wrote to him: — "You are the only field officer in the Regiment, and on you, of course, will devolve the duty of making proper recommendations. I shall only observe that I have been a military man for about twelve years past, and have never rose above the halberd, and that I now look for promotion. I should like to have the office Mr. Porter formerly held — that of Brigade Major and Inspector — as the duty of Adjutant General in the several brigades, now devolve on that officer."

† The shot is now in possession of his sister, Mrs. Smith, of Auburn.

‡ He had just been promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel, and had arrived at Black Rock, in command of two companies of U. S. Artillery.

prise ; he was one of the founders of the Ontario Woolen Manufacturing Company.* He married the daughter of Samuel Shekell, of Manchester, who still survives, a resident of Brooklyn, with her daughter by a second marriage. Major Cuyler left two sons, George W. and William Howe Cuyler ; the former a banker, and the latter a merchant, in Palmyra.

LYONS.

The early advent of the Stansell's and Featherly, the building of mills, the primitive commencement generally, at Lyons, have been noticed in connection with Mr. Williamson.

James Otto came in 1796, was employed in the erection of the mills, and in '98, marrying the daughter of Capt. Dunn who settled where the Mead's now reside on the Geneva road, he moved upon his farm south of Lyons village, where he now resides, in his 81st year. He has been the father of eight sons and eight daughters, thirteen of whom are now living in Lyons and the western states.

The old gentleman says it was so sickly about the village of Lyons in early years that many who attempted to settle there got discouraged and left. Dr. Prescott of Phelps, was the first physcian. Dr. Willis settled where the village of Lyons now is, but getting sick himself, and sick of the country, returned to Vermont. In the winter of '99 and 1800, there was an unusual deep snow ; there came a rain making a crust, and the wolves destroyed the deer to such an extent that their carcasses were strewn over the woods tainting the whole atmosphere.

Judge Evert Van Wickle, who has been mentioned in connection with early operations in Allegany, came to Lyons soon after Mr. Williamson had commenced improvements there, and was in his employ as a surveyor.†

Judge Daniel Dorsey from Frederick county, Maryland, came

* He introduced the first Merino buck into western New York, purchasing it of one of the Livingstons, in Albany, paying \$900.

† In one of Mr. Williamson's letters, in 1798, he says : — "A promising settlement, composed of people from Jersey and Maryland, is begun here this June : a Mr. Van Wickle from the Jerseys, moved in along with forty persons."

to Lyons in 1801, with his family. Two years previous he had explored the country and purchased of Mr. Williamson nearly one thousand acres, mostly on the east side of the outlet, immediately adjoining the village of Lyons, on either side of the Lyons and Geneva Plank Road. It included the farm that had been commenced by Mr. Cameron, as agent for Mr. Williamson, and the improvements; had been reserved in anticipation of what would grow up at the confluence of the streams—mostly the head of navigation; but was sold to Judge Dorsey as an inducement to emigration. He had a large family—ten children—and a considerable number of slaves, that were soon liberated, principally for the reason that in that case as well as in all other similar experiments that were tried in this region, slave labor was unprofitable.

The strong handed emigrant immediately commenced clearing and improving his fine possessions. Soon after 1800 he commenced merchandizing, bringing his goods from Baltimore. A large proportion of his early trade was with the Indians, who were encamped along the banks of the outlet and at Sodus. There used to be as many as thirty Indian huts along where William street, of Lyons village, crosses the canal.

Thomas Dorsey, a son of the early Pioneer, now occupies a portion of the old homestead. The author transcribes from memorandums of a conversation had with him, some early reminiscences of that locality:—

Durham boats used to arrive frequently from Schenectady with emigrants and goods, and with salt from Salt Point. It was only in freshets that they could go as high up as Palmyra and Manchester. Salmon were very plenty in the streams; at the ferks I have known fifteen and twenty taken with one spear in a night; weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds. It was not uncommon to see herds of deer grazing on the flats.

When the Dorsey family arrived at Lyons, there was settled in village and immediate vicinity, other than those already named:—John Biggs, who kept a tavern on the site now occupied by Barton's tavern, in a log house. He was the Pioneer landlord, and is yet living near the village. Richard Jones, a saddler, had a shop on what is now Broad street, in a log building. He died in 1832. George Carr, a mason by trade, lived on Broad street in a log house. William Gibbs lived a little south of the village, on the farm now

owned by Harvey Geer. John Perrine lived on the Canandaigua outlet one mile from the village. He was an early magistrate and Supervisor of the town; removed to Michigan, where he died in 1836. The progress of the village was slow in all the early years, and in fact until the location and construction of the Erie Canal. In 1818 there was but a small cluster of buildings; two taverns, one kept by Ezekiel Price, and another by Elias Hull; the store of Leach & Demmon; a few dwellings; a few mechanic shops; a Methodist and Presbyterian church. John Cole, the father of Joseph Cole, was the first local minister, and organized the first Methodist society. He died in 1810. The first religious meetings were attended by Judge Dorsey, who was a member of the Methodist church, and occasionally an exhorter.

The village of Lyons had a rapid start after the completion of the canal; many enterprising men were attracted there; substantial business establishments were started one after another; private residences, in beauty of location, and in all their appointments vying with those of any of its neighboring villages and cities in Western New York, were founded one after another; new streets were laid out with the accompaniments of fine walks and long lines of shade trees; substantial and neat public edifices were erected; until now, in 1851, there are few spots in all this wide region, holding out more inducements, either for residence, or business pursuits. The tourist, in western New York, who does not wander from the rail road route, misses at least two beautiful and flourishing villages — Palmyra and Lyons. But things as they were, not as they now are, are the subjects in hand.

Daniel Dorsey died in 1823, at the age of 65 years. His surviving children are: — Upton Dorsey, Esq., of Geneva; Thomas E. Dorsey, residing on the old homestead at Lyons; Nelson R. Dorsey, residing in Calhoun county, Michigan; Mrs. Cyrus Chapin, of Geneva; Mrs. Lawrence Riley, in Ohio; Mrs. Thomas Rook, of Lyons, Mrs. Wm. Hudson, of Geneva; Mrs. Michael Miller, of Calhoun co., Michigan; Mrs. Milton Barney, of Chicago; and two sons have died after arriving at adult age; eleven in all. The early Pioneer had held a Captain's commission in the Maryland line during the Revolution, and after his advent to this region, was an early Judge of the courts of Ontario.

SODUS.

After the advent of Mr. Williamson in that region, the erection of his mills, large tavern house, wharf and store house — all the improvements under his auspices — there followed long years of decline; but an occasional hardy adventurer dropping into the wilderness, along on the Lyons and Palmyra roads, encountering disease and privation — some of them wrestling with them until discouraged, leaving their log cabins untenanted — a forbidding indication to new adventurers. All that Mr. Williamson had done was premature. A fine public house, good mills, a pleasure boat upon the beautiful Bay, would have been well conceived enterprises in a settled country, but sadly out of place in a wilderness, with here and there, miles apart, in small openings of the forest, a Pioneer settler, half resolving to leave the country, and give up his enterprise as a bad job. Of those that were connected with the improvements, but few remained long after they were completed.

In 1801, Ami Elsworth came from East Windsor, Conn., and settled on the road leading from the Ridge to the village Mr. Williamson had founded upon the Lake and Bay. There was then on the road leading to Palmyra, no settler nearer to where he located than Daniel Russell, 9 miles distant. At the Point, (village) Moses Sill was in the tavern house; and there were two or three families beside, most of whom lived by fishing and hunting. On the Lake shore, seven miles above the Point, was a solitary settler by the name of Amos Richards.* Elijah Brown was an early, but not a permanent settler on the Lake shore, four miles above the Point.†

* Connected with him or his family, is a tale of pioneer life, well worthy of record. Mr. Richards had been in but a few years, and made but a little opening in the forest, when he died, leaving a wife, and a daughter twenty years old; both uncommonly endowed with health and strength. In their solitary home, far away from neighbors, the mother and daughter took the laboring oars in out of door work, chopped and cleared land, added a comfortable log barn upon their premises, planted an orchard, harrowed, ploughed, sowed, reaped and harvested; dispensing entirely with the labor of men. In winters, they had their own roads to make, to the settlements, their stock to fodder and bridle; — in fact, women as they were, they contended successfully with all the endurances of pioneer life, and in the end, with pretty good success. There was an entire new feature in the old lady's domestic economy: — She trained a cow to carry burdens, and especially her grain to mill, upon her back. Mrs. Richards died in 1849, aged 93 years. The daughter is the wife of Jeduthan Moffatt.

† He was a Pioneer upon the Holland Purchase, at the mouth of Oak Orchard Creek, as early as 1804. In 1805 or '6, he came down the Lake from his new location to mill at Sodus, in a skiff. Returning, he was taken sick, and on going on shore,

Mr. and Mrs. Ellsworth still survive, at an advanced age. They have fifty living descendants in the town of Sodus.

The old gentleman says that his neighborhood, in an early day, was more than usually the haunt of deer, bears and wolves; wild ducks were abundant in the Bay, and some seasons of the years, pigeons were so plenty, that it was difficult to protect the crops from their depredations. At one period, they had their roosts on the Lake shore, their nests occupying the trees upon hundreds of acres. Some trees would have sixty and seventy nests upon them. The backwoods settlers carried away cart loads of the young squabs. On another occasion, an unusual quantity of beach nuts and mild weather, attracted myriads of them to the neighborhood; the weather suddenly changing to severe cold, the woods were strewn with those that had been frozen to death.

Elijah Gibbs was the first settled physician in the neighborhood. He died in 1829. Several of his sons are masters of vessels upon the Lake. Elisha Matthews was an early physician; a son of his resides in Rochester.

Mr. Ellsworth was sick for five of the first years after settling at Sodus; his then young wife, transferred to the wilderness from a comfortable New England home, had her husband and young children to take care of, and much of the out door labor to perform. A payment upon their land became due: their dependence to meet it was a sum due them in Connecticut; Mrs. E. made the long journey to Windsor upon horseback, and obtained it. The history of their pioneer years has the harshest features of backwood's life; but with them, as with others, the scene has changed; the dense forests have melted away; in the midst of their descendants, surrounded by fruitful fields, they are spending the evening of their days, and calmly awaiting the close of the mission upon earth, they have so well performed.

PEREGRINE FITZHUGH.

☞ See William Fitzhugh, page 364. He emigrated to this region in 1799. Residing three years at Geneva, he was engaged in

died at Irondequoit. John G. Brown, of Hudson, Michigan, and Paul Brown, of Palmyra, Wayne county, are his sons. Daughters became the wives of Edward Durfee, and William Wilcox, of Palmyra, and Gilbert Howell, of Oak Orchard.

improving a large purchase he had made at Sodus, until his removal there in 1803. But little had been done there before his advent, in the way of farm improvements. Mr. Williamson's fine tavern house loomed up on the Bay, on either hand, a few log cabins, most of them deserted; while the back ground was a thickly wooded forest, upon the beautiful swell of land between the Bay and the Lake; cut up into "inner" and "outer" town lots; the stakes and blazed trees of the surveyors being the only marks of improvement.

Col. Fitzhugh came into the country strong handed; his was the Pioneer advent of the "Marylanders," and was a marked event. He came over Mr. Williamson's Northumberland road, with a formidable cavalcade: large Pennsylvania wagons, drawn by 27 horses; his family, including slaves, consisting of over forty persons. The cavalcade was five weeks in making the passage, the whole camping in the woods two nights on the way.

The enterprising adventurer from the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, chose for his home one of the finest regions of the Genesee country, as time and improvements are now rapidly demonstrating, but one beset with many early difficulties and hindrances — disease, isolation, in reference to the directions that business and the progress of improvement took: destined to slow settlement, and long untoward years. He died in the midst of his enterprises, in 1810. The owner, by inheritance, of slaves, he introduced them into a region unfitted for slave labor, and in his case, as well as with all others who made the experiment, it was a failure. He had made most of them free before his death.

Mrs. Fitzhugh, who was the daughter of Samuel Lloyd Chew, of Ann Arundel, Md., still survives, a resident at the old homestead, at the advanced age of 84 years. She has lived to see her descendants of the fifth generation. The surviving sons of Col. Peregrine Fitzhugh, are: — Samuel Fitzhugh, who has been a clerk in the

Note. — An experiment of local colonization, or separate settlement of free blacks, commenced in an early day at Sodus. The manumitted slaves of most of the Marylanders — many of them those of Mr. Fitzhugh — were allowed to go upon the Pultney lands, near the Bay, the ten, fifteen, and twenty acre lots that had been laid out by Mr. Williamson, upon his town lot. They numbered at one time, about 80 in all. The settlement began to disperse after a few years; they proved ill adapted for making themselves a home upon new lands; those that remained were idle and unthrifty, and their locality is now a sad specimen of the self reliance, or independent existence, of their race.

General Post Office, at Washington, for nearly thirty years; and Bennett C. Fitzhugh, a resident at Sodus Point. Daughters became the wives of William Pulteney Dana,* whose mother was a niece of Sir William Pulteney; of William Haylartz, of Sodus; of William Edwards, of Sodus; an unmarried daughter resides at the old homestead.

WILLIAM NIXON LOOMIS.

He was a native of New Jersey. After a collegiate education, he studied medicine, attended the lectures of Dr. Rush, at Philadelphia. His ambition as a student, is indicated by the fact, that he took copious notes of the whole course of lectures of that eminent man, which fill several quarto volumes, and are the only report extant, of that course. An acquaintance thus formed, between master and pupil, they afterwards maintained a correspondence of intimacy and friendship. Commencing the practice of medicine in Philadelphia, he continued there until a declining health, consequent upon an attack of the yellow fever, induced him to seek a change of climate.

He came on a tour of exploration to the Genesee country soon after 1800. In a trip by water, with some friends, they were overtaken by a storm, off the mouth of the Genesee river. The party landed, and went up to view the Falls. Upon the present site of Rochester, they came to a solitary log cabin, knocked, and were bid to come in. Upon entering, they found that in the absence of the family, a parrot had been the hospitable representative. The family returned soon, however, and gave them a supper of potatoes and milk; the best that the site of a now city of 40,000 inhabitants, then afforded. Deciding upon making Sodus Point his home, he made considerable investments in lands there, and soon removed his family to their new home. He resided at the Point, until the commencement of the war of 1812, when he removed two miles farther up the Lake, where he had purchased lands, and erected a flouring mill. His house at the Point was burned when the British

* He came to this country soon after his relative had become a proprietor here; his wife dying, he returned to England in early years. Mrs. Daniel H. Fitzhugh, of Groveland is, a daughter of his.

force made their landing there. To the flouring mill, in his new locality, he added a saw mill, an iron forge, and several other branches of business; besides improving the land, dividing it into farms, and building several houses for tenants. The little settlement was called "Maxwell." Leaving Philadelphia with the design of abandoning his profession, his practice was only such as the exigencies of the new region demanded, and mostly gratuitous. He bestowed much of his time and talents in the cause of internal improvements. If not the projector, he early and zealously espoused the opening of a communication between Lake Ontario and the Erie Canal, by means of a branch canal, terminating at Sodus Bay.*

To indefatigable industry and perseverance, he added extraordinary business talents; and to a vigorous intellect he added a thorough education, cultivated literary tastes and pursuits, in hours of relaxation from the sterner duties of life, which made him an agreeable and instructive companion. He died in 1833, at the age of 58 years. An inscription upon his tomb stone, in the rural cemetery, at Sodus village, pays the following tribute to his memory:—"He was one of the Pioneer Border settlers. His enterprising, vigorous, and active mind, aided essentially in the improvements of this country, and commanded for him universal esteem."

The first wife of Dr. Lummis died in early years. His second wife was a daughter of Captain John Maxwell, and the niece of General William Maxwell, both of whom are honorably mentioned in Revolutionary annals. The surviving sons of Dr. Lummis, are:—Benjamin Rush Lummis, residing on the east side of Sodus Bay; William M. and Dayton Lummis, merchants, New York. An only surviving daughter is Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet, the wife of Dr. William H. Ellet, Professor of Chemistry in Columbia College, N. York; The amiable and gifted authoress of "The Women of the American Revolution," and "Domestic History of the American Revolution."

Dr. Thomas G. Lawson, an Englishman, leaving home on account of some domestic difficulties, came to Sodus Point, in early

* A project revived in later years, principally under the auspices of another public spirited individual—Gen. Wm. H. Adams—with slow and untoward progress at first, but now, with the aid of recent legislation, likely to be consummated.

NOTE.—Mrs. Ellet is now about 38 years of age. Her first published literary effort was written at the age of thirteen; an "Ode" written on the occasion of La Fayette's visit at Geneva where she was attending school.

years, purchasing a large number of Mr. Williamson's "out lots," a mile from the Point, fixing his residence there. Possessed of considerable wealth, he practiced his profession only occasionally, spending his money freely in improvements of his possessions. He returned to England, where he died in 1833.

Elder Seba Norton was the the pioneer clergyman, at Sodus, settling there as early as 1805. After four years' service in the Revolution, which included a participation in the battles of Monmouth and Saratoga, he united with the Baptist church, and soon took upon himself the office of a minister, with a limited education, but with a native strength of mind, and a devotion to his profession, which insured a long career of usefulness. He was the founder of the first meeting house in the township. He died in 1835, in the 76th year of his age.

In reference to the slow growth of Sodus, the early fluctuations of its population, Judge Byram Green remarks: — "A large portion of the early settlers about the Bay, were but transient residents, fishermen and hunters. They would come to the Bay, invited by the abundance of deer in the forest, wild ducks in the Bay, and fish in the Bay and Lake, and erect their huts on the Islands in the Bay, or the main land. There they would hunt and fish for a season, some a few years, and leave the place. Soon another set would come, and occupy the vacant and common ground. And thus a floating population was coming and going, like the rolling waves upon the Lake, until more enterprising men purchased and occupied the ground, subdued the forest, and cultivated the soil."

RIDGE ROAD AND SODUS BAY.

Secluded, in reference to the main thoroughfares, the northern portions of Monroe and Wayne counties are less known than most of the Genesee country. Sodus Bay, especially, a marked spot in the topography of the Genesee country, and in fact in all our Lake region, has never been seen by many, otherwise familiar with the whole region. These considerations will excuse a seeming partiality, in making them an exception to a general rule, in this history of pioneer settlement.

Passing Irondequoit Bay, and going east, the Ridge Road becomes as well defined, as uniformly elevated, as upon any portion of it between the Genesee and the Niagara rivers. It passes through the towns of Webster, in Monroe,

Ontario, Williamson, and Sodus, in Wayne, terminating at the head of the Bay, or rather losing there its regular and distinctive character. Starting from Trumpley's, passing the fine swells of uplands and broad plains—the constant succession of magnificent farms, of the town of Webster, the flourishing rural village, that bears the name of the town—there is a great uniformity in nature's own highway, upon which you are travelling; its gradual slope in the direction of Lake Ontario, and the gentle swells and rolling lands on the other hand—a sameness of landscape—until you arrive at Williamson, or Poppin's corners, where the main passes roads from Palmyra to Palmyreville. Here the scene changes gradually, the slope and the Ridge becoming more irregular, and at the south knolls and sugar loaf hills become frequent, to add to the variety of scenery, not to form an exception to the every where desirable farms, and prosperous agricultural region. No where in all this region of progress, has the hand of improvement effected a more rapid change, or found a soil making better returns for its labor. And here it may be remarked, that with reference to the staple grain product, wheat, there is no region of country on earth, that contains in its soil more of its elements, than the slope from the Ridge Road to Lake Ontario, in its whole extent.

Passing from Poppin's Corners to Sodus village—seven miles—an either hand are broad wheat fields, clear of stumps, many of them looking like vast onion beds; the Ridge gently curving, and then straight for miles with a regular elevation, you are gradually bearing towards the Lake, until for a considerable distance you catch glimpses of its blue waves, through vistas of the forest, schooners with sails spread, or perhaps a magnificent steamer—a floating palace—will cross the line of vision.

Sodus village has grown up on the Ridge—hardly within a pioneer period—a flourishing, brisk country village, having a pleasant rural aspect; its site, where the road from Lyons to Sodus Point, crosses the Ridge. A walk, or ride, of four miles through a fine farming region, of ridges and valleys, brings you to the Point, or the old site of Mr. Williamson's magnificently projected town.

If you question his judgement, or say that his plans were premature, you will be obliged to pay homage to his taste: for no where in all this region is there a finer site for a village or a city. The bold shores of the Lake forms an elevated and beautiful terrace on the one hand, while the ground gradually descends to the waters of the Bay upon the other. As the Point gradually widens out in the back ground, it rises slowly, and is interspersed with

NOTE.—In the years 1818, '19, the author, a youth, seeking his apprenticeship in a newspaper office at Palmyra, travelled through this region, each fall, as the clerk of a third newspaper carrier. It was a most depressing region of log cabins, stunted improvements, of chills and fevers. The owls hunted from tops of the hemlock trees, wolves howled, and foxes barked in the dark forests; the scree hawk would be perched upon trees in close proximity with solitary log cabins, ready to pounce upon trout chickens that strayed a few rods from the coop before the door. Thirty years passed over, and he revisited the region in connection with this present work. What a change! Comfort, luxury, abundance, had taken the place of those rugged scenes of pioneer life! Recognizing a pioneer mother, that he used to see those in those primitive days, he observed to her:—"I used to pity you that were obliged to live here; now I almost pity those that cannot."

swells of land, slopes and vallies, forming sites for residences overlooking Lake and Bay, and every way inviting.

The Bay enters a cove of the Lake, which is protected on either hand by head lands. It is about half a mile across its neck, gradually widening out to the extent of four miles. In length from north to south, it is nearly seven miles. A small Island in the Lake, lying opposite the entrance to the Bay, a pier connects it with the main land, and another is extended into the Lake. These public improvements, added to natural advantages, renders it the finest harbor upon all our Lake coasts. It is said of the magnificent Bay of San Francisco, that "all the navies of the world might ride at anchor in it at one time, with safety." It may be said of Sodus Bay, that all the craft that will ever navigate our Lakes, would find ample room there; good anchorage, and protection from the severest gales. Its mostly deep, still waters might at times, be passed over safely in a canoe, when a tempest was tossing the waters of the Lake. The scenery, especially upon the east side of the Bay, is less bold and rugged, but its promontories remind one of the descriptions of the Bay of Naples. With an eye for the picturesque and romantic — a feeling of enthusiasm in reference to all this region, — Mr. Williamson wrote to a friend in England; — "The town" (Sodus,) "stands on a rising ground on the west point of the Bay, having the Lake on the north, to appearance as boundless as the ocean, and the Bay to the east romantically interspersed with Islands, and parts of the main land stretching into it. The first view of the place, after passing through a timbered country from Geneva, twenty-eight miles, strikes the eye of the beholder, as one of the most magnificent landscapes human fancy can picture; and the beauty of the scene, is not unfrequently heightened, by the appearance of large vessels navigating the Lake."

The "District of Sodus," was erected in the primitive division of Ontario county into Districts, in 1789. The earliest record of a town meeting is in 1799. The district then embraced all of the present town of Sodus and Lyons. The town or district meeting was held at the "house of Evert Van Wickle" in Lyons village. The officers chosen were as follows: — Azariah Willis, supervisor, Joseph Taylor, town clerk; other town officers: — Norman Merry, Samuel Caldwell, Chas. Cameron, Moses Sill, E. Van Wickle, Timothy Smith, Joseph Wood, David Sweezy, Daniel Russell, Henry Lovewell, Wm. White, Reuben Adams, Samuel Nelson, David Sweezy, and John Van Wickle.

At a special town meeting in 1799, held "at the house of John Briggs," John Perrine, Timothy Smith, and Samuel Caldwell were chosen school commissioners.

There was at this period on the tax roll, the names of 50 persons, some of whom were non-residents; the settlers would seem to have

been located in Lyons village, on the road from Lyons to Sodus Point, at the Point, and on the Palmyra road, with the exception of Brown and Richards, on the Lake shore between the Point and Pulteneyville. In 1800, Timothy Smith was supervisor. In this year the first records of roads were made. Two dollars bounty was voted for wolf scalps "with the skin thereon;" and it was also voted that "hog yokes be eight inches above the neck." It was also voted that Elias Dickinson, who it is presumed was a Justice of the peace in Phelps, "be allowed \$3 for opening town meetings two years past."

In 1799, the District gave Charles Williamson and Nathaniel Norton, candidates for Assembly, each 23 votes. In 1800 Thomas Morris had the unanimous vote of the district, 68, for representative of the Western District in Congress.

In 1801 the district "neglected to hold town meeting," but three justices of the county. Wm. Rogers, Darius Comstock and Ezra Patterson, met at the house of Oliver Kendall, and appointed John Perrine, supervisor, and Richard Jones town clerk.

Pulteneyville is upon the shore of Lake Ontario, at the mouth of Little Salmon creek. The waters of the fine pure stream that have been collecting upon the slope in Marion and Williamson, on approaching the Lake, seem to have been coy and hesitating in falling into its embrace; meandering along for a considerable distance, nearly parallel with the Lake shore, a ridge elevated from 35 to 40 feet, affords fine building ground overlooking the Lake. Two promontories put out above and below the entrance of the creek into the Lake, which, with a bluff shore, affords the means of making a very good harbor with a small comparative expenditure of money. It was a prominent locality in long years of French and English dominion — the frequent stopping place for the small craft that coasted along the Lake shore. Although the locality was marked by Mr. Williamson in his plans of improvement, and is mentioned in his correspondence with his principals, no commencement was made there under his auspices.

Previous to 1806, William Waters was the only resident there. In that year, Capt. Samuel Throop, changed his residence from Manchester to Pulteneyville, accompanied by his father-in-law, Jeremiah Selby, who had settled at Palmyra as early as 1801. They erected a saw mill and grist mill on Little Salmon creek

Capt. Throop kept the first public house at Pulteneyville. Russel Whipple, becoming a resident there in early years, built the schooner "Laura," which was sailed by Capt. Throop. The widow of Capt. Throop, is now the wife of Major William Rodgers, of Pulteneyville. In addition to the son named in a note attached, Capt. Washington Throop, of Pulteneyville, is another son. Daughters became the wives of W. H. Rodgers and Capt. Andrew Holling, of Pulteneyville.

Joseph Colt, the early merchant at Canandaigua and Geneva, was the pioneer merchant at Pulteneyville. Jacob W. Hallett, late of New York, was an early resident of Pulteneyville, as was Samuel Ledyard, who is a resident there now; of both whom, especially of the latter, whose family was early identified with all the region west of Utica, the author is in hopes to be able to say something in another connection.

CHAPTER VII.

PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW MONROE.

IN December, 1789, the Shaeffer family became the pioneer settlers in all the region west of the Genesee river, and in fact of the whole valley of the Genesee, if we except those who had blended themselves with the Indians, were Indian traders, or had become squatters upon Indian lands, in their flight from the Mohawk and Susquehannah, during the border wars. With reference to permanent settlement and improvement, they must be regarded as the Pioneers of the Genesee Valley.

NOTE. — A singular train of Lake disasters and deaths, is connected with this pioneer family: — Capt. Throop himself was drowned from the schooner Lark, of which he was master, while attempting to enter Sodus Bay, in a gale, in 1819. Previous to which, Mrs. Throop with two young children, in a skiff with her husband, Jeremiah B. Selby and George Armstrong, were going a few miles up the Lake; the skiff filled, the children were drowned, and Mrs. Throop barely escaped. At the early age of 18, the present well known Capt. Horatio N. Throop, of the steam boat Ontario, became a navigator of the Lake, as the master of a small schooner, which he had built himself. In 1825 on his way to Oswego, a cargo of corn with which he was laden became damp, swelled, the vessel suddenly bursting and sinking. Two lads on board drowned, and Capt. Throop himself escaped by swimming to the shore, four miles, on a door that had become detached.

Peter Shaeffer, the elder, was a native of Berks county, Pa., but emigrated from Lancaster to this region, at the advanced age of 85 years. His family who became permanent residents, consisted of himself and his sons Peter and Jacob. In July, 1789, they came first to Geneva, and then to Ganargwa creek, in Bloomfield, where they purchased 1200 acres of land of Gen. Fellows. Remaining there until December, the old gentleman apportioned that tract among his three daughters, and went upon the river with his sons. They found Ebenezer Allan, the owner of the fine tract of flats and upland at the mouth of Allan's creek, adjoining the present village of Scottsville. He had a comfortable log house, upon a gentle swell of land, which may be observed a short distance from the confluence of the creek and river. He was living then with a young white wife, whose name had been Lucy Chapman. Her family on their way to Canada, had stopped with him, and by the solicitations of Mrs. Dugan, (Allan's sister,) Lucy remained to keep her company. A sham magistrate came along soon after and made her a joint partner with some half dozen natives, in the affections of the then lord of the Genesee Valley. Mrs. Dugan, had come on some years previous, with her husband and joined her brother, and had been his housekeeper. Allan had acquired three hundred acres of land by gift from the Indians, to which he had added one hundred and seventy by purchase, from Phelps and Gorham. He had a stock of goods for the Indian trade.* He had 50 or 60 acres of open flats under the plough, 20 acres of wheat upon the ground; some horses and cattle. A few years previous he had wintered seventy head of cattle on rushes.†

The Shaeffers became the purchasers of his fine tract of land, paying him the then high price of \$2.50 per acre: though it must

* And "thereby hangs a tale:"—These goods were obtained of John Butler, British superintendent of Indian affairs at Niagara. They were taken from the King's store house, and were evidently intended for Indian presents upon the Genesee river: to keep the Indians favorable to the British interests, and strengthen the British claim to dominion over the whole of the western portion of this State. But the agent misapplied his trusts: he bought furs with the goods:—they became oftener gifts of gallantry than those of diplomacy. Butler made a business matter of it; demanded pay for the goods: Allan contested the claim, but it was finally compromised by the intervention of James Wadsworth, Esq.

† After coming upon the Genesee river, he had become a grazer and drover. Butler's Rangers and the Indians would steal cattle from the Mohawk and the Susquehanna, and drive them to him. After keeping them upon the river, until they became good beef, they would command a ready sale at high prices, at Fort Niagara and in Canada.

be considered that sixty acres of improvement was then a valuable acquisition. Allan included in the sale, one acre of wheat upon the ground and a sow pig.* The father and sons added to Allan's household for the winter, subsisting upon the milk of two cows they brought in, and Indian pudding that Mrs. Dugan cooked for them.

Allan had erected the saw mill at the Falls, (now Rochester) in the summer previous, and had his timber out for the grist mill. The money that he realized for his farm, enabled him to push forward his enterprise. The grist mill was raised the forepart of winter. The frame was 26 by 30, of heavy timber. All the able bodied white men in the Genesee valley were invited to the raising — and they numbered fourteen, all told. It took them two days. A trading boat happening to enter the mouth of the river, while they were raising, some rum was procured, and the backwoodsmen had a dance in the mill, and a rejoicing at the prospect of something better to prepare meal for their bread than the stump mortar.

The Shaeffers brought apple seeds with them from Pennsylvania, and planted them in December, 1799. These were the first apple seeds, (other than the old French orchard at Schlosser,) planted in the Genesee country, west of the river.

After Allan had sold his farm to the Shaeffers, he went back to Mt. Morris, purchased goods at Philadelphia, bringing them in from the back settlements of Pennsylvania, on horseback. In the season of '90, he sowed 100 acres of wheat, besides raising considerable corn. Like Alexander Selkirk, he was "lord of all he surveyed;" commanded the services of the Indians to work his fields for rum and trinkets, occasionally pressing into his service the Butler Rangers, who had stopped in the valley, in their flight from the Mohawk and the Susquehannah; paying them sometimes, but often arbitrarily adjusting their services to suit himself, as there was then no authority superior to his own. His gallantries, truthfully related, would equal the tales of eastern romance; the "turbaned turk might have yielded to him supremacy; it extended even to the employment of a purveyor, in the person of a Dutchman, Andrews. About this time, alternating in his tastes between his own and another race,

* That same sow pig cost a night's lodging in the woods. She took to the woods early in the spring, and had to be looked up when winter came again. In the search, the present Peter Shaeffer got benighted and slept in a hollow log through a winter night.

he took another white wife, the daughter of a Ranger, named Gregory, who lived upon the Canascraga flats, near Dansville.*

Mr. Shaeffer contradicts the story of Allan's murder of the Dutchman, Andrews,† but he says that he murdered a boy that lived with him, and points out the grave, near the site of Allan's residence, on the Shaeffer flats. The boy was sent for a bucket of water, and playing by the way, Allan met him, took the bucket from him, and beat him to death with it.

He was, says Mr. Shaeffer, mild and conciliating, when he had a selfish end to accomplish; but always severe and harsh with his dependents. A refugee, a negro slave, had during the Revolution, come from the Mohawk to the Genesee river, and domiciled with the Indians. He was called "Captain Sun Fish." He was shrewd, intelligent, became a trader in cattle, selling in Canada, and at Fort Niagara, took a squaw wife, and acquired considerable money. At one time he was settled at the mouth of Tonawanda creek. Coveting his money, and wishing, perhaps, in the way of matrimony to try a third race, Allan married one of his daughters. Getting possession of the money, however, he discarded the mixed negro and Indian wife; but as if there were some redeeming traits in his character, he pensioned the old negro, and allowed him a hut upon his Allan's creek farm. Sun Fish finally went to Tonawanda, where his descendants now reside.

Jacob Schoonover and his family had preceded the Shaeffers a few months, and settled near the mouth of Dugan's creek. Peter Shaeffer married his daughter, in 1790. He and his wife died in 1838, '9, at the ages of 93 and 94. Mrs. Shaeffer died in 1835, aged 63 years.

The whole valley of the river below Mr. Shaeffer's, was slow in settling. The first settler was Joseph Morgan, his farm adjoining the Shaeffer farm, in '92: a daughter of his, Mrs. Early, now occupies the place. His son, Joseph Morgan, resides on the river, a short

* When he emigrated to Canada, he undertook to lessen the number of his white wives, by procuring the drowning of this last one. Two men that were hired for the purpose, took her down in a canoe, and purposely ran over the falls near the present aqueduct; swimming ashore themselves, but leaving her to go over the main falls. She, however, disappointed them, saving herself, and soon appearing in the presence of her faithless lord, at the mouth of the river, a dripping water nymph. She followed him to Canada, and became one of his new household there.

† He went over the Genesee Falls, when taking mill irons down for the old Allan mill; the boat and irons were found below the Falls.

distance below. In some of the earliest years, —— Peabody erected a distillery, first at Handford's Landing, and afterwards, on the Joseph Morgan place; Wm. Peabody, of Scottsville, is a son of his. Andrew Wortman was a settler upon the river, as early as '94 or '5, occupying the farm that belonged to Samuel Street, of Chippewa, who was his brother-in-law. Caleb Aspinwall, Peter Conkle, Frederick and Nicholas Hettzeller, were early in the Shaef-fer neighborhood. Reuben Heth, a Vermonter, stopping first at Bloomfield, came upon the river, in early years, worked for Mr. Shæffer, without a change of his buckskin breeches and buckskin coat, until he had earned enough to pay for a farm. He died about twenty years since, a man of wealth, and the founder of a highly respectable family. Eldridge Heth, of Wheatland, is a son; Mrs. Hyde, Mrs. Nettleton, and Mrs. Halsted, are his daughters.

The two story, venerable looking farm house, near which is the old apple orchard, on the Genesee Valley canal, a short distance below Scottsville, is the residence of Peter Shæffer. The fine flats spread out before it, in a high state of cultivation, with long lines of wire fence, are those he purchased from "Indian Allan." In a romantic spot, at the end of the ridge, that will be observed rising upon the flats, and terminating near the river and creek, stood the log dwelling, which served the purposes of a farm house, a store, and a harem, for this singular man, who fled from civilization, first to become the scourge of his own race and kindred, and afterwards to repay the confidence and hospitality of another race, by a career among them, marked throughout by selfishness and sensuality.

It will hardly do to talk of antiquity, in a country where our race have been occupants but sixty years, in allusion to any relic of their advent. But the old Shæffer home, with all its historical associations, may be said to look antiquated. It was built in 1789, before the new discovery, the cut nail, was in use, and all the doors had to be made consequently with wrought nails. Its strap door hinges, its locks, handles and latches were made by a blacksmith, who had come into the country; none other could then be procured. It was the first framed farm dwelling, in all the region between Genesee river and Lake Erie. When it was building, the surveyors were making the preliminary surveys of most of all the territory now comprised in the counties of Orleans, Niagara, Erie, Genesee, Wyoming, Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Chautauque; Buffalo contained three log

dwellings, and Mr. Ellicot was making an opening to erect the first log dwelling at Batavia. For ten years after that house was completed, and twenty years after its venerable surviving occupant was cultivating large fields; when those apple trees had become bearers, from the seeds he had planted, the site of a city of 40,000 inhabitants, was a rugged and forbidding wilderness! The orchard was planted six years before the British gave up all claim to W. N. York, and surrendered Fort Niagara, and the house built but two years afterwards.

The father and brother of Peter Shaeffer died in early years. The fine start which the improvements gave him — the ready market he found for his early large crops of corn — the facilities he enjoyed for exchanging provisions for labor, with the new comers that dropped in around him, were advantages he well improved; and to which he soon added grazing and droving; his market, Fort Niagara and Canada. He added to his original land purchase, by degrees, until he had a large possession; and a competence of wealth has rewarded his early enterprise. He is now in his 88th year: his faculties not materially impaired, his memory of early events retentive and intelligent; and with the exception of a diseased ankle, his physical constitution holds out remarkably for one of his age. In his younger days, he used spirituous liquors moderately; none for the last twenty years; and as an example to old tobacco chewers, it may be added, that he was one of them for half a century, but is not of them now. He has been the occupant of different town offices, and has always enjoyed the esteem of his fellow citizens. The Scotch settlers who became his neighbors, in indigent circumstances, and the pioneers of different neighborhoods, in the western part of Monroe county, many of them speak of his kindness in early years, in furnishing them with grain and pork, upon credit; and in return the old gentleman pays a high compliment to the honesty of the primitive settlers, by saying that of the numerous debts thus contracted, he recollects no instance where he ultimately failed to receive his pay. He speaks of the gratification it used to give him, to supply with a few bushels of grain, some potatoes, or pork, perhaps, settlers in the backwoods, (to be carried off, generally, upon their backs,) who he has lived to see become the owner of broad fields and crowded granaries. The surviving sons of Peter Shaeffer, are: — Peter, Levi, Daniel, George; the last of whom is the owner and

occupant of the old homestead, and one of the best farmers and stock breeders in the Genesee valley. Mrs. Philip Garbut and Mrs. Caleb Allen, are his daughters. His children all reside in Wheatland and Chili.

REMINISCENCES OF PETER SHAEFFER.

It was several years after settlement commenced upon the river, before the Ridge Road was known; an Indian trail went from the mouth of the River to Fort Niagara, keeping near the Lake shore; and another trail was along the west bank of the river from Canawagus to mouth of river. Peter and Jacob Shaeffer laid out a road from Allan's creek to the Falls, in '92; had no compass; took ranges from trees; but the road as it now exists, is mainly on the old route. It was improved, the streams bridged with logs, so that teams could pass in the winter of '93, '4.

Deer were plenty; bears and wolves made it troublesome to keep sheep or hogs; but the raccoon was the most troublesome animal we had to contend with. To save their corn, the new settlers were obliged to hunt them, but their fur sold readily, and paid for the hunting. At some seasons the pigeons were very abundant; they could be taken in large numbers, by the use of nets: the breasts were cut out, salted, and they made very good eating. Trout were so plenty in Allan's creek, that a string of an hundred and an hundred and fifty, could be taken without changing ground. At Dumplin Hill, on one occasion, a panther was a victim to his voracious appetite. Killing a deer, he gorged himself, became stupid, an Indian found him helpless, and shot him.

Up to 1794, there was a constant intercourse kept up between the British at Fort Niagara, and in Canada, and the Indians upon the river. A large proportion of the Indians inclined to the British interests, and by means of runners, and speeches sent from Gov. Simcoe and Lord Dorchester, the idea was constantly inculcated that the British would soon want their aid against the United States. Just before the victory of Gen. Wayne, believing as they were made to believe, from some source, that he would be defeated, they were menacing and insolent. When a large party of them were encamped on the flats of Allan's creek, on their way to become allies against Wayne, some of the painted warriors gave out that they would return with help enough to drive off the whites. The victory created a better state of things, but there was not a feeling of perfect security until the surrender of Fort Niagara, in 1796.

"I have been the commissary of an army," said Mr. Shaeffer, and he explained:—When the American troops were on their way up the Lake to take possession of Fort Niagara, in batteaux, they met with head winds, put back into the Genesee river, where their provisions failed. Hearing of Mr. Shaeffer, they came up the river, quartered in his barn, and he supplied them with pork and Indian meal, taking the officer's note. When they broke up their quarters, Mr. Shaeffer piloted them to Caledonia Springs, put them upon the

trail, and arriving at Tonawanda, Pondry piloted them to Fort Niagara, where they were the first to raise the American flag. The next winter, Mr. Shaeffer drove cattle to Canada, visited Fort Niagara, and received his pay.

May Jemison once staid at Mr. Shaeffer's over night, on her way with a hunting party, to the mouth of the river. She related the story of her captivity, and said she was happy in her Indian relations, and preferred to remain rather than to rejoin her friends.

William Hencher was a native of Brookfield, Mass., a soldier of the Revolution, he afterwards became a partizan of Shay, in the Massachusetts rebellion. While transporting some provisions to the insurgents, he was overtaken by some of the opposing military, fled, leaving his teams, and sought refuge in the then wild regions of western New York. He came first to Newtown Point, remained there one year, was joined by his family, and located in the neighborhood of Col. Sterrett, on Big Flats. In August, 1791, he and his son William, then eleven years of age, went to the mouth of the Genesee river, where they found Walker, the Ranger, located in a log hut on the east side of the river, near its mouth, the solitary occupant, short of Irondequoit Bay, Orange Stones, and Peter Shaeffers. Determining upon a settlement, Mr. Hencher, with the help of his son, went up to Long Pond, cut wild grass for the stock they intended to bring on, erected a hut on the west side of the river, and returned to Big Flats; carrying with them, however, a sufficient amount of the fever and ague to last them nearly through the winter.

In February, '92, he moved in by the way of Seneca Lake and Catherine's Town, upon ox-sleds. At Irondequoit, was the end of any road. Mr. Hencher cut his road before his teams, striking the river above the Falls, and then down on the east side to Walker's, where the family remained until the last of March, when they crossed the river and occupied the hut they had erected in the fall, the roof of which was dry wild grass. This was the first hut of a white man erected on the shores of Lake Ontario, between the Genesee river and Fort Niagara. The family consisted of the father, mother, one son, and seven daughters. Clearing a few acres the first season, and planting a few acres that Walker had cleared, they got some summer crops: and also erected a comfortable log house. The place was much frequented by emigrants and boatmen, who came to camp on shore. Mr. Hencher soon commenced

traffic with boatmen, emigrants and Indians, to which business he soon added a brisk trade in fish. He and his son, having procured a boat, would cross Lake Ontario to the river Credit, and purchase fresh salmon, and sometimes catch them in the Oak Orchard and the Irondequoit. These he would carry back into the settlements, and exchange for butter and cheese, which he would market in Canada, making large profits. Purchasing six hundred acres of land, he supported a large family, and paid for the land twice, the first title proving defective. The old gentleman died soon after the war of 1812, his wife surviving until 1843, when she died at the age of 93 years. The eldest daughter married Thomas Lee; she survives, and is a resident at Pittsford. Hers was the first marriage that took place upon the west side of the river, except that of Peter Shaeffer. Another sister married Bartholomew Maybee, and is yet living in Ohio; another, Stephen Lusk, of Pittsford, and is yet living; another, Jonathan Leonard, of Parma, and is yet living; another, Donald M'Kenzie, of Caledonia, and is yet living. Two others, Mrs. Clement, of Cleveland, and Mrs. Abel Rowe, of Parma, are dead. Seven Pioneer wives and mothers came from under one roof! Of the eight children, six are living; and yet, they have passed through the most rugged scenes of pioneer life, and their location was, in early years, deemed the most unhealthy of all the new settlements! The eldest is 80, and the youngest 65. The old gentleman lived to see all of his children married and settled. The only son, William Hencher, is 71 years of age; resides in Andover, Allegany county, with faculties unimpaired, his memory enabling him to relate early events with minuteness and accuracy.

REMINISCENCES OF WM. HENCHER, 2d.

For two years after we came to the mouth of the Genesee river, many of the Indians were ugly, threatening and quarrelsome. Pending the victory of Wayne, my father had made up his mind to leave the country, if the result had been adverse; but his courage was renewed when the Senecas came back from the fight, tame and spiritless, complaining of the conduct of their British allies in shutting themselves up in a fort, and not coming to their rescue, as they had been made to believe they would. We all expected that if Wayne was defeated, the western Indians would come down and aid the Senecas in a war upon the whites in this region. The mouth of the Genesee River, Braddock's Bay, and Irondequoit Bay, were hunting, trapping, and

fishing grounds of the Senecas, and at times, the Mississaguas from Canada would be encamped about them in large numbers.

Some of the first bugs that my father brought in became wild; a bear, especially, became almost the lord of the forest. Thuddling his flock together, he would alone fight and conquer bears who attempted to attack them; and he was more than a match, with his long tusks, for all the dogs of the country. On one occasion, he tamed an Indian, and kept him up until he was relieved by others.

Indian Allan came down and staid with us for several days, when he moved to Canada, awaiting the arrival of a boat from Niagara, which he had chartered. He had a boat load of effects, one Squaw and two white wives.

When the British held Fort Niagara and Oswego, a mail used to be carried between them by water in summer, and by a runner in winter, travelling on snow shoes. Elisha Scudder, who lived at Irondequoit, was crossing the Bay in a canoe — saw a bear swimming — struck at him — missed, the axe going out of his hands into the water. The bear, tired of swimming, mounted into the canoe, and remained in it till it reached the shore; stepping out, and marching off deliberately, without even thanking the ferryman. John Parks, the hunter, made my father's house his head quarters. Near Irondequoit Bay, wanting a boat, the sailors turned and attacked him; bear and hunter clashed, and a desperate fight ensued. Parks escaped, killing the bear with his knife, but was dreadfully bitten and lacerated. He worked to our house, several miles, on his hands and knees. Dr. Hosmer came down and dressed his wounds.

Parks and the mulatto Dunbar, who lived at Irondequoit, were out after coons upon the Lake shore. Their dogs freed them, as they supposed. It was dark; Dunbar climbed the tree, until he discovered a pair of eyes larger than coons usually have, and looked down. They built up fires, remained until morning, when they found their game a large possum, which they shot.

The dens of the rattlesnakes were all along in the banks of the river below the Falls. In the first warm days in the spring, they would come out, roll and envenome themselves in large coils, with their heads sticking out; so torpid, you could kill them easily. This would continue until the weather was settled; then they would go out upon their summer rounds, not returning to their dens until cold weather came again. I have killed six in a day. On one occasion, in the spring of the year, we got together all we could raise, went up the river in canoes, and killed 300 in one day. I have no doubt of the snake's power of charming his victim. I have killed rattlesnakes that had swallowed shipmunks and birds, and have often seen birds fluttering over black snakes, with apparently no power to get away until I had disturbed the snake, when they would quickly take the wing.

The next summer after we came in, John Love, who had married a daughter of Dr. Adams of Geneva, came and lived with us. Dr. Adams had purchased land upon the Lake shore, of Mr. Williamson. My father and Love went up to Esq. Shattlers and bought some corn, took it down to the Allan mill in a canoe, ground it themselves, bucked it over the portage down to a point a little above Hamilton's Landing, where they made ropes of bark and set it down in a canoe.

Deer were abundant. I have killed six in one hour. Buddock's Bay was a famous place for trapping otters, muskrats and minks. Geese and ducks

bred in the Bay, in the pond, in Irondequoit Bay. We could procure their eggs in any desired quantity.

Our early route up the river was an old Indian trail that bore off from the river to avoid Deep Hollow, and came upon it again at Scottsville; and it was many years before we had any thing but a wood's road through the present city of Rochester.

A very likely Indian — Tuscarora Charles — and his Squaw, were almost constantly encamped at the mouth of the river and Braddock's Bay. When Walker went to Canada in '93, Charles went with me to drive his cattle. On our return, arriving at a camping ground, where the village of Caryville, Genesee county, now is, we found Joseph Brant, with a white waiter, on his way to Canada. He was well dressed, after the fashion of white men; but before we parted, he changed his dress entirely, putting on an Indian dress, and getting Charles to paint him like an Indian warrior. This was before reaching Tonawanda, and I fancied that he preferred appearing among his own people like one of them.

There was a great change when the British gave up Oswego and Niagara: navigation of the Lake was brisk; surveyors and emigrants on their way to New Connecticut, often put into the mouth of the river.

We had but little sickness in our family; called Dr. Hosmer on one or two occasions. He used but little medicine; he recommended to my mother the use of the extract of bitternut root, as an ordinary cathartic, and she was well convinced of its efficacy.

During the Revolution, Butler's Rangers that did not go to Canada, were scattered along among the Indians, on the Susquehanna and Tioga rivers, Seneca Lake, and Genesee river. To arrest the march of Sullivan, Butler and Brant came from Canada, Butler to head the Rangers, and Brant to head the Indians. When they were defeated and driven before Sullivan's army, Brant with his Indian allies, took the Niagara trail for Canada; and Butler and his Rangers went down to the mouth of the Genesee river, after sending Walker as a runner to Niagara to have boats sent down. They encamped, made no fires for fear the smoke would betray them, fired no guns, kept as quiet as possible, fearing that Sullivan's scouts would discover their retreat. There were several days delay of the boats, and when Walker arrived with them, Butler and his men were nearly famished for the want of food.

Mr. — Hunt, the Pioneer at Johnson's Creek, Niagara county, was a prisoner at Fort Niagara during the Border Wars. Walker was then on the other side, and one day was sent by Col. Butler over to enquire of the commanding officer of the Fort if he had any news? "Tell Col. Butler," said the British commandant, "that there is bad news; the d—d rebels have carried the day, and there will be no place left for us but Nova Scotia, where it is colder than — is hot." *

* This was just after the battle of Yorktown. The reader may fill the blank with the name of the warmest locality he can think of. The Walker alluded to by Messrs. Shaeffer and Hencher, was from Minisink. Becoming a Butler Ranger, in the flight of that corps to Canada after the unsuccessful attempt to arrest the march of Sullivan, he stopped at the mouth of the Genesee river, on the east side, erected a log cabin, and lived there until his removal to Canada. He will have to be considered the first of

Isaac Scott was the first owner and occupant of the present village of Scottsville. He emigrated from Vermont, in company with Aaron and Jesse Beach,* in 1790, to Avon, and they located at the mouth of Allan's creek soon after, if not in the same year. Scott died in 1818: many of his descendants reside at Whitewater, Indiana. Other early settlers there not named in other connections:—Hinds Chamberlin, Samuel Cox, Israel Hall, William Frazier, James Woods, D. S. Winter, John Smith, who was an early surveyor employed by Messrs. Phelps, Williamson and Wadsworth, Robert and Thomas Smith, of Chili, are his sons.

Samuel Street of Niagara Falls, C. W., purchased soon after 1790, (of Ebenezer Allan it is presumed,) what has long been known as the Street farm, at Dugan's creek on the river. In earliest the years of settlement, Jeremiah Olmsted, his brother-in-law, came from Fairfield, Conn., with his family, and occupied it. Considerable improvements had been made upon the farm by Allan and Dugan, and Mr. Street had stocked it largely for that early period. Of the family, and those employed upon the farm, ten persons died the first year of the "Genesee fever," among whom was Mrs. Olmsted. In '98 or '9, Mr. Olmsted moved down the river and occupied a hut, on the present site of Rochester, south of the House of Refuge, near where McKerchney's brewery now stands, where he cleared a small spot. This was the first blow struck in the way of improvement, other than at the Allan mill, on all the present site of the city of Rochester. "The shantee," says the author's informant, "had been put up by one Farwell;" one of the brothers it is presumed, who are named in another connection. Mr. Olmsted remained upon the spot but one year; long enough, however, to produce the first crops

* A daughter of Isaac Scott, who was the wife of Jesse Beach, now resides with her son, Cyrus Beach, at Cambria, Niagara county; aged 82 years. She says her father and the Beaches paid 50 cents per acre for land in and about Scottsville. The author gives a reminiscence in her own words:—"There was a man they called Allan about there when we came; he kept a number of cattle on the flats, and had two or three squaws that staid with him; they browsed and took care of the cattle."

our race who inhabited all the present county of Monroe. He had with him either two step-daughters, or women living in a more questionable capacity. He hunted, fished, and trafficked with Indians. An early map of all this region, engraved in London, has upon it no sign of civilization or habitation, on all the lake shore between Oswego and Niagara, except the picture of a log cabin at the mouth of the Genesee river and underneath it the word "Walker's."

ever grown upon the site of Rochester. He went upon the Ridge, becoming the neighbor of Daniel Rowe. He was the collector of taxes for Northampton, in 1799, and like his predecessor, Simon King, and his successor, Peter Shaeffer, his tax roll embraced the whole region between the Genesee and Niagara rivers. He changed his residence to Handford's Landing in 1816, where he died the same year. Harry Olmsted, of Greece, his son and successor, still survives; has been long known as a tavern keeper, on River road, near Handford's Landing; another son resides in Canada, and Mrs. Billington of Allegany county, is a daughter. Harry Olmsted, was at the mouth of the river, and upon Niagara frontier in the war of 1812, at one period a member of Capt. Rowe's company, at another enrolled in the cavalry of Major Stone. He was in the battle at Lundy's Lane, and was at Fort Erie in the affair of the 15th of August.

As early as April, 1797, all the region between the Genesee river and Lake Erie, was made a separate town of Ontario county, called Northampton. The first town meeting was held at the house of Peter Shaeffer. "The vote was taken by Gad Wadsworth, Esq., of the town of Hartford." Josiah Fish was chosen supervisor, Eli Granger, town clerk. Other town officers:—Joseph Morgan, Josiah Fish, Peter Shaeffer, Elijah Kent, Jeremiah Olmsted, Gideon King, Christopher Dugan, Isaac Scott, Hinds Chamberlin, Simon King,

It will be observed that there were but three road districts. They were on the river, from Canawagus to Lake Ontario; no road then leading into the interior. The inhabitants were so few, that one man held no less than three town offices. Fifty dollars was raised to defray the expenses of the town. In that year 18d., was authorized to be expended for "election boxes."

In 1799, most of the same officers were re-elected, and Jesse Beach who had settled on the road west of Caledonia, was made a path master, the first west of Caledonia. Fifty dollars was raised for town expenses, and the like sum, "payable in labor or produce," for the erection of bridges.

In 1800, the town officers chosen were distributed along on west bank of the river and along the main road to the village of Buffalo. For instance:—two path-masters resided upon the river, one at Le Roy, another at Stafford, another at Durham's Grove, another

at Clarence Hollow, and another in Buffalo. In this year, \$200 was raised for building a bridge over the creek at "Buttermilk Falls." In an account current between the town, and Josiah Fish, supervisor, for the years '97, '8, '9, '90, he is credited for money expended on "Bridge over Deep Hollow." (Rochester) \$175. In this year, Peter Shaeffer was collector of the town. The number of names upon his tax roll was less than 150, and a large number of them were those of non-residents. Although the whole tax was over \$8,000, the sum paid by resident landholders was less than \$2,00. In the collection of it Mr. Shaeffer found it much cheaper to pay himself many of the small amounts, than to look up those to whom they were assessed, scattered as they were in the forest. To reach the town of Lewiston, from Buffalo, he had to cross the Niagara river and go down on the Canada side.

In 1801, \$100 were raised "for destroying wolves, and paying other contingent charges of the town." It was voted that the "wolf's head must have the entire skin thereon." A resolution was passed, that "from the extensive boundaries of the town, it is necessary it should be divided."

A glance at the records of 1802, shew the progress of settlement westward; although the town meetings were still continued at the house of Peter Shaeffer, and Col. Fish was continued supervisor, the path-masters began to occupy a wide range:—Abel Rowe was a path-master in the now town of Greece; Asa Utley, near Scottsville; Daniel Buell, at Le Roy; Jas. M'Naughton, Caledonia; Ezekiel Lane, Buffalo; Joseph Howell and Lemuel Cooke at Niagara Falls and Lewiston; Richard M. Stoddard of Le Roy was one of the commissioners of highways; and Isaac Sutherland of Batavia was a constable.

In 1803, the towns of Leicester, Batavia, and Southhampton, were erected from Northampton by a resolution adopted at a special town meeting. The commissioners appointed to fix the boundaries of the four towns, were:—Elijah Kent, R. M. Stoddard, Samuel Tupper, John Thompson.

The first general election for all the region west of Genesee River, was in April, 1800. For Congress, Thomas Morris had 37 votes. For members of Assembly, Nathaniel Norton had 37, Lemuel Chipman 25, William Dunn 10. In 1801, Stephen Van Rensselaer had 78 votes for Governor, George Clinton 10. For delegates to state

convention;—Moses Atwater 52, John Knox 77, Israel Chapin 21, Amos Hall 6. In 1802, for Congress, Oliver Phelps 117, N. W. Howell 16; for members of Assembly, Joseph Ellicott 117, Aug. Porter 117, Daniel Chapin 121, Thaddeus Chapin 5, Ebenezer Merry 2, Pollydore B. Wisner 12. This was the last election previous to the erection of Genesee county.

First road recorded is from Braddock's Bay to distillery of Stephen Peabody, on River, a short distance below Mr. Shaeffer's. This, it is presumed, was what had been called the "Williamson road,"—the first avenue opened to reach the Bay from the Buffalo road. The 2d:—"From Landing place below the Falls, to Landing place above the Allan mill." 3d:—Across the flats of the River near Cuylerville. 4th:—From "mouth of River to Canawagus, and from thence to east bounds of Peter Campbell's lot, at the upper end of Scotch settlement." In 1802 the road was recorded from Le Roy to Batavia: from "Batavia to mouth of Buffalo creek near John Palmer's house;" from "Niagara Falls to Lewiston and Fort Niagara." In 1797, there were three path-masters west of Genesee River:—Christopher Dugan, Joseph Morgan, and Josiah Fish. In 1799, there were five:—Jessee Beach, Asa Baker, Peter Shaeffer, Elijah Kent, Samuel Hicks. In 1800, there were seven:—Jotham Curtis, Garrett Davis, Asa Ransom, Joshua Chamberlin, Stephen Peabody, Timothy Madden, Jr., Daniel Curtis. In 1801, eleven:—Nehemiah Weston, Simon King, Solomon Blood, Joseph Cummings, Perez Brown, John M' Vean, Daniel Davis, John Palmer, John M' Naughton, Salmon Scott, Asa Ransom.

Col. Josiah Fish, the early Supervisor of the wide region of Northampton, was from Windham, Vermont. Having in a previous visit to the country, purchased a farm at the mouth of Black Creek, on the Genesee river, in 1795, with his son Libbeus, he came on to commence upon it. Hiring his team work of Mr. Shaeffer, he broke up a few acres of the open flats, planted it, put up a log hut which he got the Indians to cover with bark; after which, the father and son went down to board with Sprague, who was then in charge of the Allan mill, at the Falls; "and pretty hard board it was," says the son:—"We had raccoon for breakfast, dinner and supper, with no vegetables; and upon extra occasions, we had cakes fried in raccoon oil." This, with the fever and ague added, was a specimen of pioneer life in what is now Rochester. Taking

the son up to Mr. Berry's at Canawaugus, where he had a winter's sickness, the father returned to Vermont for the family; and in April, the whole were in their new solitary home at Black Creek, living without doors, floor, window or chimney. Over half of the family were soon prostrated by disease, which continued the greater part of the season. In November, Mr. Williamson having hired Col. Fish to take charge of the Allan mill, the family moved down to the Falls, and occupied a board shantee for cooking, sleeping in rooms partitioned off in the mill, where was not even the luxury of glass windows. In this way they wintered and summered. The next fall, they put up a three walled log house, against a ledge of rocks on the river bank, the site being that now occupied by the old red mill, near Child's basin; the ledge of rocks serving for one wall of the house; a fire place and chimney being excavated in the rock. They found for their neighbors, Messrs. Hencher and Hosmer, at the mouth of the river; and soon after they had located at the Falls, they were much gratified in the accession of some new neighbors — the Atchinsons — at Braddock's Bay. In 1798, Col. Fish, being a magistrate for Ontario county, held a court at Lewiston for the trial of a person who had sold liquor to the soldiers of Fort Niagara. He remained in charge of the mill until 1804, when he moved back to his farm. In 1807, he sold his farm, and moved upon the Ridge, near Parma, where he died in 1811. Libbeus Fish, formerly of Batavia, now residing at Jackson, Michigan; John P., Chicago, are his sons.

The Atchinson family were from Tolland county, Conn. It consisted of Bezaleel Atchinson, his brothers, Asa, Jacob, Sylvester, Stephen and John, his two sons, and two daughters. Sylvester Atchinson surveyed the town of Naples for Phelps & Gorham. In 1794, they purchased lands there, some of the brothers remained and made improvements, and in 1796 were joined by Bezaleel and his family, who remained there but a short time, and in March, of that year, went to Braddock's Bay, two brothers accompanying him. Although all the Atchinson brothers, six in number, were at the Bay as early as 1802, Bezaleel with his family, and two brothers, Stephen and John, were the Pioneers. Mr. Williamson having just opened the town of Parma for sale, held out some inducements for them to commence the settlement at the Bay. They came in by the way of Canawaugus, crossing the river on the ice, and on arriving

at the Allan mill, found a hunter by the name of Parks, a wanderer, with his dog, gun, and blanket—the Leather Stocking of the Genesee valley—who they hired as a pilot,—not having even the benefit of marked trees after they left the river. They were three days making the journey from where Rochester now is, to Braddock's Bay, making their own road as they went along. With the boards from their sled, and some blankets, they made a shelter, in which they lived six weeks; in which time they built a log house without nails, boards or glass. Starting from Naples with four oxen they lost one on the road, and two, soon after they arrived at the Bay, leaving them but one ox for their team work; but with this one ox, they logged eight acres and prepared it for summer crops. They used him with a crooked yoke and traces.

Michael Beach, had the summer previous, come in and made a small improvement, on the farm now owned by Judge Castle. Within one, two and three years, the Atchinsons were joined in their new settlement by George Goodhue, Silas Leonard, Timothy Madden and their families. Leonard was from Stockbridge, Massachusetts; there came in with him his sons Jonathan and Silas. The next year after they emigrated, the father went to the salt works at Onondaga to chop cord wood, and was killed by the falling of a limb of a tree. Capt. Jonathan Leonard, upon whom the care of the family devolved, who married a daughter of Wm. Hatcher, is yet living at the Bay. He says:—"We suffered much from sickness. After being in three years we lost all our household effects by fire; we could raise no money for anything except cattle, with which we paid for our land; with a crop of three hundred bushels of wheat, we could not raise one shilling in money. We experienced the utmost kindness from Mr. Williamson, and his successors." Silas Madden, of Parma, is a son of the early Pioneer; another son, Alpheus, sickened upon the frontier in the war of 1812, and died soon after reaching home.

Roswell Atchinson, Esq., of Parma, is a surviving son of the early Pioneer, Bezaleel Atchinson. He says;—"I have heard my mother say that she lived eight months without seeing a white woman. The Indians often come to the Bay to hunt, trap, and pick cranberries. Salmon were abundant in Salmon creek; I have known my father to take three barrels in a short time. We had for neighbors, the first winter, a colony of beavers. Their dam was on

Salmon creek ; we did not molest them : used to often see them at work : thought we would protect them, and let them breed a large colony ; but the spring freshet came, swept away their dam, they went into the Bay where they were caught by a trapper. These were all the beavers we saw ; their dams on all the small streams however, looked as if they had not been long deserted." "We had no schools until we had been in eight years ; we then built a log school house, in which Alpheus Madden taught for two months, when the house burned down. I went to Victor, the nearest school. Two Methodist circuit preachers — Messrs. Hill and Woodworth, found our new settlement after many years ; not until settlement had commenced upon the Ridge. They would preach at the house of some new settler ; and it was not uncommon for women to go on foot five or six miles to hear them."

The surviving sons of Bezaleel Atchinson, are : — Roswell, of Parma, Austin, of Greece, Fuller, a Methodist clergyman at the west. Daughters : — Mrs. Willard Cranson, and Mrs. Buel, of Michigan, Mrs. Samuel Wyman, of Parma, and Mrs. Sylvanus Willey, of Ogdén. The father died in 1828, aged 66 years. The brothers who came into the country with him : — Sylvester, resides in Oakland county, Michigan ; Stephen died a few years since in Illinois. Mrs. George Patterson of Parma, is his daughter ; John resides in Parma, over 80 years of age ; — he commanded a volunteer corps in the war of 1812, serving upon the frontier, and at the mouth of the Genesee river. Asa, resides in Coldwater, Michigan, and Jacob in Illinois ; making four of the six brothers, who came to the Genesee country in 1794, still alive ; an instance of longevity, that has few parallels. Jacob Atchinson buried a wife and nine children, before leaving Parma, and has now a second wife, and a large family.

In 1790, Phelps and Gorham sold to a company of men in Springfield and Northampton, Mass., 20,000 acres of T. 7. 1, short range, upon the "Mill Tract." This embraced all of the present site of the city of Rochester, west of the river.* Among the purchasers, were Quartus Pomeroy, Justin Ely, Ebenezer Hunt, and — Breck. By re-sales, previous to 1796, Augustus and Peter B. Porter, Zadock Granger and Gideon King, had become part owners.

* There was excepted in the deed of conveyance, the "One Hundred Acre Tract," or "Allan Mill Tract," which had previously been granted to Ebenezer Allan.

The tract was surveyed in 1790, by Frederick Saxton, and subdivided in '97, by Aug. Porter.

In the winter of 1796, '7, the settlement of the tract commenced, by the advent of four families: — Eli Granger, Thomas King, Simon King, and Elijah Kent. They came in via Canawaugus, and down the river, locating a short distance above what was afterwards King's, now Handford's Landing. They had no shelter but their covered sleighs, until they erected log huts. The next year they were joined by Bradford and Moses King, Dr. Stone and — Graham: and in 1798, four brothers, Ebenezer, Daniel, Abel and Asa Rowe, settled in the neighborhood. These new settlers began to make farms, but encountered sickness and death enough to have discouraged the less resolute. Several of the heads of families died in the first few years.

Asa Rowe died soon after coming in, as did — Graham, and the father of the brothers Kings, and Elijah Kent. When Mr. Rowe died, the other brothers were sick and unable to go for help to lay him out and bury him, until he had lain 24 hours. Recovering from their sickness, the surviving brothers left the country, and returned to Oneida county. In a few years however, Daniel and Abel returned, bringing with them another brother, Frederick, and settled on the Ridge Road.

The first boards that the new settlers obtained, was by repairing the old Allan saw mill at the Falls, and in a few years Nathaniel Jones, built a rude saw mill on the small stream, that puts in near Hanford's Landing.

Dr. Zacheus Colby, and Dr. Sylvester Atchinson, were early physicians, practicing in the Kings' settlement.

In 1799, Eli Granger and Abner Migells, built a schooner at King's Landing, the first merchant vessel built by Americans on Lake Ontario, and none had been previously built by Americans on the Upper Lakes.

Township 13, range 7, was the fifth sale made by Phelps & Gorham. In Mr. Phelps's memorandum, it is entered as sold to "Gen. Hyde and others." The associates of Gen. Hyde, who was a resident of Lenox, Mass., were his townsmen, Prosper Polly, Enos Stone, Job Gilbert, Joseph Chaplin, and it is presumed, John Lusk,

of Berkshire, as fifteen hundred acres of the township near the head of Irondequoit Bay, was set off to him, while the survey of the township into farm lots was progressing. Mr. Lusk was the pioneer in improvement and settlement, and in fact bore that relation to all of what is now Monroe county, having even preceded the Shaeffers several months. With his son Stephen, then fifteen years old, and Seely Peet, a hired man, he came to the new region early in the summer of 1789. Arriving at Schenectady, he embarked with a small stock of provisions, in a batteau, the son and hired man coming by land, and driving some cattle. The son, Stephen Lusk, of Pittsford, who still survives, says he remembers very well, that upon the present site of Utica, there was only an opening of about half an acre in the forest — and that the pioneer there, John Post, was just finishing his log cabin. They came upon the Indian trail, via Skaneateles, Onondaga Hollow, and from there to Cayuga Lake had little more than spotted trees as a guide. They crossed Cayuga Lake on a raft, swimming their cattle. The father, son and hired man, re-united at Canandaigua, and constructing an ox-sled, made their own road to their location in Brighton. Erecting a log cabin, they cleared twelve acres and sowed it to wheat, procuring their wheat of Ebenezer Allan, upon the Shaeffer farm, by cutting a woods road to the mouth of Red creek, to which point they transported it in a canoe. While they were clearing the land and sowing their wheat, they saw none of their own race, but the surveyors of the township. Indians often came from Canada in canoes to the Bay, on their way to Canandaigua. The whole three had the ague and fever, which obliged them to suspend labor for a considerable period. They returned to Massachusetts in the fall.

In the spring of 1790, Mr. Lusk brought out his family, coming all the way from Schenectady to the head of Irondequoit Bay by water, the sons Stephen and Erastus coming by land with stock in company with Enos Stone and others. Mr. Shaeffer and his brother, being bachelors, the family of John Lusk may be said to be the first family located upon all the territory now embraced in Monroe county, other than the temporary residents, refugees from the border wars, Allan and Walker. The first few years they had to contend with all the usual privations of extreme backwoods life, and to which was added disease and harrassing Indian alarms. The refugee Walker of whom Mr. Hencher speaks, living in his solitary hut at the mouth

of the River, was still in the British and Indian interests—made frequent visits to Niagara; and returning would alarm the few settlers in the backwoods by representing that they were to be attacked by the Indians. He was not pleased with his new neighbors; and when they crowded upon him, he sought more congenial associations, in Canada.*

Mr. Lusk died in 1814, aged 66 years. Besides the present Stephen Lusk, his sons were Erastus, Norman, John and Aaron. Stephen Lusk, whose wife as will have been observed, is the daughter of William Hencher, is 76 years of age. Heman and Dennis Lusk of Pittsford, Henry Lusk of Laporte, Indiana, are his sons; Mrs. Thomas Wilcox of Mendon, is his daughter.

Orange Stone, a son of one of the original proprietors of the township, with his family, Joel Scudder and family, and Chauncey and Calvin Hyde, followed Mr. Lusk in a few weeks; and about the same time Timothy Allyn, came on and occupied alone, a log cabin he erected on a tract of 500 acres on the stream that took his name, near the termination of the Brighton plank road. Spending a summer in the wilderness he got discouraged, sold out and went to Geneva, where he was a prominent and useful citizen in early years. He had borne the commission of Captain in the war of the Revolution. He finally returned to Massachusetts, where he died at the advanced age of 90 years. He was a lineal descendant of Robert Allyn, who with Robert Winthrop and James Avery, was a pioneer emigrant at New London, Conn.; F. U. Sheffield, of Palmyra, is a nephew of the early Pioneer of the Genesee country.

Orange Stone located on the now Pittsford road, a little east of Brighton village, near the "rock and tree." Messrs. Bacon, Adams, and Fellows, of Bloomfield, Enos Stone, Stephen Lusk and others, who had emigrated, or intended to do so, in 1790, clubbed together, and started for the new region a drove of oxen, cows, and hogs. Enos Stone, Jr. the son of one of the proprietors named above, Stephen Lusk, Jacob Lobdell, one of the Adams, were of the drivers. After leaving Utica, they travelled about 25 miles per day, camping

* He did not leave however until he had had pretty distinct intimations that his boasts of exploits in the border wars—of murder and rapine—would not be tolerated. He was at Canandaigua, and in the hearing of Horatio Jones was boasting of his exploits with Indian allies, when Mr. Jones becoming exasperated attacked him with an axe, wounded him, and would have taken his life if his blows had not been arrested by others. He soon after went to Canada.

each night: arriving at Cayuga Lake they crossed their stock in two Durham Boats — the work of crossing consuming four days. The provisions of the party failed them, and they were from Thursday morning until Sunday night without food. Arriving at Geneva, nearly famished, their wants were supplied.

Unless this party had been preceded a few days by the Wadsworths, their stock was the first brought west of the Seneca Lake. They had among the rest, a few sheep that went to Bloomfield. In addition to Orange Stone, Chauncey Hyde, a son of another of the proprietors came on in 1790, locating upon the farm now occupied by Col. Gould. He remained but one season: sickness discouraged him. He went upon some lands of his father, in Broome county. The elder Enos Stone did not emigrate to Brighton until 1816, where he died a few months after his arrival. Orange Stone, who for many years occupied one of the western outposts of civilization, keeping almost from his first arrival, a house of entertainment: a home for the young men who were settling about him, and a stopping place for the occasional hunter, Indian trader, and traveler, died in 1842, aged 73 years. His eldest son, Orange, was drowned at Comenaut, Ohio, by stepping from the plank of a steamboat in the night. The only surviving son, Enos Stone, is now in California; several daughters reside in Michigan.

Col. Enos Stone continued to reside in Lenox, making frequent visits to the new purchase, and residing occasionally with his brother, Orange, until 1810, when he became a pioneer settler of the city of Rochester, his original farm embracing all of the most densely populated portion of the city east of the river. He still survives, at the age of 78 years. His wife, who was the daughter of Bryant Stoddard, of Litchfield, Conn., died in 1850, aged 73 years. James S. Stone, (born in May, 1810, the first born on the site of the city of Rochester,) of Greece, is the only survivor of five sons; Mrs. Wm. C. Storrs, of Rochester, and Mrs. George Wales, are surviving daughters: and a third, unmarried daughter, resides with her father. With a memory of early events unimpaired, Col. Stone has furnished the author with many interesting reminiscences, the earliest of which, are inserted here, and the later ones reserved for that portion of the work, having more especial reference to Monroe county.

REMINISCENCES OF ENOS STONE.

In an early year, I was stopping with my brother Orange. Chauncey Hyde and myself were out hunting cattle. We saw a smoke rising at the Irondequoit Landing, and went down to it. We found that it proceeded from an Indian camp; as we approached it, two Indians rose up from a couch, one of which, especially, attracted our attention. His camp equipage we thought rather extraordinary for an Indian; he was well dressed — partly as a white man, and partly as an Indian; bid us good morning with great civility, and displaying a gold watch and trimmings, observed that being wearied he had over slept. He soon announced himself as Joseph Brant, on his way from Burlington Bay to Canandaigua. Having arrived in a boat he had sent Indian runners to Canandaigua for horses, and was awaiting their return. He accepted our invitation and came up with us to my brother's house. His familiar conversation, and gentlemanly manners, soon convinced us that he was not the savage we had conceived him to be, from accounts we had heard and read of him, in connection with the Border Wars. He quieted our apprehensions of any farther Indian troubles, by assuring us, that as the Senecas had sold their lands to the whites, the bargain should be carried out in good faith, and the new settlements should not be molested. He manifested much interest in all that was going on in this region, and inquired when new settlements were commencing. The visit gave us great pleasure, and quieted our fears. In person, Joseph Brant bore a close resemblance to Gen. Brady, of the U. S. army.

I knew an early settler of Irondequoit, who used to kill, dress, and eat skunks; he said their meat was fine flavored, free from any offensive odor.*

The principal colony of the rattle snakes, was in bank of river, below the Lower Falls, at a place we used to call "Rattle Snake Point;" and there was also a large colony at Allan's creek, near the end of the Brighton plank road. I think they grow blind about the time of returning to their dens, in August and September. I have killed them on their return, with films on their eyes. Their oil was held in great estimation by the early settlers. Zebulon Norton, of Norton's mills, was a kind of backwoods' doctor, and often came to this region for the oil and the gall of the rattle-snake. The oil was used for stiff joints and bruises; the gall for fevers, in the form of a pill, made up with chalk.

Fish were abundant, and a great help to the early settlers. A structure similar to an eel wire was placed in the Irondequoit, below the Falls. The rack was made of tamarack poles. I have known ten barrels of fine fat salmon taken there in one night. The river afforded a plenty of black and striped bass, and the Bay pickerel and pike. I never knew of the salmon ascending the Genesee river, but one season. Allan's creek in Brighton, afforded abundance of trout. The geese and ducks were so plenty in Braddock's Bay, that bushels of their eggs could sometimes be picked up in the marshes.

*Some of the early surveyors of Wisconsin confirm this good opinion of the flesh of the skunk.

In one of the early years, I carried some grain to the Allan mill, to get ground for my brother Orange, and had to remain over night. Allan was there, in a spree or carousal. To make a feast, he had sent Indians into the woods, to shoot hogs that had gone wild, and he furnished the whiskey. There were many Indians collected. It was a high time, and the chief of the entertainment was enjoying it in great glee. Tired of the carousal, he retired to a couch, where a squaw and a white wife awaited his coming.

The hogs that we brought here in 1790 strayed off, and they and their progeny became wild, we had to either shoot or hunt them with dogs. The boars and old sows have been seen often, victors in a conflict with bears. A boar was caught and penned. He refused food, and would not tame. When persons approached the pen, he would froth at the mouth; occasionally strike his long tusches into the logs of his pen, tearing out and champing the splinters.

OLIVER CULVER.

He is a native of Orwell, Vermont. In March, 1796, when he was 19 years old he left home in company with Samuel Spafford, and came on foot to the Genesee country, first stopping a short time at Jonathan Smith's in Farmington, where they hired out to make sap troughs. Going to Irondequoit Landing, he found the only occupant there, Asa Dunbar, a malatto, with a family. Remaining at the Landing about six weeks, a large company, consisting of the proprietors of the then newly purchased Connecticut lands in Ohio, their surveyors, and two families, in five boats, came up the Lake on their way to commence survey and settlement. In pursuance of a previous agreement, the young men, Culver and Spafford, joined the expedition. Landing at Queenston, taking their batteaux over the portage, the expedition went up Niagara River and coasted along the south shore of Lake Erie, finding no white inhabitant after they left the mouth of Buffalo creek—where there was one solitary family until they reached Erie, where they found Col. Seth Reed, —Gunn, who had his family with him, stopped at Conneaut, becoming the first settlers there. Proceeding to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, the party landed, on the site of the present city of Cleveland, and erected a log dwelling house and store house. Stiles, one of the party who had taken his wife along, built for himself a house, and became the Pioneer settler at that point.*

* A son of his born the next winter was the first born of white parents, on the Reserve. Mrs. Stiles at the period of parturition had none other of her sex than native squaws, to attend her.

The party all returned to New England in the fall. In the following spring, Messrs. Culver and Spafford came on again to Irondequoit, hunted, trapped, bought furs, until the surveyors again arrived and they again embarked in their service. The principal of the party on this second expedition, was Seth Pease, a brother-in-law of Gideon Granger. The expedition consisted of about 60 persons. In the summer — 1797 — they cleared and planted six acres, which are now in the centre of the city of Cleveland. In 1798, Mr. Culver was in the employ of the contractors who had taken the job of the New Connecticut company to cut out the road from the Pennsylvania line, across their purchase. Remaining the next year in Vermont, in 1800 Mr. Culver came out and purchased the farm where he now resides : making his home at Major Orange Stone's, and going to his place through the woods by marked trees, he cleared seven acres and sowed it to wheat the first season ; realizing a good crop. Fearing a defective title, he abandoned his farm, and was employed by Augustus Griswold for the next three years, at Irondequoit Landing, in superintending an Ashery, the first established in all this region. It worked up the ashes and black salts of the new settlers for a great distance around it ; shipping at the early period, in 1803, 108 barrels of pearl ash to Montreal. Ashes being a shilling per bushel, enabled the settlers, generally destitute of money, to get some store trade. In 1804, obtaining a small stock of goods at the east, by purchase, and a much larger stock of Tryon and Adams, at Irondequoit upon commission, Mr. Culver went to Cleveland and opened a store, principally for Indian trade, where he had been preceded only by one trader, with a small stock. He bought furs of the Indians, and opening a barter trade with the settlements in Pennsylvania, his customers brought him upon pack horses, whiskey and cider brandy, in kegs, butter, cheese and honey. He sold them salt at \$3,00 per bushel. Extending a barter trade to Detroit, he obtained there, apples and white fish. Disposing of his goods, he returned, had title to his farm made good, married the daughter of John Ray of Pittsford, and became a permanent resident of Brighton, as early as 1805.

In 1811, Mr. Culver built the schooner *Clarissa*, on the Roswell Hart farm in Brighton, and drew it to the Bay, with twenty six yoke of oxen ; and after that he built three other schooners, and put them upon the Lake. He was one of the contractors for building

the combined locks at Lockport, on the original construction of the canal. In 1822, he built at Brighton, a packet boat, the first boat built as far west as there, and the fourth packet that was built on the canal. These are but a part of the enterprises of his active and useful life. He is now 72 years old, moving about and superintending a large estate, neither his physical or mental constitution but little impaired. He has buried two sons; his only daughter is Mrs. L. D. Ely of Brighton.

REMINISCENCES OF OLIVER CULVER.

On the shore of Lake Ontario, on a high bluff near Irondequoit Bay, in 1796, the bank caved off, and unburied a large quantity of human bones, of a large size. The arm and leg bones, upon comparison, were much larger than those of our own race.

In 1797 I trapped two young beaver, at Brush creek, above Braddock's Bay. I saw one of their lodges. It was about the size and shape of a hay cock; carried up with brush, as a ground work, covered with rushes, and plastered with clay. I have seen the stumps of trees they had gnawed down, that measured one foot across. They select the sites of their dams with something like human intelligence.

At one period, pretty much all the Lake business of this region, was transacted at Irondequoit Landing. The first flour was shipped there that went to Montreal. It was not until about 1813, that we abandoned the idea that it would be the great commercial point of this region.

In 1805, '06, myself, Orange Stone, George Dailey, Samuel Spafford, and Miles Northrup, with the help of \$500 appropriated from the town of Northfield, cut out the road, two rods wide, from Orange Stone's to the river, four miles.

When I first came to Irondequoit, in excavating the earth to build a store house, we found a large quantity of lead balls and flints. On a knoll, on the bank of the creek, there were the remains of a battery.*

In 1802 there was no school nearer than Pittsford. We clubbed together, built a log school house, and hired a young man by the name of Turner, who was clerk in Tryon & Adams' store, to open a school. I wanted to go to school, and for my part, I got logs to a saw mill, and furnished the roof boards. Our first physician was John Ray, of Pittsford; our first merchant at Brighton, Ira West, who removed to Rochester.

Amos Spafford, of Orwell, Vermont, the father of Samuel Spafford, who came to the Genesee country with me, was one of the early surveyors of the Reserve, and one of the founders of settlement at Cleveland. The U. S.

*The battery, undoubtedly, that La Hontan says De Nonville erected at the Landing.

government granted him a mile and a half square of land, at Maumee, to which place he removed, and where his descendants now reside. Samuel Spafford settled at Brighton, and made first improvements on the Blossom farm, emigrating to Maumee.

Amos Spafford being the first mail contractor at Cleveland, in 1805, his carrier being taken sick, I took the mail on my back, and carried it to Huron, in four hours, traveling on the ice with skates.

Timothy Allen sold his five hundred acres of land, in Brighton, to John and Solomon Hatch. In company with them, I built a saw mill on Allan's Creek, in 1806. They removed to Genesee county.*

In 1798, Judge John Tryon, of Lebanon Springs, became through a brother who had failed to make the payments, the owner of a tract of land on the Irondequoit, in Brighton, three miles above the Bay. His brother had previously laid out a village, but had made no progress with it. Judge Tryon built a store and store house, and in the spring of '99, opened a store in the name of Tryon & Adams. The locality assumed the name of "Tryon's Town." The agent of the proprietors, Augustus Griswold, first came on with five sleigh loads of goods, and after that, in the fall, Capt. Oliver Grace came with a boat load from Schenectady, the freight costing \$3 00 per. 112 lbs. Asa Dayton soon opened a tavern, Stephen Lusk started the tanning and shoe making business, and besides these was Asa Dunbar, a mulatto, and John Boyd, — four families in all. In 1800, Henry Ward, the present worthy citizen and Post Master, of Penfield, then 18 years of age, came on and became a clerk in the Tryon & Adams store. At that period, much of the business of this pioneer store, the first west of Canandaigua, consisted of barter, for furs, bear and deer skins, with the Seneca Indians, and such white men as were hunters and trappers. In 1801, Silas Losea settled in the place, and enabled "Tryon Town," alias the "city of Tryon," to glory in the addition of a blacksmith's shop. An ashery and distillery was added to the store, soon after. In the earliest years, the store commanded a wide range of customers. There are names upon its old books, of the early settlers of all the western towns of Ontario and Wayne, northern towns of

*Jarvis M. and Hiram F. Hatch, attorneys in Rochester, are the sons of the early pioneer, John Hatch. The father and brother were from Madison county. John Hatch removed from Brighton to Barre, Orleans county, and subsequently to Elba, near Batavia, where his widow now resides.

Livingston, and even a solitary settler of Orleans county, at the mouth of Oak Orchard creek, was a regular customer. The "city" was governed by civil laws of its own enacting. What has since been called a "Lynch Court" was established, and several trials and convictions were had.

The business of the place declining, shipping business going to the mouth of Genesee river, and rival stores springing up in other localities, in 1810 Mr. Griswold broke up the store, and went to Trenton, Oneida county. In 1818 the old store house was demolished, and there now remains scarcely a vestige of the once "city of Tryon."

Gen. Jonathan Fassett, of Vermont was the original purchaser from Phelps and Gorham, of T. 13, R. 4, now Penfield, and south part of Webster; he attempted its settlement in '91 or '2. He was accompanied by Caleb Hopkins, his son Jonathan Fassett, — Maybee, and some others. Discouraged by sickness, and other endurances of the wilderness, Gen. Fassett abandoned the enterprise, and returned to Vermont; though Messrs. Hopkins and Maybee remained in the country. Mr. Hopkins was the afterwards Col. Hopkins, of Pittsford, and Mr. Maybee was the father of John and James Maybee, who were pioneer settlers of Royalton, Niagara county, and of Suffrenus Maybee, a pioneer settler at Buffalo, and the mouth of Cattaraugus creek; a daughter was the wife of Orange Stone, another of Caleb Hopkins, another of — Griffin, of Pittsford. Dr. Fassett, of Lockport, and a brother of his in Rochester, are grand-sons of Gen. Fassett.


Mr. Maybee was from the Mohawk. He came by water to Swift's Landing at Palmyra, there mounted his batteaux upon wheels, and cut his own road from a short distance west of Palmyra to Penfield.

Gen. Fassett located at the old Indian Landing, on the east side of the Bay, about two miles below the present village of Penfield. He had a plat surveyed there for a town, but nothing farther was done. He soon sold his interest in Penfield to Gen. Silas Pepoon, who sold it to Samuel P. Lloyd, from whom, in consequence of some liabilities incurred, it went into the hands of Daniel Penfield.

☞ Farther reminiscences of Penfield will be added in another connection.

What is now Pittsford, being a portion of a township at the

northern termination of the 5th range, 13,296 acres was purchased by an association, who were represented in the transaction by "Stone and Dodge." Settlement commenced there before the close of 1789. The pioneers were, Israel Stone and Simon Stone, Silas Nye, Joseph Farr, and at the same time, or soon after, other heads of families came in: — Thomas Cleland, Josiah Gimson, Alexander Dunn, and David Davis.

William Walker, the local agent of Phelps & Gorham, purchased T. 12, R. 4, now the town of Perinton. In the summer of 1799 his brother Caleb erected a log cabin, and moved into the township, taking with him Glover Perrin, with his wife. Perrin went first in the capacity of a hired man, but after the death of Caleb Walker, had some interest in the purchase. The pioneers had no children, and lived alone in the woods for several years, after which they moved to Pittsford.  For Mendon, see Monroe county.

VICTOR.

[Omitted in its appropriate place.]

Enos Boughton, of Stockbridge, Mass., and his brother Jared, had visited this region in 1788. Enos had engaged as a clerk of William Walker, the agent of Mr. Phelps, and as soon as sales commenced, purchased the town of Victor, for twenty cents per acre. In the spring of 1799, the two brothers, Horatio Jones, a brother-in-law, who was a surveyor, and several hired hands, went upon what was afterwards called Boughton Hill, erected a log cabin, sowed a patch of buckwheat, (the first of that crop in the Genesee country,) surveyed the township, and after sowing three acres of wheat, the whole party returned to Massachusetts, except Jacob Lobdell, who remained "solitary and alone," to take care of the premises, and winter fourteen head of cattle upon wild grass, that had been cut upon the Indian Meadow, on what is now known as the Griswold place. In February, 1790, Jared Boughton started from Stockbridge, with his wife and infant daughter, and made the long

NOTE.—Mr. Lobdell remained in the town, and became an enterprising and prominent citizen; was well known as an early contractor upon the Erie Canal. His many kind acts in pioneer times, are well remembered. He died in 1848, aged 78 years. His sons are: — Levi and Jacob L., of Victor, George, of Hennepin, Illinois, Wallace, of Calhoun co., Michigan; his daughters, Mrs. Abraham and Mrs. Rufus Humphrey, of Victor, and Mrs. Cleveland, of Steuben Illinois.

winter, and wood's journey to their new home; a pretty full account of which is given in History of Holland Purchase. Their travelling companions were the family of Col. Seth Reed, who were coming on to join him at Geneva. Between Col. Danforth's at Onondaga Hollow, and Cayuga Lake, the whole party, fourteen in number, cleared away the snow, and made a night camp of hemlock boughs. They were ferried across the outlet of Seneca Lake, by Solomon Earle; after parting with the Reed family, they arrived at Flint creek — there was no bridge — had to fall trees to get their goods over, and afterwards tow the horses and sleigh across with ropes. Between Flint creek and Canandaigua, they found one small opening, and an unoccupied cabin. They arrived in Victor, March 7th, one week after the Adams family had arrived in Bloomfield. The stock of provisions they brought in, lasted with the help of the buckwheat that had been harvested the previous fall, until their wheat harvest. The early wheat crop was thrashed upon a floor made of split bass wood, and cleaned with an old fashioned corn fan, the rim of which was fabricated from an oak tree, and the bottom from a pine board, which had been a part of their sleigh box.

After Enos Boughton had purchased Victor, his father took an interest with him, selling his farm in Stockbridge, and coming into the new region. He died in Aug. 1798. His four sons were Enos, Jared, Seymour and Hezekiah. Enos, who was introduced to Mr. Clinton in 1825, as the man who built the first stick chimney, first framed barn, and planted the first orchard west of Seneca Lake, he died in Lockport, in 1826, where he had made an early purchase of a large portion of the present village site. Jared is yet living, at the age of 84 years. In 1848, the author saw him in the full possession of his faculties, and he was afterwards indebted to him for pioneer reminiscences, in a hand writing that showed little of the tremor of age, and exhibited a distinct and intelligent recollection of early events. The young wife, who with a child four months old, had cooked frugal meals by winter camp fires, and endured the most rugged features of pioneer life, was also alive in 1848; "hale and hearty," the mother of 12 children. She died in 1849. The living sons, in 1848, were: — Selleck, an Attorney in Rochester, Frederick, of Pittsford, [the first white child born in Victor.] Jared H., on old homestead in Victor; Enos of E. Bloom-

field; daughters, Mrs. Dr. A. G. Smith, New York, Mrs. Bennett Lewis, of Green county, Ohio, Mrs. Mortimer Buel, of Geneseo. Hezekiah died as early as 1793; was the father of the late Col. Claudius Victor Boughton, after whom the town was named in 1813, as a mark of esteem for his gallant services upon the Niagara frontier, to which the legislature of this State added the presentation of a sword. Reuben H. Boughton, of Lewiston, is a son of his. Another son of Hezekiah, is George H. Boughton, Esq., of Lockport. Col. Seymour Boughton was killed at the battle of Black Rock, in the war of 1812.

Jared Boughton took the buckwheat and got it ground at Capt. Ganson's rude mill at Avon. His next milling expedition, (after wheat harvest,) was with a double ox team, to the Allan mill at Genesee Falls. Arriving within four miles of the River, (at Orange Stone's,) he came to the end of the road; any direct route to the River was through a dense forest, and low wet grounds; which obliged him to go around, and work his way over the range of hills east of Mount Hope. Arrived at the River, he belled his oxen and turned them into the woods, carrying his grain across and down the river to the mill. As winter approached, the infant settlement was without salt. It was decided to send a boat to Salt Point. In November, Jared and Seymour Boughton, and John Barnes, went to Swift's Landing, (Palmyra,) took a Schenectady boat, and proceeded on their voyage. The Stansells, at Lyons, were the only white inhabitants on the whole route. Below the junction of the Ganargwa creek, and Canandaigua out-let, they came to a raft of flood-wood, 16 rods in extent. To pass it they were obliged to haul their boat out of the water, up a steep ascent, and move it on rollers to a point below the raft. Procuring twelve barrels of salt, the party starting on their homeward voyage, encountered a snow storm and ice when they got into the Seneca river. They made slow progress, on one occasion being obliged to wade into the ice and water to lift their boat from stones upon which it had struck. At the raft on Clyde River, they had again to transport their boat overland, with the addition of their twelve barrels of salt. On account of low water, they were obliged to leave their boat and cargo at the Lyon's Landing. Going through the woods to Farmington, following township lines, they returned with six yoke of oxen via Palmyra, and partly upon wagons, and partly upon sleds,

making their roads mostly as they went along, they succeeded in getting the first cargo of salt to Victor.

Levi Boughton, an uncle of Jared and Enos, accompanied Jared and Jacob Lobdell in their primitive advent — moved his family in the next year. He died in 1828, aged 78 years. His sons were, Nathaniel, of Bloomfield, John B., of Ohio, Thomas Morris, of Rochester, Horace B. of Victor. Thomas M. is the only surviving son. Daughters became the wives of Jacob Lobdell, Aaron Taylor, an early settler on the Ridge Road, near Molyneux's Corners, Niagara county, Zera Brooks, John Brace, and Philemus Smith, of Victor.

Rufus Dryer from Stockbridge, Mass., came to Victor with some portion of the Boughton family, and in 1799, accompanied Enos and Jared in their lumbering expedition to Georgia, where he remained with them for several years. Residing after that in Madison county, he became a permanent resident of Victor in 1806. He was the founder of the well known Dryer stand in Victor, and had opened it and kept it a year before his death in 1820. His son, Wm. C. Dryer, succeeded him, kept the stand for many years, and retired to a fine farm, upon which he and his brother Truman now reside.

☞ For additional reminiscences of Victor, see "Phelps and Gorham's Purchase — Ontario."

[The following omissions in reminiscences of West Bloomfield, page 198; and in reminiscences of Bristol, page 208, are supplied.]

Ezra Marvin was one of the associates in the purchase of township, now West Bloomfield; he never emigrated; his son, Jasper P. Marvin, became a resident and died there, in early years. The surviving sons of Robert Taft, are Jesse, Robert, Bezaleel, and Chapin Taft, all of Bloomfield; daughters, Mrs. Peck, of Bloomfield, Mrs. Leach, of Lima. Ebenezer Curtiss died in 1812; Mrs. Parker, of Lima, is his daughter. Jasper P. Sears died in early years. Other prominent early settlers: — Marvin Gates, a brother of Daniel, mentioned in connection with East Bloomfield; Jacob Smith, built a saw mill and grist mill, in early years, on the Honeoye, — "Smith's Mills" — died many years since; Deacon Samuel Handy, died 10 or 15 years since, was the father of Russel Handy, of Alle-

gany; Peter W. Handy. of Rochester, Mrs. Stephen Bates, and Mrs. Charles Wilbur, (the early pioneer in Le Roy and Lockport.) Bayze Baker, still surviving, at the age of 80 years; Nathaniel Eggleston, an early landlord, father of Mrs. William Parsons, of Lockport; Palmer and Clark Peck, came in as early as 1790. Clark was an early Supervisor of the old town of Bloomfield, died in 1825; Jasper Peck, of Bloomfield, is a son of his. Mrs. Page, of Bloomfield, a daughter; his sons, Joseph and Abel, reside in Michigan; the mother is still living.

John Dixon, was a native of Keene, N. H., a graduate of Middlebury College, studied law in Milton, near Ballston, Saratoga county; was admitted to practice in 1812, and in 1813 located in West Bloomfield, where he has since resided, and now resides, mingling professional duties with the successful pursuits of agriculture, a useful citizen, and a much respected member of the bar of Ontario. He was a member of the State Legislature, in 1829, '30, and of Congress, for two terms, at a later period; is now 67 years of age.

The sons of Gamaliel Wilder, the earliest Pioneer of Bristol, were: — Daniel, David, Joseph, Asa, Jonas; daughters became the wives of Elisha Parrish, Theophilus Allen, Nathan Hatch, and — Hoag. Daniel became the owner of the Indian orchard in Bristol, that had escaped the devastation of Sullivan.*

Ephraim Wilder, coming in soon after Gamaliel, settled at first in South Bristol, but afterwards removed to T. 9, 4th Range. He died in 1822. His surviving sons are, Timothy, John, and Russell Wilder, of Bristol; daughters became the wives of George Gooding, Henry Pitts and John Hatch.

In Gen. Hall's census of 1790, Aaron Rice (other than the early settler at Avon, as the author concludes,) is named as the head of a family in South Bristol. He removed to Genesee county, and from thence to the west in early years. His daughters became the

* It contained both apples and peaches, both in greater quantity than in any other of the Indian orchards that were preserved. A ride to "Wilder's," apple and peach eating, and cider drinking, on horseback, on ox sleds and horse sleighs, from the scattered new settlements, was no uncommon occurrence. The possession of an old Indian orchard near Geneva, and some cleared lands around it, was deemed of so much consequence, that the original Massachusetts pre-emption line was varied in order to embrace it. South Bristol, hilly and broken as it is known to be, could once have been exchanged for East Bloomfield, but the bargain was declined on account of the "Indian orchard."

wives of David Wilder, Simeon Crosby, and Randall Chapman. Aaron Spencer was also the head of a family in South Bristol, in 1790, but of him the author has no account.

The Coddings, whose advent is named, incidentally, in connection with the Pitts family, were three brothers: — John, George, and Faunce, [called erroneously "Fauner," in another connection.] The surviving sons of John Coddington are, John, George, Benjamin, Warren, of Coddingsville, Medina county, Ohio: and Robert F., of Summit county, Ohio. Daughters became the wives of Timothy Wilder, Isaac Van Fossen, and John Wilder. The sons of Faunce Coddington are, Faunce and Stephen A., of Bristol: George T. and Ichabod, of Lockport, Illinois, where their mother and sister, Mrs. Hale S. Mason, reside. George Coddington died childless. Geo. Coddington, sen., the father of the three brothers, joined his sons in early years. His other children were, Burt Coddington, Mrs. Benj. Goss, Mrs. Zenas Briggs, Mrs. Elizur Hills, and Mrs. Wm. T. Coddington, who still survives, a resident of Bristol. M. O. Wilder, Esq., of Canandaigua, is one of the numerous descendants of this early and prominent Pioneer family.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MORRIS TREATY AT "BIG TREE." — CESSION OF THE TERRITORY
WEST OF PHELPS AND GORHAM'S PURCHASE, WHICH BECAME
MORRIS' RESERVE AND HOLLAND PURCHASE.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Morris had acquired the pre-emptive right of Massachusetts to all the territory in this State west of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase — what was afterwards designated as Morris' Reserve and the Holland Purchase — as early as May, 1791, the native right to the soil was not extinguished until 1797. Soon after he purchased of Massachusetts, in 1792 and '3, he sold to the Holland Company all the land west of the transit line, over three millions of acres, which is now embraced in the counties of Niagara, Erie, Chautauque, Cattaraugus, and all of Allegany, Wyoming,

Genesee and Orleans, except their tiers of eastern townships, leaving to himself a tract of about 500,000 acres, between the lands of Phelps and Gorham, and those he had conveyed to the Holland Company. In his conveyance to the Holland Company, he had stipulated to extinguish the native title, and had left in their hands thirty-five thousand pounds sterling, of purchase money, as a guarantee.

Various untoward circumstances — the withholding of the military posts by the British, or in fact, their refusal to surrender their dominion over this region, the prospects of a renewal of British and Indian wars; and more than all, perhaps, the indisposition of the Senecas to part with any more of their lands — delayed the fulfilment of this stipulation. It had been the firm determination of the Senecas, adhered to strenuously during all the preliminary negotiations of Mr. Phelps at Buffalo Creek, to make the Genesee river below Mount Morris, their eastern boundary line, and they yielded the "Mill Tract" with great reluctance and subsequent regret.

Fort Niagara was surrendered by the British, and taken possession of by a company of United States troops, under the command of Captain J. Bruff, toward the end of the summer of 1796. In a few weeks after American possession of that ancient stronghold of French and British power — the spot where the Senecas had so often assembled to renew French and British alliance — had been established, a numerous delegation appeared before the garrison, made a salute after the Indian fashion, which was returned by the discharge of artillery. It seemed an overture to establish the relations of good neighborhood, and was met by the commandant in a spirit which evinced that he did not mean to fall behind his predecessors in acts of friendship and hospitality. He made a friendly speech to them, presented them with the American flag and a barrel of rum, and apologised for not furnishing them with a supply of provisions, alleging that they were scarce at that "distant post." In the answer to this speech, the Indians alluded to Mr. Morris' pre-emptive right, and begged of Captain Bruff to protect them from the "big eater with the big belly," who wanted to come and "devour their lands." Mr. Morris was then about to make his application to President Washington for the appointment of a commissioner, but concluded to delay it on account of this manifestation at Fort Niagara.

The next year, 1797, President Washington, at the solicitation of Mr. Morris, consented to nominate a commissioner, with the condition that Captain Bruff's speech and the Indians' reply of the preceding year, should accompany the nomination to the Senate; and observed, that "such was the desire to conciliate the Six Nations, that he did not believe that the Senate would confirm any nomination contrary to their wishes." The Senate confirmed the appointment of a commissioner, but with the proviso that he should not act until the Indians themselves requested a treaty. The commissioner first appointed was Judge Isaac Smith, of New Jersey; but his official duties interfering, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth was substituted.

The task of getting the consent of the Indians to hold a treaty devolved upon Thomas Morris, and he observes that it "was not an easy one to accomplish." It required journeys on foot and on horseback, conferences with the Indians in their villages, and all the persuasive arts of one who was not unfitted for diplomatic missions to red or white men. The Indians objected that if they asked for the treaty, it would be construed as the expression of a wish to sell their lands. Their consent was finally, however, obtained, the time of holding the treaty agreed upon, and "Big Tree," now Geneseo, designated as the treaty ground.

All concerned were principally congregated during the last days of August. Thomas Morris and Charles Williamson, and James Reese, as Secretary, were the representatives of Mr. Morris; though Mr. Williamson being called away in an early stage of the treaty, the principal labor of negotiation devolved upon Thomas Morris. Col. Wadsworth was in attendance as the commissioner on the part of the United States, and William Shepherd as the commissioner of Massachusetts. Theophilus Cazenove, who was then the representative of the Holland Company in the United States, procured in their behalf the attendance of William Bayard, of New York, Joseph Ellicott and Col. Linklaen, who were accompanied by two young men by the name of Vanstaphorst, nearly related to one of the Dutch proprietors. Beside these, Israel Chapin was present, and a large representation of Indian interpreters and traders, while many were drawn to the treaty ground from motives of curiosity.

James Wadsworth was then in Europe; Mr. Morris obtained of

William Wadsworth the use of the unfinished residence of the brothers, to accommodate those directly connected with the treaty; and for a council house he provided a large tent covered with green boughs, and furnished with a platform and rows of seats, after the manner of preparations for a camp meeting.

Days, and in fact, nearly two weeks, of tardy and fruitless negotiations succeeded. With few exceptions, the Indians were entirely averse to parting with their lands. Red Jacket took the laboring oar for his people, though Cornplanter, Farmers Brother, Little Beard, and Little Billy, were occasional speakers.

The first business of the treaty was to deliver a speech addressed to the Indians, by Thomas Morris, containing generally his proposals. Then followed a long consultation among the Indians to frame an answer; which, when it came, was adverse to any land ce-sions. Meetings and speeches succeeded, Mr. Morris urging his proposals and Red Jacket resisting his importunities with ability and ingenuity. After some ten or twelve days had been spent, and nothing accomplished, Col. Wadsworth became indisposed, impatient of further delay, and insisted on the business being brought to a close; and about the same time Mr. Morris discovered that the influence of white squatters, upon the Indian lands, and some interpreters, whose offers of assistance he had rejected, stood in the way of success. The interpreters especially had inculcated among the Indians that by standing out they could get a much larger price than had been offered.

Learning that a council of the Indians had decided upon offering him a single township, and that only, his friends persuaded him against his better judgement, to promptly and indignantly reject the offer, which he did on the assembling of the general council, and the offer being made. This was thought to be the best expedient to bring the Indians to terms, but as it proved, was ill advised. The offer was a township on the Pennsylvania line, at one dollar per acre, which Red Jacket accompanied with the very comfortable

NOTE.—In a speech of Red Jacket's he assumed that if the Senecas parted with what was left of their wide domain, they would be shorn of their influence with their neighboring nations. To this Mr. Morris replied, rather tauntingly alluding to the treatment that Red Jacket and others of a delegation of Senecas had received from the western Indians, when they went as peace negotiators to the Miami with Col. Pickering and Beverly Randolph; treatment that amounted to contempt. Red Jacket parried the assault by shrewdly observing that it was all owing to their going there in bad company, that the circumstance alluded to had admonished them not to go in bad company when they visited their friends.

assurance, that over and above the purchase money, the land could be sold for enough to pay all the trouble and expense of the treaty. Mr Morris told them if they had nothing better to offer, the sooner the conference terminated the better, that all might return to their homes.

Red Jacket immediately sprung upon his feet, and said : — " We have now reached the point to which I wanted to bring you. You told us when we first met, that we were free either to sell or retain our lands, and that our refusal to sell would not disturb the friendship that has existed between us. I now tell you that we will not part with them. Here is my hand." Mr. Morris taking his hand, he ended by saying : — " I now cover up this council fire." A terrible whooping and yelling followed, and menaces made somewhat alarming to those present, who were unacquainted with Indian manners. To all present, but Mr. Morris, affairs looked hopeless, and it was with difficulty that he persuaded Col. Wadsworth and others, to remain and let him make another trial.

The next day, Farmers Brother called upon Mr. Morris, and told him that he hoped the failure of the treaty would not diminish the friendship that had existed between him, (Mr. Morris) and his people. Mr. Morris replied that he had no right to complain of their refusal to sell their lands, but he did complain of their behavior towards him : that they had permitted one of their drunken warriors to menace and insult him, whooping and yelling in approbation of his conduct. He said he had not deserved such conduct from them : that for years he had not refused them food, or as much liquor as was good for them, when they had been at Canandaigua : and that his father had treated such of them as had been to Philadelphia, with equal hospitality. Farmers Brother admitted that all this was true, and regretted that the council fire had been covered up, otherwise they could meet and "smooth over, and heal these difficulties." Mr. Morris replied : — " The council fire is not extinguished ; and of this I also complain, that Red Jacket had declared the council fire to be covered up, when according to your own usages, he alone who kindles the council fire, has a right to extinguish it. It is still burning." After a few moments' reflection, Farmers Brother assented to the correctness of the conclusion, and agreed that the council should be again convened ; Mr. Morris proposing that it should be delayed a few days, which time he would

occupy in examining his accounts, and paying for the provisions which had been consumed, collecting the cattle that were not slaughtered, and attending to other matters preparatory to leaving the treaty ground.

"The Indians," says Mr. Morris, "are very tenacious of a strict adherence to their ancient rules and customs; according to their usages the sachems have a right to transact all the business of the nation, whether it relates to their lands or any other of their concerns, but where it relates to their lands, and they are dissatisfied with the management of their sachems, the women and warriors have a right to divest them of this power, and take it into their own hands; the maxim among them being that the lands belong to the warriors, because they form the strength of the nation; and to the women as the mothers of the warriors. There are therefore in every nation, head or chief women, who, when in council, select some warrior to speak for them.

With a knowledge of this fact, Mr. Morris had made up his mind to try his luck with this mixed council, as a last resort. He brought about a meeting with the chief women and warriors. He told them of the offers that had been made to the sachems; and urged upon the women the consideration, that the money that they would receive for their lands, would relieve them from all the hardships they then endured. "Now," says he, "you have to till the earth, and provide by your labor, food for yourselves and children. When those children are without clothing, and shivering with cold, you alone are witnesses to their sufferings; your sachems will always supply their own wants. They feed on the game they kill, and sell the skins to buy them clothing; therefore, they are indifferent about exchanging their lands for money, enough every year to lessen your labor, and enable you to procure for yourselves and children, the food and clothing necessary for your comfort." He concluded by telling them that he had brought a number of presents from Philadelphia, which he intended to have given them, only in the event of a sale of their lands, but as he had no cause of complaint against the women, he would cause their portion of the presents to be distributed.

The "women's rights," and well considered diplomatic speech, with the presents added, gave a favorable turn to affairs. For several days, the chiefs, women and warriors, were scattered about in

small parties, in earnest consultation; the finale of which was, an invitation to Mr. Morris to again open the council.

They convened, and speeches were made by Mr. Morris, by Col. Wadsworth, explaining to the Indians their rights, and the nature of the pre-emptive claim; and by the Indians, Red Jacket and Cornplanter, principally. But the women and warriors had become the real negotiators, and with them, in fact, the bargain was made.*

The purchase money agreed upon was one hundred thousand dollars. The President had directed that it should be invested in the stock of the Bank of the United States, in the name of the President and his successors in office, as the trustees of the Indians. When the sum was agreed upon, it was with great difficulty that the Indians were made to understand how much one hundred thousand dollars was; the sum far exceeding any rules of their simple arithmetic. This difficulty was obviated by computing how many kegs of a given size it would take to hold it, and how many horses to draw it. Another difficulty of still greater intricacy with them occurred:—a stock investment would of course give fluctuating per annum returns, or dividends; and this was quite beyond their comprehension. They conjectured, however, that the bank was a large place in Philadelphia, where a large sum of money was planted; and that like other things that were planted, some years there would be a good crop, and some years a poor one. With this conjecture, they were content; and in years that followed, whenever Mr. Morris returned from Philadelphia or New York, they would enquire of him what kind of a crop they might anticipate?

The Reservations was the next business to be arranged:—Mr. Morris had stipulated that he would make no deduction from the purchase money, if they were reasonable in their demands in this respect. The Indians insisted upon natural boundaries, such as the course of streams, &c. To this Mr. Morris objected, inasmuch as he could be no judge of the quantity of land within such boundaries. He brought them to his terms, the naming of square miles, in the aggregate about three hundred and fifty. When this came to be apportioned among the different villages, a great deal of

* This may have been the natural course in the exigency that existed, or it may have been a convenient expedient of Red Jacket and other chiefs, to have the treaty consummated and their dignity unsullied by an appearance of a change of purpose.

jealousy and rivalry was manifested among the chiefs, as to the respective allotments. Before it was agreed how much the aggregate of the Reservation should be, Red Jacket was exorbitant in his demands, claiming for the reservation of his immediate people at Buffalo Creek, nearly one-fourth of all the territory purchased; and Cornplanter was scarcely less exorbitant in his demands. They were rival chiefs, and their relative importance depended upon the respective possessions of their people. Mr. Morris had to assume the office of arbitrator, and decide the respective allotments.*

After all these matters had been adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, a young Indian, then about twenty-four years of age, who had not before been to the treaty ground, made his appearance. It was Young King. He was, by the female line, a lineal descendant of "Old Smoke," whose memory was revered as one of the greatest men that had ever ruled over the Six Nations. In his lifetime, his power had been unbounded. Young King was a heavy, dull, unambitious, but apparently an honest young man. Seldom meddled with the business of the nation; but when he did so, he exercised a great hereditary influence. On his arrival, all business was suspended, until what had been done was fully explained to him. He expressed his disapprobation of the course that had been pursued. Farmer's Brother and other chiefs informed Mr. Morris that the treaty could not be completed contrary to the wishes of Young King; that however unreasonable it might appear to him that one man should defeat the will of a whole nation, it was a power which he had derived from his birth, and one which he could not be deprived of. Young King at last, though not reconciled to their parting with their lands, acquiesced, saying he would no longer oppose the will of the nation.

* They were :— At Squaky Hill, two square miles; at Little Beard's Town and Big Tree, four; at Gardeau, twenty-eight; at Canaëda, sixteen; Oil Spring, one; on the Allegany River, forty-two; on the Cattaraugus Creek, forty-two; on the Buffalo Creek, one hundred and thirty; on the Tonawanda Creek, seventy; at Tuscarora, one; at Canawaugus, two.

NOTE.— Young King resides upon the Buffalo Reservation, where he died but a few years since. Soon after the war of 1812, he met with an accident, which for a few days, seemed likely to occasion an outbreak among the Senecas:— An altercation occurred between him and David Reese, the person employed to do blacksmith work for the Indians, by the U. S. Indian agent at Buffalo. It grew out of an alleged failure to make or repair a fish spear for Young King. In self-defence, Reese dealt a tremendous blow with a scythe, which nearly severed one of Young King's arms; so near in fact, that amputation had to be immediately resorted to. The Indians became much

Red Jacket, who had ably defended the interests of his people, and acquitted himself with much credit during the tedious negotiation, played Red Jacket, and not the great orator, at its close. The night previous to the signing of the treaty, he sought a private interview with Mr. Morris, and told him that he had pretended to the other chiefs that he was opposed to it; but that after its execution by the other chiefs, he would come to him and have his name affixed privately; and for that purpose, wanted a space reserved. He added that it would not do for the treaty to go to Philadelphia without his signature, as Gen. Washington would observe the omission, and conclude that he had been degraded, and lost his rank and influence among the Senecas. The blank was left, and his signature thus privately added. ¶ For unpublished reminiscences of Red Jacket, see Appendix, No. 16.

Thus concluded a treaty which gave title to all of what is now known as the Holland Purchase and Morris' Reserve: the account of which has been given in a detail that may seem to some unnecessary for historical purposes; but as there had been many garbled and imperfect relations of it, the author has availed himself of the authentic documents in his possession, to give a pretty full, and what may be regarded as a correct history of the whole transaction.

The surveys of the Holland Company commenced in 1788, under the general supervision of Joseph Ellicott; surveying parties were soon traversing the wilderness in all directions: a mere woods road was made upon the main east and west route; and before the close of 1789, families had moved in for the purpose of opening houses of public entertainment at Stafford, near the present village of Caryville, and at Clarence; and at Stafford, Mr. Ellicott had erected a store-house quarters for his surveyors, covering them with bark.

In the meantime, Captain Bruff and his successor, Maj. Rivardi, had prevailed upon the Indians to allow a sufficient improvement of the old Niagara trail to admit of carrying provisions through by

excited. Among the sons of the white woman at Gardena, was John Jemison. [See Life of Mary Jemison.] Heading a party of warriors, he left Gardena, and gave out upon his route that he was "going to kill Reese." Well does the author remember of being one of a party of school children who fled, affrighted, at his approach. He personated the "ailed angel of death;" he was armed with a war club and tomahawk, red paint was daubed upon his swarthy face, and long branches of horse hair, dyed red, were pendant from each arm. Reese was kept secreted, and thus, (most probably, avoided the fate that even kindred had met at the hands of John Jemison.

sleighting, from the settlements east of the river to Fort Niagara; and a weekly horse mail was put upon the long and mostly woods route from Canandaigua to Fort Niagara. Add to this, the two or three log and one framed hut at Buffalo, and two or three tenements at Lewiston, and the reader will have a pretty good idea of all, in the way of improvement, that had transpired upon the Holland Purchase before the close of 1799; and at the close of the century, there was but little more than the addition of a few families along on the Buffalo road, and the prosecution of surveys.

The author had supposed that he was done with Indian wars, and Indian war alarms; coming down to this period, he finds a letter from Capt. Bruff to Capt. Israel Chapin, which would indicate that some apprehension was entertained in this quarter, that the Indians here would be drawn into a southern alliance with the western Indians, in connection with the then pending difficulties with France and Spain. The letter is given in the Appendix, [No. 16.] more as a curious local reminiscence than from any thing of local consequence allied to it.

Previous to the advent of Mr. Ellicott and his surveying parties, in the spring of 1798, the Senecas had not surrendered the possession of their lands, and were extremely jealous of any encroachments until certain preliminaries were arranged with the Holland Company. In March, Hinds Chamberlain and Jesse Beach, who had the year previous been to Le Boeuf, Pa., and fixed upon locations there, started from Avon, with two yoke of oxen and sleds, and making their own road the greater portion of the distance, arrived at Buffalo, where some four hundred Indians were assembled, highly exasperated at what they considered an invasion of their territory. The trespassers informed them that Poudry, of Tonawanda, had assured them that he had obtained their consent; and after menacing and threatening, the matter was settled by Red Jacket, as the principal negotiator, for "two gallons of Indian whiskey, and some tobacco." And this is but one of the many instances in which that chief sullied his high character, by assisting to feign resentment to levy tributes—generally payable in that which he would often sacrifice his honor to obtain.

CHAPTER IX.

ALLEGANY — JOHN B. CHURCH, AND PHILIP CHURCH.

JOHN B. CHURCH came from England to the American colonies, a young adventurer, a few years previous to the Revolution. He had been placed by a wealthy uncle in a large mercantile establishment in London, but the business not suiting his inclination, he emigrated, fixing his residence in Boston, where he prosecuted for several years, with great success, the business of an underwriter. When the Revolution broke out, or as soon as an army organization was perfected he was engaged in the commissary department, with Jeremiah Wadsworth, in which he continued throughout the war. Gen. Philip Schuyler, being also engaged in the commissary department for the northern division of the army, business relations led to an acquaintance, and before the close of the Revolution, Mr. Church married one of his daughters. The official duties of Messrs. Wadsworth and Church, embracing the care of the subsistence of the French army, an intimate acquaintance with the French military and naval officers of the Revolution, succeeded. Soon after the close of the Revolution — in '85, — some unliquidated accounts between the commissary department and the army of Rochambeau, made it necessary for Messrs. Wadsworth and Church to visit the French capital, where they remained with their families for eighteen months. Mr. Church removed his family to London, residing there and at a country seat in Berkshire, on the Thames, until '97, when he returned to America, and settled in the city of New York.

The eldest son of John B. Church, is the present Judge Philip Church, of Belvidere, Allegany county, the Pioneer of that region. In his early boyhood he was taken to Paris by his father and afterwards to England, receiving his education at the celebrated Eaton school. Returning to America, he became a student of law, with

his uncle Alexander Hamilton,* and also his private Secretary. Changing his destination in life soon after his majority, and becoming the patroon of new settlements in the wilderness.

Judge Church is now 71 years of age. With a yet vigorous intellect, his memory goes back to the early scenes of his youth, and calls up reminiscences of the American and French Revolutions, of England and English satesmen, which, although they belong to the province of general history, will, the author is confident, not be unacceptable, if preserved in these local annals. — See Appendix No. 18.

While pursuing his studies, the difficulties occurring with France, on the raising of the provincial army, he was commissioned as a Captain though he saw little of service, as the difficulty was soon adjusted.† Gen. Hamilton, as the agent of John B. Church, had in his absence, loaned to Robert Morris \$80,000 and taken a mortgage on Morris Square, Philadelphia; the lien being afterwards transferred to 100,000 acres of land, on Morris' Reserve in the now county of Allegany. In 1800 the mortgage was foreclosed, the land was sold at Canandaigua by Benj. Barton, then Sheriff of Ontario, and bid in by Philip Church for his father.‡

At the period of this sale, there was no white settler on all the territory now embraced in the county of Allegany, with the exception of two localities which will be named. The survey and settlement of the 100,000 acre tract was commenced under the general supervision of Philip Church. Shortly after he had graduated from the law office of Edmund Pendleton, where he had finished his law studies — in July 1801 — he made a second advent to the Genesee country. Taking Geneva and Lyons in his route, he employed as

*Gen. Hamilton married a daughter of Gen. Philip Schuyler.

† When the secretary of his uncle, and having frequent occasions to carry messages and papers to Washington, he was cautioned by General Hamilton to be punctual, if he wished to gain his esteem. When application was made for a commission for him in the army, Washington at first objected that he was too young; but observing that he remembered the promptness and punctuality of the young man, granted the commission.

‡ This was Judge Church's first visit to the Genesee Country. After his return, he visited a club with his father; among the members present, were Brockholst Livingston, Richard Varriek, Messrs. Bayard and Le Roy, Richard Harrison, Governor Morris. The conversation turned upon the wretched state of the road from New York to Albany. Philip Church remarked that they would have a good turnpike road from Albany to Canandaigua before there was one on the Hudson. He was pronounced beside himself by the club, and retiring, he was chided by his father for offering so rash an opinion.

surveyor and local agent, Evert Van Wickle, who was accompanied by John Gibson, John Lewis and Stephen Price. Laying in provisions and camp equipage at Geneva and Bath, the party rendezvoused at the settlement, which had been commenced by the Rev. Andrew Gray and Moses Van Campen, in what is now Almond, Allegany county. Mr. Van Campen, who to use a sailor phrase, knew all the "ropes" of the forest, was enlisted in the expedition. Proceeding on, the party came to the house of — Dyke, a solitary settler who occupied the advanced post of civilization, near the junction of the eastern line of Allegany with the Pennsylvania line; slept in a log barn, and then pushed on into the dark forests upon the Genesee River. This was the first breaking into the woods in all the region which is now embraced in the western portion of Allegany, Wyoming, southern portions of Erie, Chautauque and Cattaraugus, and all that part of Pennsylvania bordering upon this state, with the exception of Presque Isle, and the solitary family of Francis King, at Cerestown, near the Allegany river, that had a short time before exchanged a residence in the city of London for a solitary one in the backwoods of Pennsylvania, a days journey from their nearest neighbor.

The party made a pretty thorough exploration of the tract, camping and breaking up their camp from day to day, encountering almost constant rains and swollen streams. With Judge Church it was a youthful advent — a first introduction to the woods — and a pretty rugged specimen he encountered, as all will acknowledge who have traversed the alternating hills and valleys of Allegany. Arrived at the north-west corner of the tract, the party mostly returned to their homes; Judge Church and Van Campen, making up their minds for a *pleasure* trip, taking an Indian trail* that bore off in the direction of Niagara Falls. This they pursued for two days, when they found themselves in the Seneca Indian village. They made their appearance in the little white settlement of "New Amsterdam," (Buffalo) in a sorry plight; with torn clothes, beards unshaven, tanned and camp smoked. They visited the Falls, returned

* This trailed from the Indian village of Canadea on the Allegany river, over the summit that divides the waters of the Genesee from those of Lake Erie, fell into the valley of the Cattaraugus, then passed over into the valley of the west branch of Buffalo creek, and pursued generally, the course of that stream, to the Indian village at its junction with the main stream, four miles from its mouth.

to Buffalo, and took the "white man's trail" * on their return to Bath. No such tramps had been contemplated, and soon after leaving Buffalo, money and provisions had both been exhausted; but a surplus of chocolate, which they exchanged along with the new settlers for meals of victuals. Mr. Ellicott had just got his land office built at Batavia. At Ganson's there was a militia training, the first that was ever had west of the Genesee river. Richard W. Stoddard being one of the officers, supplied Mr. Church with money; and proceeding on to Geneseo, they visited Mr. Wadsworth, whom Mr. Church had become acquainted with in New York.

Returning to Lyons, Judge Church arranged with Mr. Van Wickle to go on to the Allegany lands, and commence surveys and improvements, having previously designated the site of Angelica, as a primitive location. A mill calculated for one run of stones, and a saw mill, was soon commenced, and a road opened from four miles west of Hornellsville, (west line of Steuben) to Angelica.† This road was cut through by Silas Ferry and John Ayers. The saw mill was in operation in 1802, the grist mill in 1803. A framed dwelling house for Mr. Van Wickle, a small log land office, and a few shantees to live in, were also erected. Judge Church remembers that the transportation of his mill irons from Albany to Angelica, cost \$6.00 per cwt. All the early transporting was done with sleighs and wagons, from Geneva (80 miles;) with light loads, a trip would generally consume seven days. In 1802, Joseph Taylor opened a tavern. In the same year, Judge Church opened a small store, which was managed by John Gibson, one of his companions in the primitive exploration, who now survives, a resident of the neighborhood of Angelica, aged 72 years. John Ayers who helped cut out the first road leading into Angelica, is also alive, a resident near the Transit Bridge, on the river. In 1803 a road was opened from Angelica to Belvidere, and in 1805 was continued on to the present site of Hobbyville, to which point Dr. Hyde had advanced and erected a log tavern house. This was in 1807; the road was for several years but little better than a woods' path.

* "When we had made a track through the forest," says Mr Stephen Lusk, of Pittsford, we called it a "white man's trail, to distinguish it from the Indian trails."

† It was the name of Mrs. Philip Schuyler — "An-ge-gwah-a-ka," after the daughter of the Indian chief "San-gi-wa."

From the commencement of settlement, until 1805, Allegany was a part of the town of Leicester, Ontario county, and the new settlers had to go to the old village of Leicester on the Genesee river, via Hornellsville, to town meeting. In 1805 what is now Allegany county, was erected into a new town, and called Angelica. In April of that year the first town meeting was held at the house of Joseph Taylor. Benjamin Briggs was elected supervisor. Jacob S. Holt, town clerk. Other town officers:— John T. Hyde, David Church, Luke Goodspeed, Sylvester Russel, Elijah Church, Wm. Barney, Evert Van Wickle, Joseph Taylor, Abisha Cole, Wm. S. Heydon, Stephen Waterman, Thomas Cole, John Bennett, Ezra Bacon, George Otto, Jacob S. Holt.

In this year there are the records of roads, as follows:— Through main street of Angelica; from Angelica to Indian line, or Canaadea; from Angelica to south line of Van Campen's farm; from Angelica to Philipsburgh mills; to Philips creek; to Vandermark's creek; to Dike's settlement.

No resolutions were passed in 1805. In 1806 Luke Goodspeed was supervisor. It was resolved that "every man's yard should be his pound;" that the town of Angelica should pay \$2.50 for every wolf caught within the limits of the town.

At the first election, April, 1805, John Nicholas had 16 votes for Senator; for members of Assembly, Alexander Rhea, had 30 votes, Ezra Patterson 25, Daniel W. Lewis 16, Jeremiah Munson 12. In 1806, Daniel W. Lewis as a candidate for Congress, had 51 votes; for the Senate, Joseph Annin 42, Evens Wherey 38, John McWhorter 33, Freegift Patterson 33; for Assembly, Philip Church 82, Timothy Burt 35, Philetus Swift 33, James Reed 32, Asahel Warner 30, Joseph M'Clure 6. In 1807, as candidates for Governor, Morgan Lewis had 37 votes, Daniel D. Tompkins 28.

Judge Church spent several months in the new settlement, in each of the years 1801, '2, '3, and '4. In 1803, he selected as his residence, a location upon the Genesee River, where he now resides, four miles from Angelica, which was named Belvidere. His large farm is a beautiful sweep of flats, table and up land. The Judge, who in his prime, was somewhat noted for athletic feats, is said to have looked out the favorite spot, by climbing tall pine trees upon the highlands. The winding of the river at that point, and the frequent breaks in the ranges of highlands as they rise from the valley, sur-

rounds cultivated fields, a fine mansion with its English lawn, cultivated groves, orchards and gardens,—with a varied, wild and romantic landscape. The primitive framed house—built in 1803—which stood for years, an outpost of civilization, is yet preserved; its architecture, its old fashioned cut nails, marking a period when it must have looked almost aristocratic. Its founder still lives, but how many of the early men of the Genesee country, who have been sheltered under that venerable roof, have long since gone to their graves!

Belvidere is retired and secluded, even now. After an occupancy of nearly half a century, the guest of its hospitable founder, will often be waked from his slumbers, by the crack of the rifle, and the baying of hounds upon the surrounding hills. How must it have been when miles of forest intervened between it and the nearest settlements, and those settlements far away from the earlier ones of the Genesee country!

In 1805, Judge Church married the daughter of General Walter Stewart, of Philadelphia,* transferring her at the age of eighteen years, from city life and its associations, to the far off home in the wilderness, that has been described. The then young wife—the now venerable matron—remembers that woods journey, and describes it, even in a vein of gaiety and humor. There was the long and tedious journey from Albany to Geneva, and Bath; then the jolting wagon, over a wood's road to Hornellsville; and then when wheels could no longer be used, the horseback ride over what was but little better than a wood's path, to Angelica, and her new home at Belvidere. With a characteristic gallantry, Thomas Morris, then the active promoter of settlement, in the Genesee country, accom-

* Gen. Stewart had a command in the Pennsylvania line during the Revolution. His house in Philadelphia was often the hospitable retreat of Washington, La Fayette, Rochambeau, and other of the eminent men of the Revolution. Mrs. Church has a valuable heir loom of the family, a relic of the father of his country. It is his portrait in a frame; upon the back of the frame is pasted an original autograph addressed to Mrs. Stewart, which accompanied the portrait. It was something unique in its way at the time. In the note, Washington with characteristic modesty, begs Mrs. Stewart to regard it "not so much for any merit of the original, as for its excellence as a work of art; the production of a young lady."

Extract from Washington's general order book, Moore's House, 1779:—"The commander in chief directs a general court martial to be held at the usual place to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock, for the trial of Col. Arnaud; Col. Walter Stewart to preside." &c. By a resolution of Congress, medals were ordered struck for Gen. Wayne, Major Walter Stewart and Lt. Col. Fleury, for their gallant conduct in the storming of Stony Point

panied her in this her bridal tour to the wilderness. She had her first experience in housekeeping, and lived for several years, miles away from neighbors; often the business of her husband calling him away for weeks, her only companion a colored female domestic, and a small boy.* She made an early acquaintance with the Indians at Canaëda, and was a favorite with them. Upon one occasion, in the absence of Judge Church, she attended one of their festivals, contributing to its feast out of her stores, and enjoying with a high relish their Pagan rites, dances and rude sports. They gave her as a name, "Ye-nun-ke-a-wa," or the "first woman that has come;" having reference to settlement upon the river. Judge Church being in England on the breaking out of the war of 1812, a party of Canaëda Indians, headed by a chief, went to Belvidere, and in gratitude for Mrs. Church's kindness to their people, offered to keep a guard around her house, to protect her from the British Indians. Regarding herself as secure from invasion, in the woods of Allegany, she thanked them but declined their proffered gallantry.

John B. Church died in London, in 1816. His sons, other than Philip Church, were:—John B. Church, who now resides in Paris; Alexander, who died young, and Richard, who now resides in England. His daughters became the wives of Bertram P. Cruger, of New York, and Rodolph Bunner, late of Oswego.

The family of Philip Church, now consists of John B. Church, of New York, who married a daughter of Professor Silliman; Walter and Henry Church, of New York; Philip Church, who resides near Belvidere, and Richard Church, who resides at the homestead. Daughters:—Mrs. John Warren, of New York, Mrs. Pendleton Hoosick, of New York, and an unmarried daughter, residing with her parents.

The southern portion of all that part of Allegany, which is upon the Holland Purchase, was not settled until just preceding the war of 1812. As early as 1804, a few families had settled at Olean, but no road from Angelica to that point was opened until 1809 or '10, and then but a woods road. It was surveyed by Moses Van Campen,

* There was much of woman's nature in her reply, in long after years, to an observation made to her, expressing some surprise that she could have endured such a change—from a gay and social city to the woods:—"Oh," said she, "I was just the one to do it, I had youth, health: to be sure it was pretty hard at first, but the relations of a wife, to which was added the cares of a mother, soon reconciled me to my new home."

in 1815, and soon after settlers dropped in, began to be worked by them and the proprietors of Olean; though when it began, in 1816, '17, to be thronged with western emigrants on their way to embark upon the Allegany, it was only by sleighing they could get along comfortably; when that left them, as it often did, they plodded through sloughs, and over stumps and roots, making slow progress. There are emigrants on the Ohio and Wabash and in southern Illinois, who remember their early journey through the woods of Allegany and Cattaraugus, as by far the most trying scene they encountered upon their journey. Soon after 1816, a state road was laid there, the state making a small appropriation, but the pay for its construction principally made dependent upon the proceeds of tolls. It was completed in 1822. The road was principally built by David D. Howe.

In 1805 Judge Church purchased and had drove to Belvidere twenty-four sheep. Arriving late in the evening, they were folded close by the house. In the morning a brother-in-law, from New York, being his guest, he invited him out early to see them. Approaching the pen, they found 19 of the 24 lying dead. The wolves had tracked them in, and made the havoc. As is usual, where they have a plenty of victims, they had only bitten the throats, and exhausted the blood. The woods of Allegany were especially the haunts of wild beasts; trapping and hunting was a serious diversion of the new settlers, from the work of improvement.

In early years, the Post-office nearest Angelica, was at Bath, 40 miles distant. The citizens clubbed, and contracted with William Barney to make the trip, carrying letters and papers once a month. A blind boy of Mr. Barney made the trips, until he was killed by a fall from his horse.

There was no physician in Allegany, in the earliest years; Judge Church says he brought in a medicine chest, and "Buchan's Family Medicine," and occasionally made prescriptions. The nearest physician, Dr. Niles, in Steuben county. The first settled physician in Angelica, was Dr. Ellis, who was succeeded by Dr. Southworth, now of Lockport.

The primitive religious meetings were held in the loft of Judge Church's store house, by the Rev. Andrew Grey. "He was a broad shouldered man," says Judge Church, "of extraordinary muscular power; I remember his getting so earnest on one occasion, in en-

forcing religious precepts upon his backwoods congregation, that in his gestures, he knocked our store desk to pieces, that we gave him for a pulpit."

That part of the Morris' Reserve, in Allegany, which constituted the Church Tract, was six miles wide, lying east of, and adjoining the Holland Company's lands. In the division among Mr. Morris' creditors, another tract, six miles wide, containing 150,000 acres, fell into the hands of Sterritt and Harrison, merchants of Philadelphia; and in turn, this was cut up into small tracts and divided among their creditors. This large tract was mostly kept out of market until after 1815. South of the Church and Sterritt tract, on the Pennsylvania line, is another tract of 37,000 acres, which fell into the hands of Willing & Francis, also merchants of Philadelphia: Mr. Willing, of the firm, was President of the old United States Bank.

The first settlement founded after Angelica, was at Van Campen's creek, in the direction of Olean. This name was given during the primitive advent of Mr. Church, in honor of his woods' companion, Mr. Van Campen. Harrison and Higgins were the first settlers. Six or seven miles up the river, above Philipsburgh, a settlement was commenced by Joseph and Silas Knight. The first settlement down the river, was founded by the Sandfords.

No new country has probably ever been opened for sale and settlement, that had as rugged features, as much of difficulty to overcome, as the territory which comprises the county of Allegany. Heavily timbered throughout, with the exception of small spots upon the river, it was many years before the roots were out so as to admit of easy cultivation. The new settlements in all early years, were extremely isolated. The wide forests of the Holland Purchase bordering upon them, had been but little broken into, as late as 1809 or '10, and after that for many years, settlement upon them advanced but slowly. When the settlers began to have any thing to dispose of, they had no market, but such as involved a ruinous cost of transportation, over long woods, roads, and up and down steep hills. The very earliest years, however, were far more prosperous than a long period that succeeded. Black salts, pot and pearl ashes, and grain could be taken to Hornellsville, and from thence go to Baltimore, where it would command cash. This made for a few years, pretty brisk times; but the navigation was precari-

ous, and at best, had in each season but a short duration; and soon came on European wars, the embargo to bear especially heavy upon the enterprise and prosperity that had begun to dawn in the secluded backwoods. Pine lumber, was good for nothing, beyond the home uses of the new settlers. It was too far from the navigable waters of the Allegany, even if there had been roads; and too far from the northern older settlements, to allow of any considerable market in that direction. The best of pine trees, instead of being any help to the new settler, was a great hindrance, for they constitute the most difficult clearing of new lands that is encountered. The first considerable market for the pine lumber of Allegany, was at Mt. Morris and Dansville, after the completion of the Genesee Valley canal to those points.

Independent of other hindrances to prosperity — or especially to agricultural improvement — two prominent ones have existed: — The mountains, the valleys and the streams, had attractions for the hunter, the trapper and the fisherman, and slow progress in felling the forest, neglected fields, and dilapidated log tenements, were the consequences. The free use of whiskey in all the new settlements of the Genesee country, was a curse and a blight, the consequences of which — the manner that it retarded prosperity and improvement — the strong men that it made weak — the woe and the sorrow that it carried to the log cabins of the wilderness — would form a theme that might be regarded as an innovation here; but elsewhere, in its appropriate place, would “point a moral,” though it would not “adorn a tale.” Especially was this an evil where men were attracted by the causes that have been named, from legitimate pursuits. The other local hindrance succeeded when lumbering became a sufficient object to draw men away from agricultural improvements.

Soon after 1807, a serious embarrassment was added to other difficulties upon the Church tract, which constituted nearly all the settled portions of Allegany. John B. Church, who was then residing in New York, became embarrassed, principally in consequence of French spoliations upon American commerce; having made large ventures as an underwriter.* The title of one half of the

* His heirs have now large, and as it would seem just claim upon our government, growing out of this. By Treaty with France, our government assumed payment of the claims.

100,000 acre tract, was in his son, Philip Church, but there had been no division: a mixed interest was assigned to trustees, for the benefit of his creditors, and there was no final division and settlement until 1815. In all this time there was a distrust of title, which hindered settlement, and created an unsettled state of things, as the same cause always will.

The war of 1812 prostrated all of enterprise and progress in all the newly settled portions of the Genesee country, where they had no surplus produce, were consumers instead of producers. The new settlements of Allegany furnished their full quota of men for the frontier, drawn from feeble settlements, where they could least be well spared: some were left upon battle fields, died in hospitals, or returned to die of disease contracted upon the frontier. Peace had but just been concluded, when the cold and untoward season of 1816, came upon them, its biting frosts upon hill and valley, destroying all their hopes of sustenance, creating distress and want, driving, in many instances, men to the game in the forest, the fish in the streams, and wild roots and herbs, as their only resources to ward off a famine. Independent of their own sufferings and privations, they had quartered upon them the poor Indians of Canaëda, who were reduced to the extremity of want. Then came propitious seasons, life and activity: for a few years a tide of emigration flowed through their midst, on their way to Olean, and down the Allegany, creating a home market for their produce. This lasted, gradually declining, until the Erie canal had reached its western terminus, when emigration was entirely diverted, and their main roads and public houses were deserted. The Erie canal so diffusive in its benefits, stimulating to life and activity, in all other localities of western New but came to crush the hopes, and depress the energies of the people of Allegany and Cattaraugus. Recovering from its first effects, gradually, and remotely, its benefits began to reach them, even before the construction of the Valley canal.

It is after almost a half century's struggle, but for Allegany the "better time" has come. The whistle of the steam cars are startling the deer that yet linger in her forests; the echoes of the boatman's horn, ere these imperfect annals will issue from the press, will be sounding along the valley of the upper Genesee; the dark forests are rapidly disappearing; the neat framed house is taking the place of the moss covered log cabin; all is putting on the appearance of re-

newed enterprise and rapid progress. Long almost a "terra incognita" her near neighbors on the "northern plains," her soil, her climate, pure water and pure atmosphere, is beginning to be appreciated; and she will soon occupy a better relative position in the empire region of the Empire State.

CHAPTER X.

THE PIONEER PRINTERS AND NEWSPAPERS.

MR. WILLIAMSON was directly connected with the introduction of the printing press into the Genesee country. The two first newspapers were established under his auspices and patronage. Early in January, 1796, he procured from Northumberland or Sunbury, in Pennsylvania, a second hand newspaper office, and enlisted as printers and publishers, Wm. Kersey* and James Edie. They issued "The Bath Gazette and Genesee Advertiser." This was the first newspaper published in western New York.

In the same year, he induced Lucius Carey, who had been publishing a paper at Newburg, to sell out and establish himself at Geneva. Mr. Carey forwarded his printing materials by water, and came himself, with his household goods, by land. On his arrival, he wrote to Mr. Williamson at Albany, that he had ended a long and expensive journey; arrived, and found his house unfinished, and no room provided for his office.† He got settled during

* It is presumed that Mr. Kersey may have had a connection with the paper, not as printer, but as one of Mr. Williamson's agents at Bath. He was a Friend, as would appear by his letters. In one of them, written to Mr. Williamson at Albany, he speaks of having located some new settlers, and at the same time, asks for some new type, urging that the type they have brought from Pennsylvania is "old and worn." "We, on considering the case, conclude it is best to have a sufficient quantity of new type to complete the office, so that we may do business in good fashion; therefore request that in addition to the order by Capt. Coudry, thou may be pleased to send us as soon as may be, 266 weight of small pica or bourgeois. We have some encouragement to pursue the business, but many of our patrons complain of the badness of the print, and that not without sufficient cause." He was at the time one of the Judges of Steuben, and informs Mr. Williamson that he and his associates had been indicted by the Grand Jury, "for not holding an election at the Painted Post for a representative in Congress."

† "The Pioneer printer was in ill humor. He says to Mr. Williamson:—I am now lying idle, and how long I shall, I cannot say, only for the want of a room to work in. My house was to be done in July, and it is a mortifying reflection to me to have

the winter, however, and in April, 1797, brought out the first number of the "Ontario Gazette and Genesee Advertiser." The paper was continued but about a year and a half at Geneva, after which it was removed to Canandaigua, and continued until 1802, when the office was sold, and the name of the paper changed to "Western Repository and Genesee Advertiser." Mr. Carey died in Canandaigua, in 1804.

James K. Gould was the immediate successor of Mr. Carey. In May, 1803, he issued "for the proprietors," the "Western Repository and Genesee Advertiser." In August, 1803, Mr. Gould, in company with Russell E. Post, purchased the establishment, and changed the title to "Western Repository." In October, 1804, this partnership was dissolved, and James D. Bemis took the place of Mr. Post. Mr. Gould dying in March, 1808, the paper was continued by Mr. Bemis, with only a slight change of title, for twenty-one years. The paper is still published, being now the oldest newspaper in western New York. The immediate successors of Mr. Bemis were, Chauncey Morse and Samuel Ward, the former of whom was a brother-in-law of Mr. B., and the latter a nephew. Mr. — Harvey was at one period associated with Mr. Morse in its publication. The present editor and publisher, is George L. Whitney.

In 1803, Sylvester Tiffany established in Canandaigua, the Ontario Freeman. He was from New Hampshire; his wife, one of the well known family of Ralstons, of that State. For several years before settling at Canandaigua, Mr. Tiffany had published a paper at Niagara, U. C. He was for several years clerk of Ontario county. He died in 1811. His widow still survives, a resident of Rochester. The surviving sons are:— Sylvester Tiffany, an early merchant in Le Roy; George A. Tiffany, who married a daughter of Mrs. Berry, at Avon, and now resides in Wisconsin; Alexander R. Tiffany, who studied law in Canandaigua, married a daughter of Dr. Gain Robinson, and is now Judge Tiffany, of Adrian, Michigan. Dean O. Tiffany, the youngest son, was a clerk in the book store of James D. Bemis, of Canandaigua, and subsequently, in the Everingham store in Rochester; died at the south. Daughters became the wives of Stephen and William Charles, of Rochester, and John C. Ross, of C. W.

John A. Stevens was the successor of Mr. Tiffany, commencing the publication of the Ontario Messenger in 1806. The Repository and Messenger, under the management of Messrs. Bemis and Stevens, were for a considerable period the leading papers of the respective parties whose interests they espoused. "Mr. Stevens," says a brief biographer,* "was a kind, affectionate, and good hearted man, and very generally esteemed by all who knew him." He died some twenty years since.

my parents hear that I must lay idle for the want of a house, when I had spoke so much in praise of the town, and been the means of a number coming to it since I was here in the winter." He says he almost repents of his bargain; yet, with the loan of an \$100, he thinks he can get a paper out, and move along, "if he can get a room." His dwelling house was finally furnished, and a far better one it must have been than Pioneer printers usually enjoy, as the amount paid for it by Mr. Williamson, was over \$2,000

* Frederick Follett, Esq., who compiled the proceedings of the "Printers' Festival" in Rochester, held in 1847, and added a "History of the Press of Western New York."

Of the large number of printers, most of whom have been, or are now, conductors of newspapers, who served their apprenticeships with Messrs. Bemis and Stevens, the names of the following occur to the author: — Oran Follett, David M. Day, Lewis H. Redfield, Hezekiah and Smith Salisbury, A. H. Bennett, Thomas B. Barnum, Randall Meacham, John Van Sice, Edward Van Cleve, John Gilbert, Elisha Starr, beside many others of a later period; and the Author of this work, in part.

Eben Eaton, a brother of General Eaton, was the successor of Mr. Carey at Geneva. He started a paper in 1800, called "The impartial Observer and Seneca Museum."

James Bogert came to Geneva in 1806. He served his apprenticeship in the old office of T. & J. Swords, New York. In November, 1806, he issued the first number of the "Expositor," which was continued until 1809; when he changed the title to "Geneva Gazette." He conducted the paper for over twenty-seven years, retiring from it in 1833. Next to Mr. Bemis, he is the oldest survivor of the conductors of the press in western New York. He was a good printer and editor, and in all respects, a worthy member of the "craft." He was upon the frontier in the war of 1812, bearing the commission of Captain in the regiment of Colonel Peter Allen, and was afterwards commissioned as a Colonel. After retiring from the Gazette, he was for five years Collector of Canal Tolls at Geneva.

JAMES D. BEMIS may justly be regarded as the father of the press of western New York: and this not only with reference to his early and long continued connection with it, but with further reference to the large number of printers who have gone out from under his instruction; his character as a man, and as a member of a local craft, the dignity and respectability of which he has in so large a degree maintained. He was a native of New Hampshire; though, if the author rightly recollects, he served his apprenticeship in Albany. Soon after arriving at his majority, in the winter of 1803, he left Albany with a small stock of books and stationery, intending to locate in Canada, but arriving in Canandaigua, was induced by the favorable prospects held out there, to make it his permanent home. [See his own cotemporary account of his advent, Appendix, No. 19.] Soon engaging with Mr. Gould in the Repository, he sold his stock of books and stationery to Myron Holley; but it was not long before he connected book-selling with printing, and for many years was not only the editor and publisher of the most successful newspaper in western New York, but he enjoyed almost a monopoly in the printing of handbills, blanks, in the sale of books, and in the business of book-binding, in a wide region. All of this was managed by a close application to business, in a careful, systematic manner, peculiar to the man. No one connected with the newspaper press in western New York, has been more successful, and no one better deserved success.

Mr. Bemis still survives, having reached his 70th year. Sincerely is it lamented by a wide circle of friends — and especially by those who have known him most intimately; many of whom owe him gratitude as well as respect — that the evening of his long and useful life is clouded with misfortune. He has been for a considerable period an inmate of an institution at Brattleboro, Vt., under treatment for the cure of physical infirmities, in which his once well balanced mind in some degree participates.* He married in early life; his wife still survives. An only son is George W. Bemis of Canandaigua,

the successor of his father as a bookseller, who has recently been appointed a Deputy U. S. Marshall. Daughters became the wives of Thaddeus Chapin of Canandaigua, and Wm. B. Peck, a bookseller of New York, recently of Buffalo.

* In the absence of the infirmities alluded to, he would, perhaps, have been the historian of this local region. In a letter to the author of this work, about the period he was commencing the history of the Holland Purchase, he commended the enterprise, and added : — " The western part of our great State is full of interest in its fifty years career, whether we consider the events of that period, or the character of men who acted their parts in transforming their country from a wilderness to what is now emphatically the GARDEN OF THE STATE. I only wanted two things in my power to do, namely : to die as the oldest editor in western New York, (which I am,) and to write its history."

[END OF GENERAL HISTORY OF PHELPS AND GORHAM'S PURCHASE.]

APPENDIX.

[NO. 1.]

EXTRACT FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JESUITS' COLLEGE AT QUEBEC.

On the 5th of February, 1663, about half past five o'clock in the evening, a great rushing noise was heard throughout the whole extent of Canada. This noise caused the people to run out of their houses into the streets, as if their habitations had been on fire; but, instead of flames or smoke, they were surprised to see the walls reeling backward and forward, and the stones moving as if they were detached from each other. The timbers, rafters and planks cracked. The earth trembled violently, and caused the stakes of the palisades and palings to dance, in a manner that would have been incredible, had we not actually seen it in many places. It was at this moment every one ran out of doors. Then were to be seen animals flying in every direction; children crying and screaming in the streets; men and women, seized with affright, stood horror-struck with the dreadful scene before them, unable to move, and ignorant where to fly for refuge from the tottering walls and trembling earth, which threatened every instant to crush them to death, or sink them into a profound and immeasurable abyss. Some threw themselves on their knees in the snow, crossing their breasts, and calling on their saints to relieve them from the danger with which they were surrounded. Others passed the rest of this dreadful night in prayer; for the earthquake ceased not, but continued at short intervals, with a certain undulating impulse, resembling the waves of the ocean; and the same qualmish sensations, or sickness at the stomach, was felt during the shocks, as is experienced in a vessel at sea.

"The violence of the earthquake was greatest in the forest, where it appeared as if there was a battle raging between the trees; for not only their branches were destroyed, but even their trunks are said to have been detached from their places, and dashed against each other with inconceivable violence and confusion—so much so, that the Indians, in their figurative manner of speaking, declared that all the forests were drunk. The war also seemed to be carried on between the mountains, some of which were torn from their beds and thrown upon others, leaving immense chasins, in the places from whence they had issued, and the very trees with which they were covered, sunk down, leaving only their tops above the surface of the earth; others were completely overturned, their branches buried in the earth, and the roots only remained above ground. During this general wreck of nature, the ice upward of six feet thick, was rent and thrown up in large pieces, and from the openings in many parts, there issued thick clouds of smoke, or fountains of dirt and sand, which spouted up to a very considerable height. The springs were either choked up, or impregnated with sulphur; many rivers were totally lost; others were diverted from their courses, and

their waters entirely corrupted. Some of them became yellow, others red, and the great river of the St. Lawrence appeared entirely white, as far down as Tadoussac. This extraordinary phenomena, must astonish those who knew the size of the river, and the immense body of waters in various parts, which must have required such abundance of matter to whiten it. They write from Montreal, that during the earthquake, they plainly saw the stakes of the picketing or palisades, jump up as if they had been dancing; and that of two doors in the same room, one opened and the other shut of their own accord; that the chimneys and tops of the houses, bent like branches of the trees agitated with the wind; that when they went to walk, they felt the earth following them, and rising at every step they took, something sticking against the soles of their feet, and other things in a very forcible and surprising manner."

"From Three Rivers they write that the first shock was the most violent and commenced with a noise resembling thunder. The houses were agitated in the same manner as the tops of trees during a tempest, with a noise as if fire was crackling in the garrets. The shock lasted half an hour, or rather better, though its greatest force was properly not more than a quarter of an hour, and we believe there was not a single shock, which did not cause the earth to open more or less.

"As for the rest, we have remarked that, though this earthquake continued almost without intermission, yet it was not always of an equal violence. Sometimes it was like the pitching of a large vessel which dragged heavily at her anchors, and it was this motion which caused many to have giddiness in their heads, and a qualmsiness in their stomachs. At other times the motion was hurried and irregular, creating sudden jerks, some of which were extremely violent; but the most common, was a slight, tremulous motion, which occurred frequently with little noise. Many of the French inhabitants, and Indians, who were eye-witnesses to the scene, state that a great way up the river of Trois Rivières, about eighteen miles below Quebec, the hills which bordered the river on either side, and which were of a prodigious height, were torn from their foundations, and plunged into the river, causing it to change its course, and spread itself over a large tract of land recently cleared; the broken earth mixed with the waters, and for several months changed the color of the great river St. Lawrence, into which that of Trois Rivières disemboques itself. In the course of this violent convulsion of nature, lakes appeared where none ever existed before; mountains were overthrown, swallowed up by the gaping, or precipitated into adjacent rivers, leaving in their places frightful chasms or level plains; falls and rapids were changed into gentle streams, and gentle streams into falls and rapids. Rivers in many parts of the country sought other beds, or totally disappeared. The earth and mountains were entirely split and rent in innumerable places, creating chasms and precipices, whose depths have never yet been ascertained. Such devastation was also occasioned in the woods, that more than a thousand acres in one neighborhood were completely overturned; and where, but a short time before, nothing met the eye but an immense forest of trees, now were to be seen extensive cleared lands, apparently cut up by the plough.

At Tadoussac, (about 150 miles below Quebec, on the north side,) the effect of the earthquake was not less violent than in other places; and such a heavy shower of volcanic ashes fell in that neighborhood, particularly in the river St. Lawrence, that the water was as violently agitated as during a tempest. The Indians say that a vast volcano exists in Labrador. Near St. Paul's Bay (about fifty miles below Quebec on the north side,) a mountain, about a league in circumference, situated on the shore of the St. Lawrence, was precipitated into the river, but as if it had only

made a plunge, it rose from the bottom and became a small island, forming with the shore a convenient harbor, well sheltered from all winds. Lower down the river, toward Point Alouettes, an entire forest of considerable extent, was loosened from the main bank and slid into the river St. Lawrence, where the trees took fresh root. There are three circumstances, however, which have rendered this extraordinary earthquake particularly remarkable : — The first is its duration, it having continued from February to August, that is to say, more than six months almost without intermission. It is true, the shocks were not always equally violent. In several places, as toward the mountains behind Quebec, the thundering noise and trembling motion continued successively for a considerable time. In others, as toward Tadoussac, the shock continued generally for two or three days at a time, with much violence.

The second circumstance relates to the extent of this earthquake, which we believe, was universal throughout the whole of New France, for we learn that it was felt from L'Isle Perce and Gaspé, which are situated at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, to beyond Montreal : as also in New England, Arcadia, and other places more remote. As far as it has come to our knowledge, this earthquake extended more than 600 miles in length, and about 300 in breadth. Hence, 180,000 square miles of land were convulsed in the same day, and at the same moment.

The third circumstance, which appears the most remarkable of all, regards the extraordinary protection of Divine Providence, which has been extended to us and our habitations ; for we have seen near us the large openings and chasms which the earthquake occasioned, and the prodigious extent of country which has been either totally lost or hideously convulsed, without our losing either man, woman, or child, or even having a hair of their head touched.”

[NO. 2.]

DE NONVILLE'S INVASION OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

Succeeding M. de la Barre, the Governor, De Nonville, had immediately commenced peace negotiations with the Senecas ; at times there seemed every prospect of a favorable issue ; but the English Governor, Dongan, was evidently throwing every obstacle in the way of peace. Had he been otherwise disposed, a powerful influence was brought to bear upon him : The English traders had approached the productive hunting grounds of Western New York ; and were stimulated by the prospect of gain which they afforded ; and this region was their only practicable avenue of approach to the still more extensive field of Indian trade around the borders of the western Lakes. The mercenary views of the English traders predominated over any regard for the peace of their colony. The sale of poor English brandy to the Indians, and the acquisition of rich packs of beaver were considerations with them paramount to those which involved questions of peace or war between France and England. They of course were not the peace counsellors of Gov. Dongan.

France and De Nonville had a faithful helper, in the person of the Jesuit Father Lamberville, who had been for sixteen years located as a missionary, at Onondaga, the central canton of the Iroquois. He had, not unworthily, acquired great influence, and he exercised it in favor of peace. He had perseveringly endeavored to prevent the introduction of spiritous liquors among the Indians ; had foretold its consequences, and in all things else had proved their friend. Pending the visit of M. de la Barre to

the south shore of Lake Ontario, he had exerted himself to procure a conference between the French and all the Iroquois nations; and in order to remove every obstacle, had opened a friendly correspondence with Gov. Dongan, to induce him to be on the side of peace. "Let your zeal," he wrote, "for the public peace, and especially for the Christians of this America, induce you to put a finishing hand to this good work. Since peace, through your care, will apparently last, we shall continue to carry the Christian faith through this country, and to solicit the Indians, whom you honor with your friendship, to embrace it, as you yourselves embrace it, for this is the sole object that has caused us to come here; that the blood of Jesus Christ, shed for all men, may be useful to them, and that his glory may be great throughout the earth." The good missionary requests the Governor to send his answer by Garakontie, an Onondaga, whom he will meet at Albany; and he exhorts him "to have a little care for Garakontie," to recommend him "not to get drunk any more, as he promised when he was baptised, and to perform the duties of a Christian."

On the advent of De Nonville, Father Lamberville seconded all his efforts for peace, though as duty to his country dictated, he at the same time kept the Governor informed of all the English were doing to prejudice the Iroquois against the French.

The winter of 1685, '6, wore away, the French shut up at Montreal, and at their advanced posts, and the English, not venturing much beyond the Hudson. Little could be done in the winter in the way of peace negotiations, war, or trade, as the navigable waters, the only means of communication, were principally closed with ice.

In May, De Nonville informed his government, that there had been seen on Lake Erie, ten English canoes, laden with merchandise, in which were some French deserters; and mentions that he had sent a small force to Niagara to intercept them on their return. He gives a minute topographical description of Niagara: describes its commanding position; and recommends the erection of a fort there, as the most effectual means of preventing English encroachments at the west; and he is of the opinion that if the Senecas should see a fort planted there, they would be more pliant.* He informs the government that he has assumed the responsibility of sending an engineer and draughtsman to Niagara, to locate the Fort, and make the necessary drawings.** The expense attending the getting of military stores and provisions to Kingston, is mentioned as a serious drawback to his operations, it costing not less than "110 livres from Ville Marie, on the Island of Montreal, to Catarakouy, per 1000 lbs."

Soon after this dispatch had been forwarded to France, De Nonville received a letter from the English Governor, abounding in professions of friendship, and a disposition to preserve peace between the two nations; laments that the Indians had dealt harshly with two Jesuit Missionaries; and thinks it "a thousand pities that those who made such progress in the service of God, should be disturbed; and that by the fault of those who laid the foundation of Christianity amongst these barbarous people." In this letter, however, the English Governor distinctly asserts the right of English dominion, all along the south shores of Lake Ontario, and up to the eastern banks of

* This is undoubtedly the incipient step to the occupation of the site of Fort Niagara. In his History of the Holland Purchase, the author has assumed that La Salle erected a trading post there; but better information leads him to the conclusion that this was an error.

NOTE.—The reader will bear in mind, that up to this period of colonization in America, the question of right, as to jurisdiction and dominion, was but illy defined. Boundaries were but imaginary, no surveyor's compass having marked them: no "stakes or stones" had been set up. The French claimed dominion and pre-emptive

the Niagara River, complains of the gathering of stores at "Cataraqui," (Kingston,) as it is evidence of intention to war upon the Iroquois, who, it is assumed are the king of England's subjects, and protests against the intentions of the French to build a fiort at a place called Ohnigero, on this side of the Lake, within my master's territories."

Other correspondence transpired between the Governors of the rival colonists, and both kept their governments informed of all that was going on in this portion of the new world. The diplomacy of the Governors, was marked throughout with insincerity; they mutually concealed from each other their real intentions. Gov. Dongan occasionally falls into a vein of flattery:—On one occasion he expresses his "high satisfaction that the King of France has sent him so good a neighbor, of so excellent qualifications and temper, and of a humor altogether different from Monsieur La Barre, who was so furious and hasty, very much addicted to great words, as if it had bin to have bin frightened by him." De Nonville aware that Gov. Dongan was a Catholic, takes good care to often impress him with the idea, that all that he is doing has reference to "the glory of God, and the propagation of the Christian faith." Suddenly however, his tone changed, and he charged the English Governor with inciting the Indians to murder Frenchmen upon their own territory: of being privy to the "martyrdom of holy missionaries;" of having sent an English expedition to Mishillimaquina." "Think you," says he, "that religion will progress, whilst your merchants supply as they do, *Eau de roi* in abundance, which converts the savages into demons, and their wigwams into counterparts and theatres of hell." He charges in addition, that the English have "harbored and protected French runaways, bankrupts and thieves."

De Nonville informed his King of English encroachments upon French territory; of their expeditions to the West; of their holding councils with the Iroquois, and especially the Senecas; of their arming and inciting them to war upon the French; and concludes with the opinion, that there can be no success for the French Missionaries or Traders, until the Senecas are humbled; and for this purpose he demands a large reinforcement from France. The King assured him that his demands should be complied with, and recommends prompt offensive measures.

Much other correspondence passed between De Nonville and his government, and between the two Governors, which is not material to an understanding of events that followed.

right over all the lands of the Indians, among whom their missionaries and traders had gained a foothold. By this tenure they were, at the period upon which we are now dwelling, claiming the whole valley of the Western Lakes, and of the Mississippi: over into Texas and New Mexico, by reason of the advent of La Salle; and all of what is now New York, as low down as the eastern bounds of Oneida county. The taking possession by formal proclamation, in the name of their king, was first done by De Nonville, in what is now Ontario county; and repeated at Niagara. The English claimed upon similar tenure, beyond where they had obtained possession by treaty. When the issue was pending between De Nonville and the English Governor, the English had not been occupants, in any form, of any portion of western New York. The French had missionary and trading stations as low down as the Oneida castle. The English had, to be sure, performed the ceremony of sending agents to all the Iroquois villages, to erect poles, upon which were flags bearing the arms of their nation; but the act was so ludicrous as to excite the contempt of the natives, who generally tore them down, for the Iroquois acknowledged no sovereignty of either France or England, over them.*

*We are free!" said Garrangula to de la Barre;—"We were born freemen, and have no dependence on Yennondio," (the French Governor,) "or Corlear," (the English Governor.)

In June, 1687, the recruits having arrived from France, the French army moved up the St. Lawrence, and occupied the Fort at "Cataracouy." The premeditated invasion of the Seneca country, was preceded by an act of treachery and perfidy, which has few parallels in history. The French Governor persuaded the good missionary, Lamberville, who was intent only upon peace, the service of his King, and the success of his mission, to take a large delegation of Indians to his head quarters, under the pretence of holding a peace council, and reconciling all difficulties. When they were shut up within the fort, and completely in his power, he ordered fifty of them to be put in irons, conveyed to Quebec, and from thence to the galleys in France! His object, as will be inferred, was to hold them as hostages, to give him advantage in making overtures of peace; but he sadly misjudged the effect. The news of the treachery reaching the Oneidas, a French Missionary was seized and led to the stake, and was only saved by the intervention of a squaw, who claimed the right to adopt him as her son. At Onondaga, the Missionary Lamberville, was summoned before a council of chiefs, and while anticipating that his life had been forfeited by the part he had taken in the affair, a chief arose and addressed him thus:—"Thou art now our enemy—thou and thy race. But we have held counsel and cannot resolve to treat thee as an enemy. We know thy heart had no share in this treason, though thou wert its tool. We are not unjust; we will not punish thee, being innocent and hating the crime as much as ourselves. But depart from among us; there are some who might seek thy blood; and when our young men sing their war song, we may no longer be enabled to protect thee." Lamberville was furnished with an escort, who conducted him to the French upon the St. Lawrence.

Previous to his arrival at Cataracouy, De Nonville had sent presents to the western nations at war with the Iroquois, their ancient enemies, who were in alliance with the French, and had given orders to the commandants of the western posts to collect them, and repair with them and their respective commands to Niagara, and from thence to "Ga-ni-en-tar-a-quet," (Irondequoit.) There were at this period, French posts at Mackinaw, upon Lakes Superior and Michigan; Upon the Wisconsin, the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers; and never had a King or a country more devoted or faithful subjects, than were the commandants of these far off posts, dotted down, hundreds of miles apart, in the wilderness. Chief among them was Tonti, whom De Nonville had named to the King, as "a lad of great enterprise and boldness, who undertakes considerable." Tonti, it will have been observed, had been the companion of La Salle in the primitive advent over the waters of Lake Erie. Left by his principal, with a handful of men at the "Fort of the Illinese," (Illinois,) he had successfully defended it against the assaults of the Indians. He was with de la Barre, in his expedition to the south shore of Lake Ontario; and returning to Illinois, he had been in search of the adventurous La Salle, to the Gulf of Mexico. Under him the western forces were marshalled.

By a remarkable coincidence, the army under De Nonville, and the western French and Indians arrived at Irondequoit on the same day, —the 10th of July. Pushing directly across the Lake from Cataracouy, to "La Famine Bay," the main army had coasted by slow stages, encamping on shore when night overtook them. Their last and most considerable halt being upon the present site of Pulteneyville, in Wayne co.*

* From this period this became a prominent stopping place for French battalions, and after them for the English Lake coasters. The species of apple tree which the French introduced in this region, was growing there, and there was the remains of an old log building, when white settlement commenced. The place was known as "Appleboon," before its present name was conferred.

The western division of the army came down from Niagara by land, pursuing the Indian trail upon the lake shore.* Entering the Bay of Irondequoit with two hundred batteaux, and as many canoes. De Nonville erected a palisade fort upon an elevated site, in which to station a small force for the protection of his water craft and military stores. "Never had Canada seen and never perhaps will it see, a similar spectacle. A camp composed of one fourth regular troops, with the General's suit; one fourth habitants,* in four battallions, with the gentry of the country; one fourth christian Indians; and finally a crowd of all the barbarous nations, naked, tattooed, and painted over the body with all sorts of figures, wearing horns on their heads,† queues down their backs, and armed with arrows. We could hear during the night a multitude of languages, and songs and dances in every tongue. The "Tsonnontouans," (Senecas,) came to reconnoitre us, and then went to burn their villages and take to flight. The advanced guard was 300 Christian Indians; the Pagan savages on the left with three companies, 100 Ottawas, 300 Poux, (Sioux,) 100 Illinois, 50 Hurons. Then came the main body of four battallions of regulars and four of militia; the one headed by De Nonville, and the other by M. Duque."

In the mean time the Senecas had not been idle. They were cognizant of the gathering of troops and provisions at Cataracton — had seen the formidable armament push across the Lake; squads of them concealed in the thick woods, had watched the progress of the French along the shores of the Lake; and their swift runners had kept all the villages advised of their movements. Preparations had been made for the crisis: — The old and infirm, and the extreme youth, had been sent to places of safety; all else, without regard to sex, had been marshalled for the approaching combat. A party of an hundred, approached the French in canoes, before they had disembarked, and hailed them in a friendly manner; to which, as they reported, the French "replied in base language: — Enustogan horrio, squa; which is as much in their language, as the devil take you!" Another scouting party approached the French, and received quite as uncivil an answer; whereupon they went back and reported to the sachems, that to fight was the only alternative.

Various accounts of the battle that ensued, have been preserved: — There are De Nonville's official report; La Hontan's account; the English account derived from the Indians; and that of L'Abbe de Belmont, in a manuscript. "History of Canada," recently discovered in the Royal Library of Paris. The author would seem to have been an eye witness, and he has faithfully, as is evident, recorded the event:

"The march was a little hurried. The weary troops were dying with thirst. The day was hot. The two bodies found themselves at too great distance from each other. The scouts too were deceived; for having come to the *desserts*, (barrens or plains,) they found five or six women who were going round in the fields. This was a lure of the Senecas to make them believe that they were all in the village.

"The territory of *Ganezara* is very hilly; the village is upon a high hill, which is surrounded by three little hills or terraces, at the foot of a valley, and opposite some other hills, between which passes a large brook, which in a little valley makes a little marsh, covered with alders. This is the place which they selected for their ambuscade. They

* French militia.

† This might be seen among the Seneca warriors as late as the war of 1812. It is common now among the Indians of the remote west. Directly upon the crown of the head a tuft of hair is bound, and trained to stand upright, terminating in a loose tuft or tassel.

divided themselves, posted 300 men along the falling brook between two hills, in a great thicket of beech trees : and 500 at the bottom of these hills, in a marsh, among the alders : with the idea that the first ambuscade of 300 men should let the army pass and then attack them in the rear, which would force it to fall into the second ambuscade which was concealed at the bottom of the hills in the marsh. They deceived themselves nevertheless, for as the advanced guard which M de Calliers commanded, was very distant from the body under the command of the Marquis, they believed it was the entire army. Accordingly as the advanced guard passed near the thicket of beeches, after making a terrible whoop, (*sakaqua* !) they fired a volley.

"The Ottawas and the heathen Indians all fled. The Christian Indians of the mountain and the Sault, and the Abenakis held fast and gave two volleys.

"The Marquis De Nenville advanced with the main body, composed of the royal troops, to occupy the height of the hill, where there was a little fort of piquets : but the terror and disorder of the surprise were such, that there was only M. de Calzonne, who distinguished himself there, and M. Duque who bringing up the rear guard, rallied the battalion of Berthier, which was in flight, and being at the head of that of Mont-treal, fired two hundred shots. The Marquis, *en chemise*, sword in hand drew up the main body in battle order, and beat the drum at a time when scarcely any one was to be seen. This frightened the 300 Tsenontoums of the ambuscade, who fled from above towards the 500 that were ambushed below. The fear that all the world was upon them, made them fly with so much precipitation that they left their blankets in a heap and nothing more was seen of them.

"A council was held. It was resolved, as it was late, to sleep on the field of battle for camp. One who was still alive said there were 800 of them ; 300 above, and 500 below : and that the Goyogouians, (*Cavages*.) were to come the next day, which was the reason that they staid where they were. There were found at several places during the succeeding days, provisions, and some other dead savages ; or if not dead, our men killed them."

"On the morrow we marched in battle order, waiting for an attack. We descended the hill by a little sloping valley, or gorge, through which ran a brook bordered with thick bushes, and which discharges itself at the foot of a hill, in a marsh full of deep mud, but planted with alders so thick that one could scarcely see. There it was that they had stationed their two ambuscades, and where perhaps we would have been defeated, if they had not mistaken our advanced guards for the whole army, and been so hasty in firing. The Marquis acted very prudently in not pursuing them, for it was a trick of the Iroquois to draw us into a greater ambuscade. The marsh which is about twenty acres, (*arpens*.) being passed, we found about three hundred wretched blankets ; several miserable guns, and began to perceive the famous Babylon of the Tsenontoums ; a city, or village of bark, situate at the top of a mountain of earth, to which one rises by three terraces, or hills. It appeared to us from a distance, to be crowned with round towers, but these were only large chests, (drums) of bark, about four feet in length, set the one in the other about five feet in diameter, in which they keep their Indian corn. The village had been burnt by themselves ; it was now eight days since ; we found nothing in the town except the cemetery and grave. It was filled with snakes and animals, there was a great mask with teeth and eyes of brass ; and a bear skin with which they disguise in their cabins. There were in the four corners, great boxes of grain which they had not burned. They had outside this post, their Indian corn in a piquet fort at the top of a little mountain, steps or cut down on all sides, where it was knee high throughout the fort."

"The Tsonnontouans have four large villages, which they change every ten years, in order to bring themselves near the woods, and permit them to grow up again. They call them Gagnasaca, Tobaiton, which are the two larger; Onnontague, and Onnenatu which are smaller. In the last dwells Ganonkitahoui, the principal chief. We cut the standing grain already ripe enough to eat, and burned the old. It was estimated that we burnt one hundred thousand minots of old grain, and a hundred and fifty thousand minots of that standing in the field, besides the beans, and the hogs that we killed. Sixty persons died of wounds received in the battle, a multitude perished of want; many of them fled beyond the great mountains of Onnontague, and went to dwell in the country of the Andastoez. The greater part of their captives dispersed, and since that time the Tsonnontouan, (Seneca) nation, which counted at least eight or nine hundred warriors, and ten thousand souls in all, has been reduced to half that number.

"From here, against the expectations of our Indians, who believed we were going among the Iroquois cantons, we went to establish a Fort at Onnigara, [Niagara,] where we arrived after three days' journey."

The official account of De Nonville, does not differ materially from that of the L Abbe de Belmont. He says the French loss was but "five or six men killed and twenty wounded." He says: — "We witnessed the painful sight of the usual cruelties of the savages, who cut the dead into quarters, as in slaughter houses, in order to put them into the pot. The greater number were opened while still warm, that their blood might be drunk. Our rascally Ottawas distinguished themselves particularly by these barbarities, and by their cowardice, for they withdrew from the combat; the Hurons of Michilimaquina did very well, but our Christian Indians surpassed all, and performed deeds of valor, especially our Iroquois, of whom we durst not make sure, having to fight against their relatives." He is quite as extravagant as de Belmont, in his estimate of the amount of corn destroyed.* The estimate of either is incredible: it was a new kind of war for the Marquis, and not much to his taste. He says to the Minister of War: — "It is an unfortunate trade, my lord, to command savages, who, after the first broken head, ask to return home, carrying home with them the scalps which they lift off like a leather cap; you cannot conceive the terrible efforts I had to retain them until the corn was cut. It is full thirty years since I have had the honor to serve, but I assure you, my lord, that I have seen nothing that comes near this in labor and fatigue.

Baron La Hontan accompanied the expedition, as he was much disposed to tell the truth upon all occasions, his version of the general features of the battle is entitled to credit. He insists that the ambuscade was very successful, throwing the French into general disorder, and panic from which they were only relieved by a fierce assault of their allies, the western Indians, upon the assailants. He says the loss was that of ten of their Indian allies, and a hundred Frenchmen. "Six days we were occupied in cutting down Indian corn with our swords. We found in all the villages horses, cattle, and a multitude of swine."

The western Indians were much chagrined at the result of the expedition. They had come down to join De Nonville, in the hope that their ancient implacable enemies, the Iroquois, were to be exterminated, when they found that the French intended to retreat without visiting the other Iroquois cantons, they complained bitterly, and indirectly taunted them with cowardice. They spoke in contemptuous language of an expedition assembled at so much expense and trouble, "to burn bark cabins, which could be rebuilt in four days," and destroy corn, the loss of which their confederates

* A minot is equal to three bushels.

in their abundance, could easily supply. Many of them departed for home in disgust. Those that went with the French to Niagara, were only appeased by the promise that the war should be renewed.

Before leaving the Seneca country, De Nonville took formal possession of it in the name of his king, making a pompous proclamation, in which he enumerates the villages of Ga-ss-sach-gwa, (upon Boughton Hill,) Ga-no-garrae, (near where the old Indian trail crossed the Ganargwa, in East Bloomfield,) De-yu-li-hauk-do, (at the north-east bend of the Honeoye outlet, near West Mendon,) Dy-u-don-set, (about two miles south-east of Aven.) The proclamation, act of possession, or "process verbal," says that the French army "have vanquished and put to flight eight hundred Iroquois, Teonnontouans, and have laid waste, burnt, and destroyed their cabins."

Subsequently there has appeared the careful and distinct account of the battle given by the L. Abbe de Belmont, a larger portion of which is given in preceding pages. Guided by that and Mr. Marshall's pamphlet, the author has made some personal investigations which leads him to the conclusion that the army of De Nonville landed on the east side of Irondequoit Bay, at what has been known as the old "Indian Landing," and pursued the old Indian trail, passed the head of the Bay, and the branch trail which bore off a little east of Pittsford village, and over the ridge of highlands, descending to Victor flats over the now farm of Wm. C. and Truman Dryer, near the present Pittsford road.

With the different authentic accounts of the battle which we now have, the antiquarian, or historical reader, will have no difficulty in identifying upon Victor Flats, Boughton Hill, and Fort Hill, the entire battle grounds. There are the places of the two ambuscades, the site of the "Babylon of the Teonnontouans," the "high hill surrounded by three little hills or terraces, at the foot of a valley, and opposite some other hills;" and indeed, many things, evidences of identity that are conclusive. In early years of settlement, Brant was a guest of Jared and Enos Boughton. He traced out the site of the ancient Indian village, and the old French battle ground, and stated that his grandfather, who was of the Iroquois that had settled under French protection, upon the St. Lawrence, was the pilot of De Nonville's army.

Relics of the battle and of temporary French occupancy, were numerous in the early years of settlement, such as "bill axes," gun barrels, and trimmings, a silver cross and silver coins. As late as 1848, two five frank pieces were ploughed up on the hill north of Boughton Hill. A little east of the Pittsford road, near the old Indian trail, on the farm of Asabel Boughton, there was ploughed up a few years ago, a half bushel

NOTE.—The precise location of the battle ground of De Nonville and the Senecas, has been a mooted question. Mr. Hosmer has favored the conclusion that it was in Aven, near one of the tributaries of the Honeoye. Mr. James Sperry, of Henrietta, an early pioneer, a man of observation, as the reader will already have observed, inclines to the opinion that it was on the farm of Nathan Waldron, in the north-east corner of East Bloomfield. A few years since, O. H. Marshall, of Buffalo, a close and careful investigator — an intelligent antiquarian, to whom our whole local region is far more indebted for early Indian and French history, than he has had credit for — translated from the French, the Journal of De Nonville, for the use of the New York Historical Society, and to illustrate his subject, made a tour of observation. He located the battle ground in Victor, traced and mapped the several localities alluded to in De Nonville and La Hontan's account of the battle; and left little room to doubt the correctness of his conclusions. He was assisted in his investigations by Jacob Lobdell and Wm. C. Dryer. Exhibiting a map of the region to the venerable and intelligent Seneca chief, Blacksmith, at Tonawanda, he traced it with his finger, and located the battle ground as Mr. Marshall had.

of iron balls, about the size of musket balls. In the early years of settlement in Victor, the most of the iron the settlers used, was the old French axes the plough would expose.

But the inquiry arises, if the battle ground of De Nonville and the Senecas was in Victor, how are the relics on the "Waldron farm," the "Ball farm," in Avon, to be accounted for? The inquiry might also include the relics of French warfare, and French occupancy, in Aurora, and Eden, Erie county, spoken of in the history of the Holland Purchase. The answer may be that our history of French occupancy of the whole Genesee country, is as yet imperfect, but a small part of the Jesuit, Recollet and Franciscan "Relations," during the occupancy of more than a century has as yet been discovered, unless the recent discoveries among the archives of the Jesuits in Montreal, and by Mr. Cass our minister at Rome, has supplied the deficiency.

[NO. 3.]

[EXTRACT FROM HIS EXCELLENCY, GEN. WASHINGTON'S ORDERS.]

"HEAD QUARTERS, MORE'S HOUSE, Oct. 17, 1779.

"The Commander-in-Chief, has now the pleasure of congratulating the army on the complete and full success of Maj. Gen. Sullivan, and the troops under his command, against the Seneca and other tribes of the Six Nations, as a just and necessary punishment for their wanton depredations, their unparalleled and innumerable cruelties, their deafness to all remonstrances and entreaty, and their perseverance in the most horrid acts of barbarity. Forty of their towns have been reduced to ashes, some of them large and commodious; that of the Genesee alone, containing one hundred and twenty-eight houses. Their crops of corn have been entirely destroyed,—which, by estimation, it is said, would have provided 160,000 bushels, besides large quantities of vegetables of various kinds. Their whole country has been over-run and laid waste: and they themselves compelled to place their security in a precipitate flight to the British fortress at Niagara;—and the whole of this has been done with the loss of less than forty men on our part, including the killed, wounded, captured, and those who died natural deaths. The troops employed in this expedition, both officers and men, throughout the whole of it, and in the action they had with the enemy, manifested a patience, perseverance, and valor that do them the highest honor. In the course of it, when there still remained a large extent of the enemy's country to be prostrated, it became necessary to lessen the issues of provisions to half the usual allowance. In this the troops acquiesced with a most general and cheerful concurrence, being fully determined to surmount every obstacle, and to prosecute the enterprise to a complete and successful issue. Maj. Gen. Sullivan, for his great perseverance and activity; for his order of march and attack, and the whole of his dispositions; the Brigadiers and officers of all ranks, and the whole of the soldiers engaged in the expedition, merit, and have the Commander-in-Chief's warmest acknowledgements, for their important services upon this occasion."

As nothing has been said of Col. Brodhead's campaign, it may be proper to state that on the 22d of March, 1779, Washington ordered him to make the necessary preparations for an expedition against Detroit, to throw a detachment forward to Kittanning, and another beyond to Venango, at the same time preserving the strictest secrecy as to his ultimate object. Though this expedition was soon found impracticable and abandoned, preparations were immediately made for the one, which was actually un-

dertaken against the Indians at the head of the Allegany River, French Creek, and other tributaries of the Ohio. On the 11th of August, 1779, with about six hundred men, including militia and volunteers, and one month's provisions, Col. Daniel Brodhead left Fort Pitt and began his march to the Indian country. The result was announced by Gen. Washington to his army at West Point:—

[*Extract from General Orders.*]

“HEAD QUARTERS, MORE’S HOUSE, Oct. 18th, 1779.

“The Commander-in-Chief is happy in the opportunity of congratulating the army on our further success, by advices just arrived. Col. Brodhead, with the Continental troops under his command, and a body of militia and volunteers, has penetrated about one hundred and eighty miles into the Indian country, on the Allegany river, burnt ten of the Muncy and Seneca towns in that quarter, containing one hundred and sixty-five houses; destroyed all their fields of corn, computing to comprehend five hundred acres, besides large quantities of vegetables; obliging the savages to flee before him with the greatest precipitation, and to leave behind them many skins and other articles of value. The only opposition the savages ventured to give our troops, on this occasion, was near Cuskusking. About forty of their warriors, on their way to commit barbarities on our frontier settlers, were met here. Lieut. Harden, of the 5th Pennsylvania regiment, at the head of one of our advance parties, composed of thirteen men, of whom eight were of our friends the Delaware nation, who immediately attacked the savages and put them to the rout, with the loss of five killed on the spot, and of all their canoes, blankets, shirts, and provisions, of which, as is usual for them when going into action, they had divested themselves; and also of several arms. Two of our men and one of our Indian friends were very slightly wounded in the action, which was all the damage we sustained in the whole enterprise.

“The activity, perseverance, and firmness, which marked the conduct of Col. Brodhead, and that of all the officers and men, of every description, in this expedition, do them great honor, and their services justly entitle them to the thanks, and to this testimonial of the General’s acknowledgment.”

In a letter dated “West Point, 20th October, 1779,” addressed to the Marquis de La Fayette, Gen. Washington incidentally alludes to these two campaigns, and their probable effects upon the Indians. He informs Gen. La Fayette as news that may be interesting to him, that—

“Gen. Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations; driven all their inhabitants, men, women, and children, out of it; and is at Easton on his return to join this army, with the troops under his command. He performed this service without losing forty men, either by the enemy or by sickness. While the Six Nations were under this rod of correction, the Mingo and Muncy tribes, living on the Allegany, French creek, and other waters of the Ohio, above Fort Pitt, met with similar chastisement from Col. Brodhead, who, with six hundred men, advanced upon them at the same instant, and laid waste their country. These unexpected and severe strokes have disconcerted, humbled, and distressed the Indians exceedingly; and will, I am persuaded, be productive of great good, as they are undeniable proofs to them, that Great Britain cannot protect them whenever their hostile conduct deserves it.”—*Writings of Washington*, Vol. xi, p. 324.

[NO. 4.]

PETER OTSEQUETTE.

[FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF THOMAS MORRIS.]

At this treaty also, I became intimate with Peter Otsequette, who when a boy, was taken to France, by the Marquis de La Fayette. He remained with the Marquis seven years; he received while with him, a very finished education. Having received the early part of my own education in France, and being well acquainted with the French language, I would frequently retire with Peter, into the woods, and hear him recite some of the finest pieces of French poetry from the tragedies of Corneille and Racine. Peter was an Oneida Indian, he had not been many months restored to his nation, and yet he would drink raw rum out of a brass kettle, take as much delight in yelling and whooping, as any Indian; and in fact, became as vile a drunkard as the worst of them.

[NO. 5.]

HENDRICK WEMPLE.

[FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF W. H. C. HOSMER.]

He was the father of Mrs. Maria Berry, wife of the late Gilbert R. Berry, a pioneer Indian trader, and settler in the valley of the Genesee. In advance of civilization, this remarkable man, frequently visited the Indian villages of western New York—and sometimes extended his journeys by water, in a birch canoe, manned by Indians, to Detroit, and thence to Mackinaw and the Straits of St. Mary's. His place of residence was near Caughnawaga, on the Mohawk, at the breaking out of hostilities. He afterwards removed to the Oneida Castle.

John Scott Quackenbush, a kinsman, and who knew him in his boyhood, describes him as a man of majestic proportions, more than six feet in height, and endowed by nature with great personal strength and agility. His influence was great among the Oneidas and Mohawks, being familiar with their customs, and their superior in all athletic sports. He accompanied, by special invitation, General Herkimer and party, in their perilous expedition to Unadilla in 1777, and acted as interpreter at an interview between Brant and the gallant old German, on that occasion. He was also interpreter for Sullivan, and in that capacity served in the great Indian campaign of 1779, accompanying the army in their march through a howling wilderness, and hostile country, to the valley of the Genesee, where his daughter and son-in-law subsequently settled and died. My informant, Mr. Scott, of Mohawk, in Montgomery county, alluded particularly to his skill as a marksman, having been his companion in many a hunt. He also spoke with great fluency, all the dialects of the Iroquois, besides having a knowledge of many western tongues. Soon after the close of the Revolutionary war, while in a forest that bordered the Mohawk, he was the unseen spectator of a murder, perpetrated by a Mohawk, known as Saucy Nick—the victim being unconscious, at the time he received the fatal blow, of an enemy being in the neighborhood. After he returned to his home, he saddled a horse for the purpose of procuring process for the Indian's arrest. On his way to the magistrate's office, a few miles distant—he stopped at a public house, observing Saucy Nick standing on the steps, and wishing a close watch to be kept on the murderer's movements. After the necessary

warning had been given, he was about to leave, when Saucy Nick importuned him to treat, and insisted that Mr. Wemple should drink with him.

To kill the Indian's suspicions, which he thought had been forcibly aroused, he drank with him, and mounted his horse; he had been in the saddle but a few minutes, when he was attacked with a severe pain, and a sense of mortal sickness. With difficulty he dismounted, and was assisted to a bed. His tongue swelled until it protruded from his mouth, and the next day, after indescribable agony, he died.

It was generally believed by his neighbors and friends, that the Indian had had secret intelligence of the design to arrest him, and secretly drugged, with some subtle poison, the liquor of his unsuspecting victim. The murderer effected his escape, and joined his tribe in Canada. Hendrick Wemple, was buried close to Oneida Castle, on the north side of the turnpike, about one mile from Skenandoah's residence.

In his life time he claimed a large portion of territory, afterwards bought by Judge Cooper, of Cooperstown, and embracing some of the best lands of Otsego county. He was a descendant of Hendrick Wemple, one of the original proprietors of Schenectady—the O-no-al-i-gone of the Oneidas—and whose arms, Giles F. Yates informs me, may still be seen over the door of an old Dutch church, one of the most cherished antiquities of the city. His name is not out of place in this local work.

He was a transient resident in this region previous to the Revolution, and many of his descendants are now residents of the Genesee country.

[NO. 6.]

OLIVER PHELPS' SPEECH TO THE INDIANS, IN ANSWER TO THEIR COMPLAINTS.

I wish in a friendly manner, to state to you the particulars of our bargain :—When I arrived at Buffalo creek, O'Bail, (Complanter,) had leased all your country to Livingston and Benton. I had bought that lease of Livingston, but I found you were dissatisfied, and not willing to give up your country. Although I had power to have confirmed that lease and have held your lands, yet I would not have anything to do with your lands without your voluntary consent. I therefore, to remove the lease out of the way, and set your minds at ease, bought so much of it of Livingston as covered the Seneca lands, and gave up the lease to you, making it all void; so that all the Seneca lands was yours. So that by my means you got your whole country back again. I then came forward with a speech to you, requesting to purchase a part of your country. You was not willing to sell so much as I wanted, but after a long time we agreed on the lines.

Brothers, you remember we set up all night. It was almost morning before we agreed on the boundaries. After breakfast we returned to agree on the price you should have. Capt. O'Bail said he was willing to take the same proportion for the Seneca lands, that Livingston was to pay for the whole.

[Mr. Phelps recapitulated the terms of the bargain as fixed by the referees, and cited the testimony of those present, in confirmation of his statement.]

After some consideration you agreed to the terms proposed, but insisted that I must add some cattle and some rum, to which I agreed. Brothers, you know there was a great many people there; they all tell alike; they all tell one story.

Now, brothers, I do not want to contend with you. I am an honest man. If you go to New England and enquire my character, you will not find me such a rogue as

you represent me to be. I mean to fulfill my engagement to you. I now owe you one thousand dollars for two years rent,* which I am willing to pay at any time, and at any place you wish.

[NO. 7.]

JEMIMA WILKINSON.

[FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF THOMAS MORRIS.]

"Prior to my having settled at Canandaigua, Jemima Wilkinson and her followers, had established themselves on a tract of land, purchased by them, and called the Friend's settlement. Her disciples were a very orderly, sober, industrious, and some of them, a well educated and intelligent set of people: and many of them possessed of handsome properties. She called herself the Universal Friend, and would not permit herself to be designated by any other appellation. She pretended to have had revelations from heaven, in which she had been directed to devote her labors to the conversion of sinners. Her disciples placed the most unbounded, confidence in her and yielded in all things, the most implicit obedience to her mandates. She would punish those among them, who were guilty of the slightest deviation from her orders; in some instances, she would order the offending culprit to wear a cow bell round his neck for weeks, or months, according to the nature of the offence, and in no instance was she known to have been disobeyed. For some offence, committed by one of her people, she banished him to Nova Scotia, for three years, where he went, and from whence he returned only after the expiration of his sentence. When any of her people killed a calf or a sheep, or purchased an article of dress, the Friend was asked what portion of it she would have, and the answer would sometimes be, that the Lord hath need of the one half, and sometimes that the Lord hath need of the whole. Her house, her grounds, and her farms, were kept in the neatest order by her followers, who, of course, labored for her without compensation. She was attended by two young women, always neatly dressed. Those who acted in that capacity, and enjoyed the most of her favored confidence, at the time I was there, were named Sarah Richards and Rachel Malin. Jemima prohibited her followers from marrying; and even those who had joined her after having been united in wedlock, were made to separate, and live apart from each other. This was attributed to her desire to inherit the property of those who died.

Having discovered that bequests to the Universal Friend would be invalid, and not recognizing the name of Jemima Wilkinson, she caused devises to be made by the dying to Sarah Richards, in the first instance. Sarah Richards, however died, and her heir at law claimed the property thus bequeathed; litigation ensued, and after the controversy had gone from court to court, it was finally decided in Jemima's favor, it appearing, that Sarah Richards had held the property in trust for her. After the death of Sarah Richards, devises were made in favor of Rachel Malin; but Rachel took it into her head to marry, and her husband claimed in behalf of his wife, the property thus devised to her. Among Jemima's followers, was an artful, cunning, and intelligent man, by the name of Elijah Parker; she dubbed him a prophet, and called him

* Purchase money in part. Mr. Phelps' use of the term "rent" must have been dictated by the consideration that the Indians had been talked to so much about rent, by the Lessees, that they would better understand him, than they would if he spoke of instalments of purchase money.

the Prophet Elijah. He would, before prophesying, wear around the lower part of his waist, a bandage or girdle, tied very tight, and when it had caused the upper part of his stomach to swell, he would pretend to be filled with the prophetic visions, which he would impart to the community. But after some time, Jemima and her Prophet quarrelled, and he then denounced her as an impostor, declared that she had imposed on his credulity, and that he had never been a prophet. After having divested himself of his prophetic character, he became a justice of the peace, and in that capacity issued a warrant against Jemima, charging her with blasphemy. She was accordingly brought to Canandaigua, by virtue of this warrant, and at a circuit court held there in 1796, by the late Governor Lewis, Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, a bill of indictment prepared by Judge Howell, of Canandaigua, then District Attorney, was laid before the Grand Jury. Judge Lewis having told the Grand Jury, that by the laws and constitution of this State, blasphemy was not an indictable offence, no bill was found. Judge Howell has informed me that a similar question having been brought before a full bench of the Supreme Court, that Judge Lewis' opinion was overruled by all the other Judges, and that blasphemy was decided to be an indictable offence. These litigations however, had considerably lessened the number of her followers, but she, as I am informed, retained until her death, her influence over a considerable portion of them.

Prior to these occurrences, Jemima had been attacked with a violent disease, and she expected to die. Under this conviction, she caused her disciples to be assembled in her sick chamber, when she told them that her Heavenly Father, finding that the wickedness of the world was so great, that there was no prospect in her succeeding in reclaiming it, had determined that she should soon quit it, and rejoin him in heaven. Having unexpectedly recovered, she again assembled them, when she announced to them that her Heavenly Father had again commanded her to remain on earth, and make one more trial.

When I first saw Jemima, she was a fine looking woman, of a good height; and though not corpulent, inclined to *en bon point*. Her hair was jet black, short, and curled on her shoulders; she had fine eyes and good teeth, and complexion. Her dress consisted of a silk purple robe, open in front; her under dress was of the finest white cambric or muslin. Round her throat, she wore a large cravat, bordered with fine lace. She was very ignorant, but possessed an uncommon memory; though she could neither read nor write, it was said that she knew the Bible by heart, from its having been read to her. The sermon I heard her preach, was bad in point of language, and almost unintelligible; aware of her deficiencies in this respect, she caused one of her followers to tell me, that in her discourses, she did not aim at expressing herself in fine language, preferring to adopt her style to the capacity of the most illiterate of her hearers.

[NO. 8.]

In 1803, the only Post Office in all the Genesee country west of Geneva, was at Canandaigua. To show the reader how wide a region of new settlements was embraced in its circle of delivery, the author extracts from its list of advertised letters, a few names and their localities:—

"Mr. Garbut, near Geneva;" "Gen. Mountjoy Bailey, Geneva;" "Wm. Bates, Gen. House, head of Lake Ontario;" Samuel Brasin, (Aver " " Mathew Clark,

Sodus;" "Dr. Prescott, Phelpsstown;" "Samuel Cobwell, Friends' Settlement;" "Alexander M'Donald, Caledonia;" "Nathan Fisk, Northfield;" "Widow Rebecca Reed, Pittstown;" "Wm. White, Palmyra;" "Elisha Sylvester, Lyons;" "John Smith, Williamsburg;" "James O. Shennett, Potter's Town;" "Henry Tower, Hopton;" "Solomon Hull, Jerusalem;" "David Nash, Big Tree;" "Joseph Poudry, Tonawanda;" "Eliakim Crosby, Fort Erie;" "Peter Anderson, Big Springs."

[NO. 9.]

The following is an abstract of the census roll of Gen. Amos Hall, a deputy marshal under the U. S. census law of 1790. The author presumes that the enumeration was made in July and August of that year. It embraces the names of all who were heads of families, in all the region west of the old Massachusetts pre-emption line : *

No. 9, 7th R.

William Wadsworth,
Phineas Bates,
Daniel Ross,
Henry Brown,
Enoch Noble,
Nicholas Rosecrantz,
David Robb,
Nahum Fairbanks.

No. 1, 2nd R.

Eleazer Lindley Esq.
—— Daniels,
Samuel Lindley,
John Seely,
Ezekiel Mumford,
Eleazer Lindley, Jr.,

No. 2, 2d. R.

Arthur Erwine,
Henry Culp,
William Anchor,
Martin Young,
Peter Gardner,

No. 3 & 4, 5th & 6th R's.

James Headley,
William Baker,
Jedediah Stevens,
Uriah Stevens,
Uriah Stephens, Jr.,
John Stephens,
Richard Crosby,
Solomon Bennett,
Andrew Bennett,
John Jameson.

No. 11, 2d. R.

—— Sweet,
Ezra Phelps.

No. 10, 3d. R.

Nathaniel Gorham, Jr.
Nathaniel Sanborn,

No. 10, 3d. R.

John Fellows,
Joseph Smith,
James D. Fisk,
Israel Chapin,
John Clark,
Martin Dudley,
Phineas Bates,
Caleb Walker,
Judah Colt,
Abner Barlow,
Daniel Brainard,
Seth Holcomb,
James Brocklebank,
Lemuel Castle,
Benjamin Wells,
John Freeman,

No. 11, 3d. R.

Abraham Lapham,
Isaac Hathaway,
Nathan Harrington,
John M'Cumber,
Joshua Harrington,
Elijah Smith,
John Paine,
Jacob Smith,
John Russell,
Nathan Comstock,
Israel Reed,
Reuben Allen.

No. 12, 3d. R.

Webb Harwood,
David White,
Darius Comstock,
Jerome Smith.

No. 8, 4th R.

Gamaliel Wilder,
Ephraim Wilder,
Aaron Rice,
Aaron Spencer.

No. 9, 4th R.

James Goodwin,
William Goodwin,
Nathaniel Fisher,

No. 10, 4th R.

Ephraim Rew,
Lot Rew,
Matthew Hubble,
John Barnes,
Oliver Chapin,
Nathaniel Norton,
John Adams,
Michael Rodgers,
Allen Sage,

No. 11, 4th R.

Seymour Boughton,
Jared Boughton,
Zebulon Norton,
Elijah Taylor.

No. 9, 5th R.

Gideon Pitts.

No. 10, 5th R.

Peregrine Gardner,
Amos Hall,
Benj. Gardner,
Peck Sears,
Samuel Miller,
John Alger,
Sylvanus Thayer.

No. 12, 5th R.

Jared Stone,
Simon Stone,
Israel Farr,
Thomas Cleland,
Silas Nye,
Josiah Giminson,
Alexander Dunn,
David Davis,

* Geneva and the Friends Settlement on Seneca Lake, is of course not included.

No. 11, 5th R.
Jonathan Ball,
William Moores.

No. 13, 5th R.
John Lusk,
Chancey Hyde,
Timothy Allen,
Jacob Walker.

No. 10, 6th R.
John Minor,
Asahel Burchard,
Abner Miles,
—— Davison.

No. 11, 6th R.
John Ganson,
Philemon Winship,
Alfred Wilsey,
Elijah Morgan,
Solomon Hovey,
John Morgan,
William Webber,
William Markham,
Abraham Devans.

No. 7, 7th R.
—— Niel.

No. 9, 1st R.
James Latta,
David Benton,
Samuel Wheaton,
—— Rice,

No. 9, 1st R.
David Smith,
Phineas Pierce,
Esther Forsyth,
Thomas Smith,
Harry Smith,
Thomas Barden.

No. 10, 1st R.
Seth Reed,
Thaddeus Oaks,
Jonathan Whitney,
Solomon Warner,
Jonathan Oaks,
Joseph Kilbourne,
John Whitcomb,
Phineas Stevens,
Benjamin Tuttle,

No. 11, 1st R.
John D. Robinson,
Pierce Granger.

No. 8, 2d R.
Francis Briggs,
Michael Pierce,
Benjamin Tibbits,
Henry Lovell,
John Walford,
William Hall,
Arnold Potter.

No. 10, 2d R.
—— Sweet,

No. 10, 2d R.
Daniel Gates,
Thomas Warren,
Israel Chapin,
—— Platt,
—— Day.

WEST OF GENESSEE RIVER.

Gilbert R. Berry,
Darling Havens,
David Bailey,
William Rice,
Gershom Smith,
Hill Carney,
Morgan Desha,
William Desha,
Horatio Jones,
William Ewing,
Nathan Fowler,
Jeremiah Gregory,
Nicholas Phillips,
Jacob Phillips,
Caleb Forsyth,
Nathan Chapman,
Nicholas Miller,
Asa Utley,
Peter Shaeffer,
Ebenezer Allan,
Christopher Dugan,
Zephaniah Hough,
Edward Harp,
Joseph Skinner.

Males, 728 ; Females, 340 ; Free Blacks, 7 ; Slaves, 9 :—Total population, 1,084.

[No. 10.]

MURDER OF MAJOR TRUEMAN.

[STATEMENT OF WILLIAM SMELLIE, OBTAINED BY CHARLES WILLIAMSON.]

About the 20th of May last, [1793] I left Fort Washington, in company with Majors Hardin and Trueman. After bearing us company 7 days, Major Hardin and his attendants took the route for Sandusky, while Major Trueman, with whom I continued, took the route for Au Glaize. About sunset we fell in with two Indians and a little boy, who appeared friendly and asked to encamp with us, saying they would be our pilots to Au Glaize, then about 30 miles distant.

After having made fires, taken our supper and smoked, Major Trueman had laid down and fallen to sleep. The oldest Indian asked me to ask the Major if he would have me or the Major's servant tied to him as otherwise the Indian boys would be afraid to sleep. The Major consented that his servant might be tied to him, which was done. After which the Major covered himself all over with his blanket to keep off the musketoes, and seemed to fall asleep. The Indians sat up against a log and smoked. The oldest Indian desired me to lay down on a bear skin near him, which I did. Taking up his gun, he said, 'look, what a bad gun I have got,' and taking advantage of my head being turned the other way, fired, killing Major Trueman, the ball entering his left breast.—The Major threw himself over on his left side, groaned and died immediately. I ran to a tree ; the Major's servant disengaged himself, ran, but was overtaken and brought

back. One of the Indians watched me to shoot me, but I covered myself with the tree, and reasoned with him to save my life. The Indian who had the Major's servant called to the one who had the gun to shoot as he could not hold him. He turned and shot him through the heart.

When all this was done they called me to come to the fire, which I did after they had promised to save my life. Next morning they carried me to Au Glaize where I met some of my adopted relatives* and was well used. At this time there seemed to be a suspension of hostilities on account of Brant's going to Philadelphia. They were waiting for his answer. While I was at Bois de Bou, a great council was held to hear Brant's answer, whom they heard was returning; but on his being taken sick one Mr. Gill brought his papers, which were opened before a great council. But as Congress they said, had not agreed to give up the land on the further side of the Ohio, the voice for war was unanimous, and a party of 600 warriors marched immediately after to attack Fort Jefferson.

Mr. Williamson added that Smellie informed him that the Indians were busily employed in concentrating their forces, and that they expected to have not less than 7 or 8000 warriors the next year; and that they were liberally supplied by the British with provisions, arms and ammunition.

[No. 11.]

THE PULTENEY TITLE.

Not as much as the reader will have been led to anticipate by the reference in the body of the work, will be given. In proceeding to the task, the author found that a connected historical and legal deduction of title would involve the use of too much space, at a stage of the work in which condensation, and the omission of much matter already prepared, had become necessary. So far as the validity and soundness of the title is concerned, now after the lapse of over half a century, when the acts of our legislature and the decrees of our courts have frequently confirmed them, and no less than three Attorney Generals of state have investigated and made reports coinciding; the whole must be deemed now a settled question. Certainly, a careful perusal of the whole chain of title, induces the conclusion that there are few less broken and imperfect: few instances in which through so many changes, and a long succession of years, a title has been so carefully guarded.

In the body of the work, the Pulteney estate is left vested in Henrietta Laura Pulteney, the daughter of Sir William Pulteney. She died in July, 1808, leaving a cousin, Sir John Lowther Johnson, her sole heir. He died in December, 1811; previous to which he had executed a will devising all of his real estate in America, in trust, (to be sold and the proceeds specifically appropriated,) to Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, Charles Herbert Pierrepont, David Cathcart and Masterton Ure. In these trustees, and their successors, the title now remains, in trust for two sons of George Frederick Johnstone, who was an only son of Sir James Lowther Johnstone. The heirs are twins, born after the death of their father, and are now minors, being but 11 years of age. They reside in Scotland.

The portion of the original estate of the London Associates, which in the division, fell to Gov. William Hornby, is owned by his grand-children who reside in London.

*Smellie had been an Indian captive.

[NO. 12.]

RED JACKET — FARMER'S BROTHER — INDIAN WAR DANCE.

[FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF THOMAS MORRIS.]

It may not be amiss to mention here, an anecdote that was told, and which was generally believed to be correct, as to the means resorted to by Red Jacket to become a Sachem. The Sachemship is derived from birth, and the descent is in the female line, because they say the offspring of the mother is always known to be legitimate; the War-Chiefs only, are selected for bravery and merit. Red Jacket, though of obscure birth, was determined to become a Sachem. To effect his purpose, he announced to the Indians, that the Great Spirit had made known to him in a dream, that their Nation would never prosper, until they made of him a Sachem. For some time, very little attention was paid to this pretended revelation: but the dreamer artfully availed himself of every calamity that befel the Nation — such as an unusually sickly season, the small pox spreading among them, and attributed all the misfortunes of the Nation to their not complying with the will of the Great Spirit. He is said to have persevered in this course until he was made a Sachem.

The Farmer's Brother was a tall, powerful man, much older than Red Jacket, perfectly honest, and possessing, and deserving to possess, the confidence of the Nation. He was dignified and fluent in his public speaking: and although not gifted with the brilliancy of Red Jacket, he possessed good common sense and was esteemed both by the white people and the Indians.

It may not be improper here to describe a religious ceremony to which I had been invited, and joined in, during this treaty. It being full moon: the ceremony was in honor of that luminary. There were present probably 1500 Indians: we were all seated on the ground forming a large circle, excepting that part of it, where a fire was burning, and not far from which was a pillar or post, representing the stake to which criminals are tied when tortured, after having been taken in battle. A very old Cayuga Chief, much distinguished for his bravery, and called the Fish Carrier, rose, and addressed the Moon in a speech of about a half an hour in length, occasionally, throwing in the fire a handful of tobacco, as an offering. After this speech, we all stretched ourselves full length upon the ground, the head of one, touching the feet of another: and at one end of the circle commenced the utterance of a guttural sound, which was repeated, one after the other, by every person present. Then followed the War-dances, performed by young warriors, naked to the waist band, with bodies painted with streaks of red, down their backs representing streams of blood. Occasionally one of the dancers would strike the post, representing the tortured prisoner, and into whose body he was supposed to thrust the end of a burning stick of wood. He would then brag of the number of scalps he had taken from those of his tribe or nation. After the rum drunk during this ceremony, had begun to produce its effect, an Oneida warrior struck the post, and imprudently began to boast of the number of Indian scalps he had taken during the War of the Revolution, when the Oneidas alone had sided with the Americans, and the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Chippewas with the British.— This boast excited the anger of the others, knives were drawn, and there would have been bloody work, had not old Fish Carrier, (who was venerated both on account of his age and his bravery,) interposed. He arose, and addressing himself to the young warriors, told them that when any of them had attained his age, and had taken as many scalps as he had, it would be time for them to boast of what they had done; but until then

it better became them to be silent. He then struck the post and kicked it over, and caused the fire to be put out, and they dispersed peaceably.

It was at this ceremony that I received the Indian name, by which I was thereafter called by them. That name was O-tes-si-aw-ne, which was translated to be "always ready." Red Jacket told me that it was his name, when he was a young man; but when he became a Sachem, he was called Sa-go-ye-wa-ta.

And in this connection the author will add an unpublished reminiscence of Red Jacket, that he had from John Dixon, Esq., of Bloomfield, who gave Jasper Parrish as his authority.

The Chief, it is well known, was no renowned warrior. The author, in his boyhood, knew him well, has often seen him in his wigwam upon the Seneca Reservation, and in his frequent journeyings between his own village and the homes of his people upon the Genesee River. He was never popular with his own race; his influence was acquired alone by the force of his superior talents; he would govern by his determined will and strong intellectual powers; not by commanding the love or esteem of those he governed. It was common to hear him called a coward; indeed such was his general reputation among his own people. But, to the reminiscence:—When the Indians retreated before Sullivan, and had crossed the Canandaigua outlet, reaching the commanding bluff, on the west side of the Lake, Farmer's Brother insisted upon a stand, and a resistance of the invasion, but Red Jacket opposed him and insisted upon a continued flight. Again, at the old Indian orchard, a little south west of Canandaigua, Farmer's Brother was for standing and giving battle, but met with the same opposition. Turning in a spirit of indignation to the squaw of Red Jacket, he told her not to bear sons of which he was the father, for they would be *the inheritors of his cowardice*.

[NO. 13.]

SHAY'S REBELLION.

[FOUND AMONG THE PAPERS OF GEN. ISRAEL CHAPIN.]

NORTHAMPTON, 5th December, 1796.

General Orders for the Militia of the 4th Division.

Whereas, the Legislature, composed of the Representatives of the good people of this Commonwealth, have, at their late meeting for that purpose, carefully and attentively examined our political circumstances, and the various causes, and even pretended causes of complaint among us of late; and have, as far as is consistent with the interest and happiness of the State, complied with the wishes of every of its citizens; and have among other things, prepared and published an accurate statement of all taxes that have been granted, and the sums paid; also the sums that have arisen from the Impost and Excise, and the application of all monies within the State. Also the whole amount of our foreign and domestic federal debt, and the particular debt of this State. And have enumerated resources competent to the payment of the whole, accompanied with agreements convincing to all honest and well disposed members of society; and finally have even indemnified all concerned in any irregular or riotous proceedings in any part of the State that none who had acted from mistaken notions of propriety and civil duty, might be precluded from returning to the same.

Notwithstanding which, there are still some persons (so restless and abandoned to all sense of social obligations and tranquility and not improbably influenced by the clandestine instigations of our avowed and most implacable enemies) again embodying

under arms to obstruct the course of law and justice, and perhaps by one bold stroke overturn the very foundation of our Government and Constitution, and on their ruins exert the unprincipled and lawless domination of one man. The General, therefore, from a sense of duty, and desirous to ward off impending evils, no less than in compliance with orders from his excellency, the Governor, once more entreats and even conjures the militia of his division, both Train Band and Alarm List, and indeed every class of citizens, as they prize their lives, their liberties, their prosperity, and their country, unitedly to exert themselves to prevent those ills which must otherwise inure. And all officers commanding Regiments, are hereby requested and commanded immediately to march with all the effective men of their several regiments to Brookfield, in the county of Worcester, and to wait farther orders; the commanders of regiments will take care that the men are furnished with arms, ammunition and accoutrements, well clad, and with fifteen day's provisions. The General begs that no little personal or private considerations may take place of the very near regard we all owe our country, but that we may with one mind contribute in our several conditions to reclaim the deluded, bring all high handed offenders to the punishment they so justly deserve, and give not only the present but future generations proof that the peace and dignity of Massachusetts is not to be attacked with impunity.

WM. SHEPARD, Maj. General

[NO. 14.]

LORD DORCHESTER'S SPEECH TO THE INDIANS.

"CHILDREN: I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States, what was required by them; I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

"CHILDREN: I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

"CHILDREN: I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, *which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as peace was signed*, would have been mended, or a new one drawn, in an amicable manner. Here, also, I have been disappointed.

"CHILDREN: Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the United States rush on, and act, and talk, on this side; and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.

"CHILDREN: You talk of selling your lands to the State of New York.* I have told you that there is no line between them and us; I shall acknowledge no lands to be their's which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783. They then broke the peace, and as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours.

"CHILDREN: They then destroyed their right of pre-emption. Therefore all their approaches toward us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the King's rights. And when a line is drawn between us, be

* The Caughnawaga Indians, residing near Montreal, were about this time in treaty with Governor George Clinton, for the sale of some of their lands lying within the boundaries of the State of New York. The late Egbert Benson was a Commissioner on the part of the State.

it in peace or war, they must loose all their improvements, and houses on one side of it, those people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the King's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will of course, be secured and confirmed to them.

"CHILDREN : What farther can I say to you ? You are witnesses that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience. But I believe our patience is almost exhausted."*

[NO. 15.]

WILLIAM EWING'S LETTER TO GEN. CHAPIN — WAYNE'S VICTORY.

GENESEO, Sept. 17th, 1794.

ISRAEL CHAPIN, Esq., Sir :— Agreeable to your request, the 26th ultimo I left this place to go and see Capt. Brant, and bring him forward to Canandaigua if possible. As I passed through Buffalo Creek settlement, I was told by Red Jacket, one of the Seneca chiefs, that the Indians at that place, and the Six Nations in different parts of the country around, had not yet determined, whether they would attend the treaty at Canandaigua or not : that they were waiting for Capt. O'Bail (Cornplanter,) and other chiefs to come in, whose arrival was hourly expected, when they should determine what answer to send to your invitation, though himself and many others, from the first, was determined to attend your council fire. I was also told by young Jemison, a Seneca Indian, that Col. Butler left that place a few hours before I arrived, who had been in council with the Indians some days past, and that he was of an opinion that Butler was trying to stop the Indians, and he did not think they would go to Canandaigua. I from this place crossed the river to the British side, and proceeded down the river to Niagara Fort. I found the British had been much alarmed at Gen. Wayne's advancing into the Indian country. The news was that Wayne had an en-

* The authenticity of this speech of Lord Dorchester is denied by Chief Justice Marshall, and Mr. Sparks, in his *Life and Correspondence of Washington*, notes that denial without dissent. Hence it has been received as spurious, and Lord Dorchester, with his Government, has escaped the responsibility of having uttered such an unwarrantable document. The first copy was forwarded to President Washington by Governor Clinton, who did not doubt its genuineness. Neither did the President; since, in his letter to Governor Clinton, acknowledging its receipt, he states his reasons at large for dissenting from the opinions of those who were proclaiming it to be spurious. On the contrary, he declared that he entertained "not a doubt of its authenticity." Equally strong was he in the opinion, that in making such a speech, Lord Dorchester had spoken the sentiments of the British Cabinet, according to his instructions. On the 20th of May, the attention of the British Minister, Mr. Hammond, was called to the subject by the Secretary of State, Edmund Randolph, who remonstrated strongly, not only against the speech, but against the conduct of Governor Simcoe, who was then engaged in measures of a hostile character. Mr. Hammond replied on the 23d of May, rather tartly; and, what renders the denial of the speech by Marshall and Sparks the more singular, is the fact, that the British Minister said in that letter :—"I am willing to admit the authenticity of the speech."—[See *T. B. Wait & Son's Edition of American State Papers*, vol. 1, pages 449—453.] "But if doubt has existed before, as to the genuine character of that document, it shall no longer exist. I have myself transcribed the preceding extracts from a certified manuscript copy, discovered among the papers of Joseph Brant in my possession."—*Author of Life of Brant*.

NOTE.—If confirmation, other than that furnished by Col. Stone, is required, the papers of Gen. Israel Chapin will supply it. As superintendent of Indian affairs in this region, Gen. Chapin obtained authentic information of the extraordinary speech of Lord Dorchester a few days after it was delivered.—AUTHOR.

gement with the Indians, that the action commenced in what is called the Glaize, and that he had defeated and completely routed the Indians, and drove them six or seven miles down the Miami of the Lakes, below the Fort at the rapids, built by the British, and that as he passed by the Fort he demanded it, but the officer in command of it, refused to comply with his request, and he passed on without giving any damage to the Fort. Some said there was 100 Indians, some 150, some 60 and 35 killed and taken, and that the loss on Wayne's side was very great, two or three hundred. But the best information, and what I most depended on was, I lodged at what is called the Chippewa Fort, at the head of the Great Falls, at the head of the carrying place, and I overheard a Mr. Powell, who had just arrived from Detroit, relating to the officer the news of that country, and among the rest he told him he thought there was eighty or ninety Indians and white people lost in all: he said also there was no dependence to be put in the Militia of Detroit, for when Wayne was in the country they refused doing duty in the Fort. Gov. Simcoe had called out all the Militia of the country about Niagara, it was said to man the posts through or to send up to Detroit, but upon hearing that Gen. Wayne had returned back to his Forts, some were discharged, some deserted, and about sixty were kept in Barracks, so that every thing seemed to be suspended for the present. I from Niagara Fort proceeded on to the head of Lake Ontario, about twenty miles from Capt. Brant's settlement, at which place I got certain information that Capt. Brant had set off some days past for Detroit. At this place I also found he had wrote you a letter the day he started, and that a Dr. Carr had it, which I afterwards contrived to get. It was said Brant's object was to meet the Southern Indians at Detroit, though I believe he has taken 150 or 200 warriors with him, but his object will be known in a future day. I returned by Niagara and Buffalo creek. I was told at Niagara, that Gen. Simcoe would set off for Detroit in a day or two to meet Capt. Brant and the other Indians, and to strengthen the Fort at the Miami. The 13th instant Simcoe arrived at Fort Erie opposite Buffalo creek, and Col. McKay from Detroit met him there. The day following the Indians from Buffalo creek were called over to council with them. Simcoe there told them when he was going, and that he was going to make his forts strong, and to put more men in them, that if Wayne should return, he would not be able to injure them, that the fort at the Rapids was not strong, nor but a few men in it when Gen. Wayne came past it, but that he now should make it very strong, and put a great many men in it, so that he would be able to protect the Indians for the future: he told them the Indians had lost but thirty-five warriors, and five or six white men in the last engagement with Wayne, but that Wayne had lost a great many, two or three hundred men supposed, and that he would not have drove them, only the Indians were not collected. This it seems was the news Col. McKay brought, but times would soon alter, for the Indians were collecting from all quarters, and from all nations, that a greater force was already collected, and they were coming in daily, and that he observed Capt. Brant was gone with a number of warriors, and that the destination of the Indians was to give Wayne a decisive stroke, and drive them out of the country. This I was told by one of the Indians who was at the council. The next day Simcoe and McKay sailed for Detroit. After this council I saw Red Jacket, and he informed me that the Indians would all go to the treaty at Canandaigua, that the next day they would go into council among themselves, and agree upon the time they should start, and where to meet you, and in two days time they should send off runners to let you know, but that there was not the least doubt but all the Indians would attend, but my opinion is it will be fifteen or twenty days before they all collect. I cannot perceive any differ-

ence in the Indians at Buffalo creek, they appear as friendly as ever, and I do not think they wish a disturbance with the United States, were it not for the British. As to Brant, although he is now gone away to the South, and will not attend the treaty and every appearance is hostile, yet I cannot but entertain favorable ideas of his conduct and peaceable wishes towards the United States; he acts open and candid and the part he is now acting, it appears to me, he is rather forced into it by the British, and the promises he has made to them Southern Indians heretofore, though I cannot but think from the conversation I have had with him some time past, and what I have heard in many other places, but that his real wish and desire is that a peace might be brought about between the United States, and all the Indian nations, and that although he now acts in the capacity of a warrior, that he would be as willing to take hold of the olive branch of peace, as the bloody tomahawk.

I am, Sir with respect, your most obt. and most humble servt.,

WM. EWING.

[NO. 16.]

UNPUBLISHED REMINISCENCES OF RED JACKET.

"Many years ago," says Thomas Maxwell, Esq., of Elmira, "in conversation with Red Jacket at Bath, after a little fire water had thawed his reserve, the chief remarked, that when a boy, he was present at a great council fire held on the Shenandoah. Many nations were represented by their wise men and orators, but the greatest was Logan, who had removed from the territory of his tribe to Shemokin. He was the son of Shikelleimus, a celebrated chief of the Cayuga nation, who was a warm friend of the whites before the Revolution. On the occasion alluded to, Red Jacket remarked, that he was so charmed with his manner and style of delivery, that he resolved to attain if possible, the same high standard of eloquence; though he almost despaired of equaling his distinguished model.

He said that after his return to his then home, at Kanadesaga, near Geneva, he sometimes incurred the reproofs and displeasure of his mother, by long absence from her cabin without any ostensible cause. When hard pressed for an answer he informed his mother that he had been playing Logan."

Thus in his mighty soul, the fire of a generous emulation had been kindled not to go out, until his oratorical fame threw a refulgent glory on the declining fortunes of the once formidable Iroquois. In the deep and silent forest he practiced elocution, or to use his own expressive language, played Logan, until he caught the manner and tone of his great master. What a singular revelation! Unconsciously the forest orator was an imitator of the eloquent Greek, who tuned his voice on the wild sea beach, to the thunders of the surge, and caught from nature's altar his lofty inspiration.

Not without previous preparation, and the severest discipline, did Red Jacket acquire his power of moving and melting his hearers. His graceful attitudes, significant gestures, perfect intonation, and impressive pauses, when the lifted finger and flashing eye told more than utterance, were the results of sleepless toil; while his high acquirement, was the product of stern, habitual thought, study of man, and keen observation of eternal nature.

He did not trust to the occasion alone for his finest periods, and noblest metaphors. In the armory of his capacious intellect the weapons of forensic warfare had been previously polished and stored away. Ever ready for the unfaltering tongue, was the cut-

ting rebuke, or apt illustration. Let not the superficial candidate for fame in Senate halls, suppose for a moment, that Sa-go-ye-wat-lia, "The Keeper Awake," was a speaker who sprung up fully equipped for debate, without grave meditation, and cunning anticipation of whatever an adversary might advance, or maintain.

By labor, like all other great men, persevering labor, too — he achieved his renown. A profound student, though unlettered, he found "books in the running brooks, sermons in stones." By exercising his faculties in playing Logan when a boy, — one of the highest standards of mortal eloquence, either in ancient or modern times — he has left a lesson to all ambitious aspirants, that there is no royal road to greatness: that the desired goal is only to be gained by scaling rugged cliffs, and treading painful paths.

[NO. 17.]

CAPT. BRUFF'S LETTER.

"NIAGARA, Sept., 1797.

"Dr. Sir: — Recent information, not to be disguised, assures us that emissaries have been among the Indians residing within the territorial limits of the United States, to engage them in hostile enterprises against the posts, and from a combination of circumstances, it is feared that they have been too successful.

"Accounts from Detroit say that the Indians there are very surly, and have planted no crops: that numbers have gone over the Mississippi, and that others have collected in bodies near the posts St. Josephs, Mackinaw, and other points, whose views are unknown, but must be apprehended. That the French inhabitants of the post St. Vincent have revolted, taken the national cockade, and declared for France and Spain. That the attachment of these at Detroit, cannot be much relied upon. That the Spaniards have not yet given up the posts, but are collected in force, high up the Mississippi. These menacing appearances; the hostile messages to the western Indians, theirs to the Seven Nations of Canada, and theirs to the Six Nations; the doubtful disposition of the latter towards us: the admonition of the Secretary of War in his last communication, "to use the same precautions as if the United States were actually at war;" with the remembrance of the deep laid schemes of Pontiac; are sufficient to put us on our guard, if not to alarm us, on account of our present reduced numbers, and the distance from which we are to look for succor. For provided the Indians and those that set them on, are politic, they may so manage the attack upon the posts on either side, that the other would hesitate about giving aid that might involve the nation in an Indian war.

For some weeks past, our neighbors, the Tuscaroras, have been very shy; the few that have visited us are distant. There are at present about fifty warriors of Chippewa and Ottawa nations on the opposite shore, and a large number are expected in a few days: ostensibly to hold a council with the Governor about supplies. Those already arrived have been importunate for arms and ammunition, and I understand have obtained a gun each."

[Capt. Bruff closes his long letter with some account of the indefensible condition of Fort Niagara, and suggestions to as keeping watch of the Indians, and other precautionary measures.]

[NO. 18.]

On his return to England, John B. Church having been a decided partizan in the

Revolution, and moreover, having connected himself by marriage, with so notorious a "rebel" family as the Schuylers, found himself not in repute with the high tory party, and had especially the disfavor of his patron uncle. Fortunately, however, the American adventurer was as independent in his purse as in his politics, and soon grew in favor with Fox and Pitt, and their party. He was elected a member of the British Parliament, from Wendover, warmly espoused the liberal party, and adhered to Mr. Fox, when it was said in *division* that "his party could go to the House of Commons in a hackney coach."

The country residence of the family was but four miles from Windsor Castle, and the family physician was the physician of George the Third. Long before it transpired publicly, the physician informed Mr. and Mrs. Church of the King's aberration of mind, and he did not hesitate, confidentially, to attribute the development of hereditary tendency, to the loss of American Colonies.

The house of Mr. Church in London was a frequent resort of Fox and Pitt; of prominent Americans who visited London; and on the breaking out of the French Revolution, when the refugees fled to London, he had as guests, Talleyrand, and many of his companions, with most of whom he had become acquainted in America and Paris. Judge Church speaks of the happy faculty of the French to be gay and light hearted even in the darkest hours of adversity. The men who had fled from what M. A. Thiers calls the "Sanguinary Republic of '93" — from the rack and the guillotine — statesmen and courtiers — stripped of their possessions and dependent upon the purses of their friends for the means of subsistence; were yet cheerful and seemingly happy, seeking amusements, and endeavoring to make dull and smoky London as gay as their own devoted capital had been.

In Paris, Judge Church had made the acquaintance of Talleyrand, and it was by means of the assistance he rendered him that the refugee Minister was enabled to reach this country, when the British Ministers had ordered him to leave London in twenty-four hours. Afterwards, when he had returned to Paris, and was flourishing again under a new dynasty, he remembered the kindness, but the demonstrations of his gratitude were marked with the peculiar characteristics of the man. John Church, a son of his benefactor, having taken up his residence in Paris, received from him a general invitation to all his evening parties, and besides, an invitation that at his weekly dinners there was always a "knife, fork, and plate for him." This had continued for a while, when the welcome guest, discovered that some change had come over his host; — coldness and reserve had taken the place of cordial welcomes. An explanation followed. One evening as Mr. Church entered his apartments, Talleyrand beckoned him to a deep window recess and whispered:—"Mr. Church, I am always happy to see you, but you must not feel unpleasantly if I pay no attention to you; I am so watched that I cannot be civil to any person from England or America." The anecdote will be adjudged in good keeping with the whole character of the man.

Judge Church relates many anecdotes which illustrates the ill feeling that prevailed in England, after the Revolution, and especially pending the Jay treaty, to every thing that was American. His school-fellows at Eaton, were generally the sons of the nobility, and of high tory blood, and their boy partizanship could hardly tolerate the sentiments of a representative of the disenthralled colonies. French politics was soon introduced, and the young American, following the lead of his father, was inclined to be a French republican; manifesting upon one occasion a little exultation over the fate of Louis XVI, he provoked the bitterest resentments of his school-fellows.

When the family left London, in '97, there was employed about the King's homestead, a young Frenchman, in the capacity of a cook or confectioner. He had made

himself obnoxious to the tories by his ultra French republicanism, and would sing snatches of French revolutionary ballads, in the very precincts of royalty, and at the ale houses. Some official of the King's household quietly arranged his employment by Mr. Church, and he came to America with his family; afterwards, establishing himself as a confectioner in New York. He was the father of Godey, the founder of Godey's Magazine, in Philadelphia.

Most readers are familiar with the attempt of Dr. Bellman and Huger to release La Fayette from the prison of Olmutz. The daring adventurers reaching London, made acquaintance of John B. Church, who had known La Fayette when a guest at his father-in-law's house, in Albany, in other places during the Revolution, and afterwards in Paris and London; and feeling a lively interest in the project for his release, he at once seconded it: in his house, in London, the plan was matured, and he contributed means for prosecuting it.*

Judge Philip Church bears upon his person a relic of the Border Wars of the Revolution: a slight scar upon his forehead; connected with which is an interesting historical reminiscence, different versions of which have already been incorporated in history. In August, 1797, a scheme was devised by Sir Frederick Haldimand, the British commander, in Canada, to secure Gen. Schuyler at Albany, and by getting possession of him, remove the powerful influence he was exercising against the success of the banded British tories and Indians. John Walmeyer, a tory refugee was entrusted with the command of the expedition. With a gang of tories, Canadians and Indians, he crossed the St. Lawrence, and reached the pine plains between Albany and Schenectady, where they lurked about for several days until they could ascertain the precise position of General Schuyler's mansion, which stood upon the banks of the Hudson, about three-fourths of a mile from the then settled portions of Albany. Attempts having been previously made upon his life, he had a good supply of arms, and a pretty strong body guard of servants. He had beside reliable information that Walmeyer and his party were in the neighborhood, and well imagined their errand.

With reference to defence, the house was so arranged, that at night the only recess was in the rear, and that was barred by an iron gate, which was kept locked. Sitting with his numerous family in the main hall, in a sultry evening, a servant came and informed him that a man was at the gate wishing to speak to him. In reply to the question as to where the man came from, the servant replied that he "thought he came down the hill from the woods." The moment the General heard this, he ordered all the lights to be extinguished, the servants to arm themselves, and the family to retreat to the garret. Unfortunately, Mrs. John B. Church, the day previous, seeing that her

*When La Fayette visited Rochester in his American tour, a member of the committee of reception, was introducing the ladies as they one after another, in quick succession, presented themselves. In the crowd was a daughter of Judge Church. As she approached, La Fayette addressed the committee man, saying:—"Sir, you need not introduce this young lady, she is a descendant of my old friend Angelica Schuyler?" [wife of Gen. Philip Schuyler.] at the same time advancing and shaking her cordially by the hand. This was the recognition of a family resemblance after the lapse of over forty years! This is almost incredible, and yet the author witnessed in the Nation's guest, similar instances of his extraordinary recognition of persons, and family resemblances. In a letter to Judge Church, dated at La Grange, in 1826, he alludes to the circumstance:—"Happy I am in the opportunity to remind you of the old friend of your beloved parents; to present my respects to Mrs. Church, doubly dear to my most precious recollections; and to your amiable daughter *whom a friendly image engraven on my heart, made me recognize before she was named to me.*

Your affectionate friend,

LA FAYETTE."

infant son, (the present Judge P. Church) was meddling with the muskets, had them removed to a back closet or entry. Gen. Schuyler, looking out at the window, saw that his house was surrounded by armed men, and immediately posted himself with the servants at the foot of the stairs, with the best defences they could lay their hands on; resolved at least to protect the family. The banditti soon forced an entrance into the house. At this juncture, Miss Margaret Schuyler, (afterwards the wife of Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer,) discovered that her infant sister had been left a-sleep in a cradle upon the ground floor. Rushing down stairs, and passing her father, against his remonstrances, she seized the child and was passing the besiegers, when Waltemeyer mistaking her for a servant maid, demanded of her—"Where is your master?" "Gone to call the guard," she replied with great presence of mind, as she made a safe retreat with the child. Presuming that the chief object of the visit had escaped, they commenced plundering the house, and were in the dining room securing the plate. Three of the servants had possessed themselves of arms, and Gen. Schuyler having his side arms, as good a resistance was made as their strength would admit, but the superior force finally obliged all to retreat to the upper rooms of the house. Waltemeyer and his party pursued, and just as they were about to make prisoners of the whole family, Gen. Schuyler hit upon an ingenious and successful expedient. Suddenly raising a window, as if a host had come to his rescue, hallowing out to the evening air, in a loud voice, there were no friends to hear:—"My friends, my friends, quickly, surround the house and let not one of the rascals escape!" The banditti were panic stricken, ran down stairs, sweeping the silver from the side board as they passed, and hurrying off with them in their retreat to the woods as captives two slaves,—the first armed rescue perhaps, of "persons held to service," that ever transpired in this State. No one was killed in the melee: Waltemeyer received a slight wound from a pistol shot of Gen. Schuyler, a servant was slightly wounded. The slight injury of the child, named in the introduction, was had in the hurried retreat to the garret.

The failure of Gen. Schuyler to bring to his aid any of the then few citizens of the village of Albany, was owing to a most ingenious contrivance of Waltemeyer. During his ambush in the woods, he had come across a woman, whom he bribed to precede him in his attack and report, in the village that there was a dead man in the woods, off in another direction from Gen. Schuyler's house. The trick succeeded. When the alarm was given the men of the village were away searching for the dead man.

In his retreat, Waltemeyer and his party took General Gordon from his bed, at Ballston, and carried him to Canada.

NOTE.—The author gives the account from memorandums taken in conversation with Judge Church. He had the account from his mother in 1825. The relation does not vary materially from the account of Col. Stone, in his *Life of Brant*; except that he states that in addition to the servants of the house, Gen. Schuyler had a body guard of six men, three of whom were on duty. Col. S. gives their names, and says that Gen. Schuyler afterwards gave each of them a farm in Saratoga county. Gen. Schuyler died in 1805.

A writer in the Albany Express, a few years since, speaking of the old Schuyler mansion in Albany, says:—"Here also the illustrious Hamilton, weel and won the daughter of its hospitable proprietor, that venerable and excellent woman, who still lives in the full enjoyment of her intellectual faculties, one of the few remnants of the Revolutionary age. Another daughter of Gen. Schuyler, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, was also married in this house, to John B. Church, of London, who came out to this country during the Revolution. Among its illustrious guests have been:—Washington, La Fayette, Louis Phillipe, Lord Berling, Talleyrand, Chautebriand, and Chastelleux."

[NO. 19.]

MR. JAMES D. BEMIS' COTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF HIS ADVENT TO THE
GENESEE COUNTRY.

Extract of a letter to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Ward, of Albany: — [Mrs. Ward was a sister of Mr. Bemis, was the mother of Samuel and Henry Ward, and Mrs. Oran Follett.]

"After being at Utica upwards of seven weeks, my patience was so far exhausted, that I determined, notwithstanding the badness of the roads to make one more attempt to gain the place of my destination, and accordingly hired two wagons to take me to Canandaigua. They had proceeded about 50 rods when one of them got mired to the hub! Good start, you will say. Well, we got out in about an hour, and travelled *eight miles* the first day, and put up at Raymond's inn. Next morning after taking a warm breakfast, I again *weighed anchor*, and trudged in solitude along the muddy waste, (for it is indeed *solitary* to have no company but swearing teamsters.) 'till we reached Onondaga village, an Indian settlement, where about dark, both wagons again got mired to the hub! Zounds and alack! What a pickle we were in!! How did I invoke the aid of old Hercules to give one tug at the wheel! However, after lifting, grumbling, hollowing and tugging three hours and a half, with the assistance of an Indian, we once more got on land. It was now ten, and no tavern within our power to reach. Cold, fatigued and hungry, we were glad to get under shelter: and accordingly stopped at the first Indian hut we found, where there was no bed, nor victuals, except a slice of rusty pork."

"After a night spent in yawning, dozing, gaping, we again got under way, and hove in sight of a tavern about ten o'clock; but nothing like breakfast was to be had — all confusion — and we went on to Onondaga, (50 miles from Utica,) where we arrived about ten at night. Here the house was full, and I obtained the privilege of sleeping with two strangers, by paying for their lodgings and giving them a glass of bitters; an odd bargain to be sure; but I thought it cheap, had it been my last shilling. But fate decreed that the troubles of that day, should not end with going to bed."

[The young adventurer had become a room mate with a "snoring traveller." He describes his enormous nose, and says, that the sounds it gave out all night long, "frightened Morpheus from his post."]

"At this place, (Onondaga) the wagoners got discouraged and despaired of the practicability of travelling; they accordingly stored their goods and made the best of their way home again. Here I was obliged to remain two weeks, when a fine snow falling, I hired a man with a three horse sleigh, to carry me to Canada, and arrived at this place on Saturday evening, 14th January, after a short and pleasant passage of sixty two days from Albany! Here I put up for the night only, expecting to depart early in the morning for Canada; but receiving some advices here from gentlemen of respectability, which deserved my attention, I was persuaded to open my store in this village, for the winter at least. How I shall succeed is yet among the secrets of fate; but as yet I have had no reason to repent of having stopped here: for such is the encouragement I have already found, that I think it probable I shall continue here."

"I have now only room to add, that the country is beautiful and flourishing: the inhabitants wealthy and respectable; the citizens enlightened, affable and friendly; and there is an agreeable society of young people, especially of ladies. Hence a stranger finds an agreeable reception. I am the seventh young man that is here from Albany; all old acquaintances."

SUPPLEMENT.



EXTENSION OF THE PIONEER HISTORY

OF

THAT PORTION OF PHELPS AND GORHAM'S PURCHASE, EMBRACED
IN THE COUNTIES OF

WAYNE, ONTARIO, YATES, LIVINGSTON AND ALLEGANY,

AND THE SOUTHERN PORTION OF

MORRIS' RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

EXTENSION OF PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW WAYNE COUNTY.

The earliest settled localities, as will have been seen, were Palmyra, Macedon, Lyons, Sodus, and along on the early roads that Mr. Williamson laid out from Lyons and Palmyra to Sodus. In fact, until after 1800, other than the settlements and improvements made at Sodus, in all of what is now Wayne county, Pioneer events were principally confined to the valley of Mud, (now called Ganargwa,) creek. The fine intervals upon that stream, and the imperfect navigation it afforded, made it in early years the centre of attraction, especially in the vicinities of Palmyra and Lyons. Though between the two villages, there was a space of several miles, along on the creek, where as late as 1819 there were but small farm improvements, and the primitive log houses predominated. The following are the names of some of the earliest settlers on the creek, other than the Long Islanders, who have already been named as the Pioneers: — Thomas Goldsmith, Philip Lusk, Jacob Lusk, Isaac Lusk, John Tibbits, Oliver Sanford, Luther Sanford, Oliver Clark, James Parshall, Thomas Cornell, James Galloway, Humphrey Sherman, Reuben Starks.

John Spoor was an early settler where Lockville now is, as early as 1809. Nicholas Stansell, whose early advent in the neighborhood of Lyons is mentioned on page 265, was the successor of Spoor, and owned the property upon which Lockville has grown up, when the Erie Canal was surveyed.

The Lusks, who have been named, were the proprietors of the site of Newark. As early as 1822, the property had been purchased by Joseph Miller, and under his auspices a village plat was surveyed. In that year, a post-office was established there, and James P. Bartle was appointed Post Master. Mr. Bartle was also the first merchant, under the firm of Bartle, Norton & Co. The first Attorney located at Newark, was George W. Scott; the first Justice of the Peace, John L. Kip; the first blacksmith, James L. Kip. The author has no farther information in reference to the early history of this, one of the most pleasant and flourishing villages upon the Erie Canal. It contains now, 8 stores, 3 clothing establishments, 2 public houses, 3 churches, is a place of considerable manufac-

turing enterprise; has a population of 1,700; and commands the trade of a wealthy agricultural neighborhood.

Returning to Palmyra, the early Pioneer locality, the author will, (as he intends to do in reference to other localities,) add reminiscences that were omitted in the body of the work:—The "District of Tolland," embracing all of what is now the western portion of Wayne county, was erected in 1789, when Ontario was set off from Montgomery; there was no organization distinct from all of Ontario county, for years after—perhaps not until 1796, as the town meeting for Tolland District, of that year, is the earliest upon record. It was "held at the house of Gideon Durfee," on the 1st Tuesday of April. The town, (or district,) officers chosen were:—John Swift Supervisor; Jonathan Edwards, Town Clerk; Festus Goldsmith, Jonathan Warner, Humphrey Sherman, Assessors; Wm. Porter, Collector; Noah Porter, Thomas Goldsmith, Overseers of Poor; Jared Comstock, Reuben Town, Wm. Rogers, Com. Highways; Joseph Bradish, James Reeves, Constables; James Reeves, John Hulburt, Joel Foster, Festus Goldsmith, Edward Durfee, Luther Sanford, David Warner, Benjamin Wood, Abner Hill, Cyrus Parker, Thomas Hamilton, Henry Lovewell, Norman Merry, Nathan Harris, Jacob Gannett, Pathmasters; David Warner, John Hulburt, Elias Reeves, Fence Viewers, Isaac Killey, Pound Master.

It was voted that a Pound be erected "near Daniel Sawyer's *old* house." How old?

It would seem that early attention was paid to the interests of education. In 1796, commissioners were appointed to "take care of the school money."


The following list of those who had "ear marks" for stock, recorded, embraces nearly all of the heads of families in the District of Tolland, (which it is presumed embraced all the territory of what is now Palmyra, Macedon, Walworth and Ontario,) in 1796:

Joel Foster	David Warner	Lemuel Spear
Jonah Howell	Isaac Howell	Wm. Porter
Joel W. Foster	John Russell	Israel Delano
David H. Foster	David Culver	Timothy Conant
John Swift	Gideon Durfee Jr.	Festus Goldsmith
Nathan Reeves	Reuben Town	Wm. Rodgers
Gideon Durfee	John Gibson,	Jonah Howell
Humphrey Sherman	Noah Porter,	Wm. Jackway
Job Durfee	Oliver Clark	John Crandall
Moses Culver	Thos. Goldsmith	Pardon Wilcox,
Elias Reeves	Joseph Bradish.	Henry Lovewell
Thomas Rodgers	John Hulburt	Reuben Town
Edward Durfee,	Benjamin Clark	Benjamin Luce
Bennett Bates	Benjamin Woods	Luther Sanford
Darius Comstock	Jonathan Warner	Alexander Rowley.
Nathan Harriss	James Reeves	Elisha Sanford
Robert Hinds		

The District assumed the name of Palmyra in 1797; Jonah Howell was elected Supervisor, and Stephen Phelps, Town Clerk.

In 1799, "Mud Creek" was declared by law, a navigable highway, "from the west line of number 12, 2d Range, to the mouth of the same," by John Swift and Benjamin Wells, superintendents of Highways. In 1806, the town voted that "public stocks" be erected at the expense of the town; and that a bounty of two cents be paid for "squirrels, crows, woodpeckers, and black birds."

Names of early settlers of (old) Palmyra that have not occurred in other connections:—Thaddeus Taft, Joshua Bridge, Weaver Osborne, Cyrus Foster, Jeremiah Smith, Caleb M'Cumber, Israel Parshall, James Galloway, Wm. Starks, Joseph Shoemaker, Oliver Booth, Ahaz Aldrich, Samuel Millet, John Sherman, Silas Hart, Thomas Glover, Joseph Tinkum.

The author extracts from the sermon of the late Rev. Mr. Fisher— See page 388—the following graphic account of the advent upon the banks of the Ganargwa, in 1791, of those who pioneered the way for the settlers from Long Island; who were the first to break into the wilderness, between the Durfee settlement, and the two or three families of hardy adventurers at what was afterwards called Lyons: "Sitting beneath the maple tree bearing their pre-emption mark, they opened their knapsacks, and refreshed themselves with "hoe cake," and cold water, which was their only sustenance until their rifles had enabled them to procure wild game. Finding a small opening upon the top of one of the hills, they struck up a fire with a flint and steel, and soon clearing a small spot of the herbage and wild grass, they sowed the seeds of what is supposed to be the first nursery planted by the hands of civilized man, west of Geneva.* As they descended the hills to the east, the long swells of uplands presented themselves to their view, in all their grandeur and surpassing beauty, covered with trees of a luxuriant growth which were adorned with vines, hanging pendent to the earth, and waving in the breeze. For the first time they actually beheld the rose budding and blossoming in the wilderness, and the sweetest flowers cultivated by fair hands, in the garden of the east, flourishing in these solitudes, in the greatest luxuriance, and filling the air with their fragrance! After having seen most of the townships, they secured their titles to 5,500 acres, returned to Long Island, and like Joshua of old, carried back "a good report of the land."

"The Long Island Company were generally persons characterized for their morality, industry and enterprise. They had been trained from their youths to habits of sobriety and patient industry, to regard with becoming reverence the instructions of our holy religion; and in the same habits they educated their posterity, on whom the blessings of a covenant God have descended in rich

* Other than those planted at several mission and trading stations, under French dominion.—AUTHOR.

profusion. And as the influence of the original settlers of a town is sure to live and descend through successive generations, and like the sweet waters from a living fountain, irrigating, enriching, and gladdening as it flows; or like the waters of the Dead Sea, poisoning, searing and desolating all within their influence; according as its character is good or bad, moral or immoral, religious or irreligious; so is their influence felt to this day, and will continue to be, through all coming time, as most salutary and invigorating to the morals, piety and prosperity, of the community. We may die, but, our influence, never."

From the discourse of Mr. Fisher the author gathers the facts that the first framed building erected in Palmyra, (and it is presumed, the first in all of what is now Wayne county.) was the barn of Luther Sanford; the first saw mill was erected by Gen. Swift. The "stump mortar," as in other localities, was the early dependence, for preparing corn for bread. "At first, the Friend's Mill on the outlet of Crooked Lake, 40 miles distant, was the nearest. The mill boys would have to start off on Monday morning in order to get back by Saturday night."

The author's information is that Swift and Sawyer were engaged in a mercantile business in some of the earliest years:—Mr. Fisher names Joseph Colt as the first merchant.

In all early years, previous to the construction of the Erie Canal, Palmyra was a place of considerable business, the market, and place of trade, for what are now the western towns of Wayne. In 1818, when the work upon the Canal was approaching it, in anticipation of the local benefits that would accrue from its passage through the village, population and business had a new impetus, as in all other canal villages. The then merchants of the place, were:—Seymour Scovell, who had emigrated from Orwell, Vt., a few years previous, first engaging in a Drug Store, but soon changing his business, and becoming one of the most enterprising merchants of the place. He erected the old Eagle Tavern, on the site of the Eagle Tavern now owned and occupied by Mr. Nottingham; was an early canal contractor; the builder and owner of the Packet Boat Myron Holley, which was one of the earliest put afloat on the canal; to his extraordinary enterprise and perseverance, the village, at that early period, was largely indebted for its prosperity. He removed to Lockport in 1822, where another career of enterprise, identified him as one of the founders of that now large village, which will soon be in name, what it is now in fact—a city. Receiving the appointment of U. S. Collector for the Niagara District, after the election of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency, he removed to the village of Lewiston, where he now resides; yet active, enterprising and public spirited; helping to project public improvements, and but recently participating in the construction of one. J. & L. Thayer, Nathaniel Barak

and George Beckwith, Alvah Hendee, Samuel Jennings, James and Orrin White, were the other principal merchants. The lawyers at that period, were, Frederick Smith, Thomas Baldwin, Ambrose, and Thomas Hall, Abner Cole, Alexander Tiffany, Israel Richardson and — Parkhurst. The settled Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Jesse Townsend. The physicians, Drs. Gain Robinson, Alexander M'Intyre, Durfee Chase, Dr. James Lakey, (now of Cincinnati,) — Eggleston. The principal mechanics and manufacturers, were Jessup and Palmer, — Benson, Wm. Sexton, — Hussey, Amos Reed, — Wagstaff, (the father of the well known Capt. Robert Wagstaff, of Buffalo, and the Lakes, more recently of California.) Asa Lilly, Salmon Hathway, — Shattuck, — Robinson, Zebulon Reeves, David Jackways, Enoch Lilly; and some others, whose names are not now recollected. Soon after 1818, and before the completion of the canal, there was a large accession to population, merchants and mechanics. Pliny Sexton, commenced there as a silver smith and watch repairer, in 1819 or, '20; afterwards, was one of the first to introduce the cooking stove into W. N. York; engaged in the Hardware business; and is now associated with George Cuyler in the banking business.

Charles Smith who is now traveling with a peddler's wagon, in this region, was the first hatter in Palmyra; was succeeded in early years, by David Jackways.

Abner Hill followed the Spears family, from Cummington, in an early period of settlement. He died in 1829. His widow, who came into the country with the family of the elder David White, was living, in the fall of 1850, with her son, upon the Ridge Road, in the town of Ontario, aged 80 years.

If John Comstock did not practice law in Palmyra, as assumed on page 388, Wm. Howe Cuyler was the first practicing lawyer there. Frederick Smith, was his successor and the occupant of his office, after his death, in 1812; in 1813 was appointed a Justice of the Peace by Gov. Tompkins, and, with the exception of two years, has held the office through all fluctuations of party, and change from appointment to election, until the present time. He has also held the offices of Judge, and Supervisor.

The first newspaper established at Palmyra was the "Palmyra Register," Timothy C. Strong, editor and publisher. The first number was issued in October, 1818. Mr. Strong was from Middlebury, Vt., where he had been connected with the newspaper press. The printing office was in one of the upper rooms of the old tavern house of Dr. Ensworth, opposite the Baptist Church. The early apprentices in the office, were:— Luther Tucker, editor and proprietor of the Cultivator, and Secretary of the State Agricultural Society; the author of this work; and Pomeroy Tucker, the present editor of the Wayne Sentinel. In 1823, Mr. Strong emigrated to Ann

Arbor, Michigan. Returning to this State in 1825, he published a paper in Albion, Orleans county, until 1839, when he removed to Geneva, where he published a paper. He returned to Albion in 1832, where he established the Orleans American, which he continued until April, 1844. In the fall of that year he died from the effects of a cancer upon the face. His family mostly reside at Albion. The "history of the Press of Western N. York," having been written, no more than the first newspaper in each locality will be noticed.

The Presbyterian Church in Palmyra, which is mentioned on page 389, was one of the first church organizations in W. N. York; in fact, could not have been preceded by any religious organizations other than those in Canandaigua and East Bloomfield. The date of the record of church organizations in county clerk's offices does not in all cases indicate the period of their original organizations. The early officiating clergymen, were the Rev. Messrs. Condict, Bell, Rowe, and Townsend.

The Baptist Church was organized in July, 1800. The primitive members were:—William Rogers, Abner Hill, Lemuel Spear, Bartimeus Packard, Noah Porter, James Rogers, Benj. Woods, Abraham Spear, James Fuller, William Jones, James Parshall, Joseph Case, Ruth Porter, Polly Baker, Mehitable Woods, Ruth Spear, Eliza Jones, Sarah Parshall, Hannah Fuller, William Jones, a native of Wales, was the first officiating clergyman; his early successor was Rev. Eleazor Fairbanks, who officiated until 1807, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Jeremiah Irons, who continued until 1821. The Rev. Eliphalet Spencer was his successor. The meeting house of this society, a mile west of the village, a first class one in early times, was built in 1810; one year before the Presbyterian church was erected in the village.

The Methodist Church was organized in 1811. At first, few in number, and feeble in resources, its places of worship alternated from school house to school house; sometimes in an apartment at a private dwelling; at others in a vacant log dwelling;—until having, largely recruited its numbers, it emerged from its feeble condition, and in 1821 erected its present church edifice.

St. Mathew's Church, Palmyra, (Episcopal,) was organized in 1804:—Wm. Howe Cuyler, Jacob W. Hallett, Wardens; John Swift Asel Ensworth, Joseph Colt, William P. Wilson, Jeremiah Dewy, John Shekell, Abraham Gallup, Thomas Edmonston, "Trustees," or Vestrymen. The author presumes that this organization was not permanent, as, in some reminiscences furnished by Mr. Truman Heminway it is stated that the present Episcopal Church in Palmyra was organized in 1823. The early officiating clergymen commencing at the latter period, have been:—Revs. Rufus Murray, A. Clark, Ezekiel G. Geer, John M. Guion, B. H. Hickox.

Enoch Gannet built mills in an early day near present village of Macedon; the village site is partly upon his original possessions.

Wm. Porter a brother of Noah Porter, was the early tavern keeper on Pittsford road ; one mile west of Macedon village. His widow is now a resident of Albion ; daughters became wives of Dr. Plunkett Richardson, John Lapham — Noble, Albert White, of Albany. Noah Turner settled in what is now Macedon, in 1800. He died in 1847, aged 82 years. His surviving sons, are Otis Turner of Niagara Falls, Hector Turner, residing at the old homestead. Mrs. Horace Chase of Medina, and Mrs. Lorenzo Clark, of Naples, are his daughters. Col. John Bradish was of the second class of early settlers ; an early school teacher ; his surviving sons are : — Calvin, near Adrian, Michigan, — Charles still residing in Macedon — Gov. Luther Bradish, now of the city of New York. Constant Southard, an early resident, in early years a Deputy Sheriff, Constable and Collector. He was recently residing with his son-in-law, Moses Crapsey, near Lockport.

Among the second class of early settlers, were David Wilcox the father of Marlin Wilcox, late P. M. of Palmyra, and of Mrs. Ambrose Hall, Mrs. Alvah Hendee ; Goldsmiths, Nortons, — M'Collum the father of Judge M'Collum of Lockport, (more recently of Albion,) Robert M'Collum, formerly of Rochester, and Hiram M'Collum of Lockport ; Peter Harris, — Miller, — Thayer, Abner F. and Thomas Lakey.

Gilbert Howell came to Palmyra in 1795, from Long Island. He was a partner of Stephen Phelps in the erection of a public house upon the site of the present Eagle Tavern. In 1806, he removed to Lyons, and erected mills upon the outlet of Canandaigua Lake. He was a member of Assembly from Ontario in 1811 ; in the war of 1812, he was a volunteer, and one of the aids of Gen. Swift. After the war he resided for a year or two in Rochester, and previous to 1830, removed to Oak Orchard, upon the Ridge Road, where he opened a public house and in connection with the late Nathaniel Allen, of Allen's Hill, erected mills. He died in 1849, aged 74 years.

Ira Selby, from Wethersfield, Conn., was a resident in Palmyra as early as 1804. He was an early school teacher, magistrate and representative of Ontario in the Legislature, and Surrogate of the county. He emigrated to Ohio.

[In connection with some reminiscences of Silas Stoddard, on page 385, it should have been added, that he was a descendant of Ralph Stoddard, who was a pioneer of New England, settling on the Thames, near New London ; a brother of Ralph, Solomon Stoddard was a graduate of Oxford ; studied divinity, and after ordination as a Congregational minister, came out to the Colonies with the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, who was the founder of the mission school at which Joseph Brant, and other Indian youths were educated. Mr. Stoddard was the first settled minister at Northamp-

ton. Wait Stoddard, a brother of Silas Stoddard, had preceded him in the Genesee country. As early as 1789 he purchased 300 acres of what is now the Gideon Lee farm, near Geneva, which he afterwards sold, and returned to Connecticut.]

The author has thus added to the reminiscences of the early and prominent pioneer locality — the old town of Palmyra — and yet perhaps, has omitted names that should have been recognized. In reviewing his work, one name especially occurs to him that should not be omitted, for of all of the early men of Western New York there were few whose memories have stronger claims to a recognition, than those of William A. M'Lean; few who were possessed of more noble and generous qualities. He was a native of New London, Conn., his father, a well known master of a Packet between New London and Charleston, S. Carolina; his mother, a daughter of Com. Harris of the navy of the Revolution. In 1808, or '9, he came to Western New York, first engaging as a clerk in the store of Ward & Bristol, at the "Huddle." In the war of 1812 he was one of the aids of Gen. Swift, and was with him when he fell. After the war he was a clerk of J. & L. Thayer, the Post Master of Palmyra, and a magistrate. He was a bachelor; died in 1824 or '5.

Soon after 1800, a settlement was commenced near the north line of what is now Macedon, which assumed the name of "The Huddle." Dr. Levi Ward was an early, if not the first settler there. — He was from Berkshire, a student of Dr. Bradish, a brother of Col. John Bradish. Dr. Ward was one of the earliest physicians of the north west portion of Wayne county, an early magistrate, and an early merchant; his mercantile partner, Daniel Bristol. He emigrated to Michigan where he died a few years since.

The village of Palmyra was incorporated in 1827. The first village officers were: — Joseph Colt, Pres't: Joel Thayer, Thomas Rogers, Nathaniel Beckwith, and James White, Trustees: Geo. N. Williams, Geo. Beckwith, Alvah Hendee, Assessors; Thomas P. Baldwin, Clerk: Wm. Park, Treasurer.

At the close of the year 1806, those whose names follow, were most of all the heads of families in what is now Ontario, Walworth and Marion: — Nathan and Enos Palmer, (the former the father of Judge Oliver Palmer of Rochester.) Joseph Day, Stephen Chase, Ebenezer Trask, — Green, (was killed by the fall of a tree in 1806.) Levi Bartholomew, Luke Holbrook, — Hopkins, Dr. Hulburt Crittenden, David Sutton, Stephen and Daniel Douglass, Deacon Gideon Haskett, Joseph Bartholomew, Aaron Rice, Caleb

Turner, [who gave the name to Turner's Corners, died in 1830, at the age of 84 years ;] Thomas Scovell, Wm. Bixby, Thomas Cory, Stephen Sanford, Daniel Howell, Epentus Ketchum, Thomas Youngs, — Fuller, Hercules Gifford, Timothy Smith, Daniel Twaddell, — Case, James Huggins, Dr. Seth Tucker, Deacon Adams, Micajah Hardin, William Hardin, Daniel Russell, — Lothrop, James Hill, — Rose, Jonathan Hill, (father of Riley Hill, Esq., of Walworth,) Samuel Millett, John Inman, Peter Freer, Andrew Millett, Joshua Bridge, Winslow Green, — Baker, — Hurley, Capt. Gilbert Hinkley, Moses Padley, — Babcock, John Chamberlain, Capt. Dennison, Marshall Chamberlain, — M'Kay, Jonathan Boynton, (was a member of the Legislature, a county Judge, a magistrate and supervisor ; died a few years since ; his son Anson Boynton, is the occupant of the homestead,) Deacon Daniel Gould, Thomas Aldrich, Jedediah Smith, Benjamin Robbins — Barrett, John and Ephraim Slade, — Carpenter, — Hawley, Azel Eaton, Asahel Hoyt, Alvin St. John, Levi Rowley, Nathan Rice, Benjamin Aldrich, Rufus Harris, Caleb Knapp, Oliver Atwell, Amasa Hall, Wm. Cory, Moses Bradner, — Dean, Ezekiel Kellogg.

There was an early road opened along on the shore of Lake Ontario, following mostly the old Indian trail, from Pultneyville to Irondequoit. It preceded the opening of the Ridge Road. An informant of the author names Beman (or Benjamin) Hopkins, as the earliest settler upon this road—as early as 1806 or '7. He built a saw mill upon Bear Creek. He still survives ; the Rev. Alonzo Hopkins is a son of his ; another son is Patterson Hopkins, a merchant at Inman's Cross Roads. Noah Fuller, who had settled in Macedon in 1800, removed to the Lake shore in 1809 or '10. He was the father of Wm. A. Fuller, Esq., of Ontario : died in 1825. Other early settlers on Lake shore ; — Dennison, Willard Church, John Case, Wm. Middleton, (the father of James Middleton, who resides upon the homestead, and of Joseph, residing upon the Ridge;) Jared Putnam, Daniel Jennings. The Ridge, in town of Ontario, commenced settling in 1808 and '9, but settlement progressed but slowly. Daniel Inman settled at what was afterwards called "Inman's Cross Roads," in 1809 ; he opened a tavern as soon as Ridge Road was opened, so as to admit of travelling upon it with wheels, which was not until just previous to the war of 1812. He was the early P. Master ; emigrated to Illinois, where he died in 1848. — John Edmonds and Samuel Sabin, were settlers there soon after Mr. Inman. Abraham Smith, Deacon Wm. Billings, Isaac Simmons, Lewis Janes, George Sawyer, were early settlers along on Ridge, west of Inman's. The Pioneer at what is called "Ontario Corners," was Alfred Town, who removed to Michigan soon after the war ; Nathan Grant was also early in that locality. The

first physician in the neighborhood, was Dr. Wm. Greenwood. He died in 1840. Elder James Going was first P. M. at Ontario Corners. Noah Fuller, Daniel Inman and Ira Howard, built a saw mill at Inman's Corners, previous to the war.

Caleb Lyon, who as the reader will observe, was the early Supervisor of Ontario, in later years, settled at the mouth of the Four Mile Creek, where he laid out a village, projected a harbor, and drew around him at one time, a considerable settlement. His projected village proving a failure, he next pioneered the way to what was afterwards called Carthage, where he purchased 1000 acres of land, and had erected a few log shanties, when he sold the property, — (in 1816) — to Elisha B. Strong, Heman Norton, and their associates. Mr. Lyon soon after removed to the Black River country, where he was a large land proprietor. He was the father of the present Senator, "Caleb Lyon, of Lyonsdale."

Daniel Russell was the early tavern keeper on the road from Palmyra toodus; he died a few years since at an advanced age.

One of the earliest mercantile establishments in Walworth, was a branch of the pioneer store of Ira West, of Rochester.

Amos Thayer, from Millford, Conn., settled on Ridge, in town of Ontario, in 1810. He died in 1814. He was the father of Nathan, formerly of Palmyra, but more recently of Michigan, where he died in 1823; of Amasa, who resided the last years of his life in Waterloo; of Joel and Levi, twin brothers, who were prominent merchants at Palmyra, in an early day; now residents of Buffalo.

The town of Ontario, which originally embraced what is now Walworth, was organized in 1807. At the first town meeting in April, 1808, Caleb Lyon was chosen Supervisor, Geo. Matthewson Town Clerk; Samuel Millett, Benj. Randolph, James Buckley, Assessors; Ebenezer Trask, Ov. Poor. At the election, in 1810, the town gave 73 votes for Daniel D. Tompkins, and 25 for Jonas Platt. Thomas Bancroft succeeded Caleb Lyon as Supervisor, in 1811.

What has been remarked in other connections, in reference to all the region bordering on Lake Ontario, is especially applicable to the south west portion of Wayne. It was heavily timbered, the soil wet, and it has been after long years of toil, disease and other endurance, before the "better time" came. There were there the roughest features of Pioneer life, the dwelling upon which would be but a repetition of what has been said in other connections; and would hardly be credited by those who see the region as it now is, its magnificent farms; its whole aspect of plenty and prosperity.

In the year 1807, Major Wm. Rogers, (see page 386,) removed from Palmyra to Williamson, upon the Ridge, and opened a public house; first in all the distance from Oswego to Genesee River. There was then on the Ridge between the two points named,

but four families besides his own ; — those of Benjamin Atwater, John Holcomb, Alpheus Curtiss, and Peter Sharp. In the same year, Daniel Poppino removed from Orange county and settled on the Ridge west of Major Rogers, but afterwards changing his location, he became his successor in the public house, and the locality — the point where the Palmyra and Pultneyville road crosses the Ridge—now Williamson Corners — was in early years called “Poppino’s Corners.” Nathan Williams had opened a second public house at the Corners before Major Poppino succeeded Major Rogers. Major Poppino died in 1841, aged 64 years. He had been a Judge of Wayne county, a Supervisor and Justice of the Peace. Samuel S. (or T.) Poppino of Williamson, John J. Poppino, of Buffalo, Daniel Poppino of Walworth, are his sons.

At the session of the Legislature in 1809, ’10, Judge William Rogers of Palmyra, who was then one of the Ontario representatives in the Assembly, principally with the aid of members from the eastern and middle portions of the State, succeeded in getting an act of the Legislature for the construction of a Bridge over the Genesee River at Rochester ; and at the same time, one for the opening of a State Road from some point north of the Oneida Lake, via. the Ridge, to Genesee River. The Commissioners for laying out the Road were, Judge Geddes, Philetus Swift and William Rogers. Soon after this a post route was established from Weedsport, via. Cato Corners, and Ridge Road to Genesee Falls ; a weekly mail, carried in a two horse stage, soon succeeded.

The town of Williamson, embracing originally, what is now Williamson, Marion, Ontario and Walworth, was erected in 1802. The earliest records are those of 1804. In that year the town officers were : — Luke Phelps, Sup. ; David Douglass, town clerk ; Samuel Millet, Micajah Harding, Samuel H. Caldwell, Assessors ; Henry Lovell, Jonathan Hill, Wm. B. Cogshall, Com. Highways ; Abraham Pratt, Const. and Collector ; John Tiffany, Daniel Powell, Micajah Harding, Samuel H. Caldwell, Gideon Sherman, Ezra Phelps, overseers of Highways. The town meeting was held at the house of Daniel Powell. Fifty dollars were voted for the “destruction of noxious animals ;” four dollars for “bears’ heads, taken within the town.” Among the records of early roads, are : — “From Dinah Stiles’ lot, beginning at a beach stump,” to the “intersection of a road by the saw mill ;” “from the south-west corner of Nathan Stewart’s lot,” to a “beach tree on the north-west corner of lot number 4 ;” “from No. 13 in 3d range, through to the settlement in No. 13, in 2d Range ;” “from mouth of Little Salmon Creek to the road that leads from Palmyra to Sodus, a little south of Moses Blakesly’s new dwelling house ;” “from Sodus road near Wm. Sherman’s, to north side of Abraham Pratt’s improvement.”

Dr. Josiah Bennet was the first practicing physician on the Ridge, in what is now Wayne ; still survives, and continues practice.

The slow progress of settlement, in what is now Sodus, after the advent of Mr. Williamson, and the decline of his enterprises, is noted on page 394. From 1800 to 1811 and '12, about as many abandoned their backwood's homes, as there were of new settlers. Sickness, such as was incident to pioneer settlement in all the region bordering upon the south shore of Lake Ontario, was the principal cause. For many years agricultural improvements were in a great measure abandoned, and fishing, hunting, and trapping was a chief employment.


Among those attracted to that region as early as 1805, was Nathan Tuttle, who had been a semi-savage — a second "Indian Allan" — familiar with the bloody scenes of the Border Wars of the Revolution, and the participant in many of them. When but a boy, on the breaking out of the Revolution, he left his native place in Connecticut, and merged himself with the Indians, adopting their habits, joining their hunting and war parties, and in their stealthy descents with the tomahawk and scalping knife, upon the settlements of the whites. Familiar with all the middle and western portions of this state, with the position of the feeble settlements upon the Mohawk, the Unadilla and Susquehannah Rivers, he was a fit instrument for the use of the Johnsons, the Butlers, and Brant, when they sallied out from their retreats at Oswego and Niagara, to execute terrible vengeance upon their old neighbors. He was with Walter Butler, and Brant in their massacre at Cherry Valley. Soon after the war, under the influence of Missionaries who visited the Indians, he became re-civilized, and lived thereafter a reformed life. He cultivated a little land at Sodus, and though following his old habits of hunting and fishing, he bore the character of an honest man, and a Christian. He left the country in 1815, and died soon after.

The Ridge, in Sodus, was even, later in settling than at points already noticed. In 1811, the three brothers, Byram, Samuel, and Dr. Joseph Green, emigrated from Berkshire, Mass., and settled there. They were descendants of the early Plymouth colonists, of that name; one of whom was Samuel Green, who in 1649 was the successor of Stephen Dayer in the first printing establishment introduced into the colonies. He printed an edition of David's Psalms, and Elliot's Indian Bible; continued in the business at Cambridge for the long period of 50 years; died in 1702, aged 87 years. Joseph Green, the father of the brothers named, followed his sons to Sodus, in 1812. He was in the army of the Revolution, and after that a prominent and useful citizen of Windsor and Williamstown, in Berkshire county. Byram Green, taking a contract for 236 acres of land, in April, 1811, shouldered his axe, and entered the forest; wielding it until he had an opening of four acres; burning the brush and planting corn and potatoes among the logs. In the absence of a boarding place, he slept upon straw, in a hollow log, and

had but "cold collations," in the way of food. He built a log house during the summer, prepared his ground for wheat, and in October, having been joined by his wife, was fairly under way, providing for himself, through long years of industry and perseverance, the home and all the comforts that he is now in his declining years enjoying. Few men, if any, in all this region, have so often been called to fill public stations, or participate in public affairs in relations so varied. Commencing with a town office in 1812, he was for several years a supervisor, and ten years a magistrate. In 1816, he was elected a member of Assembly from Ontario, which he filled for four years, at different periods. In 1821, he was elected a member of the Senate of this state; in 1827 was appointed a Judge of the courts of Wayne county; 1829, a Deputy Collector, and Inspector of customs, at Pultneyville; in 1836, a Visitor to the Academy at West Point; in 1843, he was a member of Congress.*

Dr. Joseph Green, well educated, and skillful in his profession, was a useful new comer in the backwoods—acquired a large practice, but was destined to a short career. In 1814, soldiers who returned from the frontier, sick with the prevailing epidemic, became his patients; from whom he contracted the disease, of which he died, in August of that year. The brother, Samuel Green, and his wife, died of the same disease, the same season.

Elder Seba Norton, who is briefly noticed on page 399, was the first minister located in the town of Sodus. To what has already been said of him, may be added, in the language of a correspondent:—"His learning was but that acquired in the common schools of New England. It was not the display of rhetoric, or eloquence, that distinguished him, but rather the exercise of a sound and discriminating mind, united with a feeling heart and a devotion to the best interests of his neighbors, that secured to him the love and esteem of all within the sphere of his influence." When the invasion by a foreign foe was threatened in his immediate neighborhood, "fire was struck again from the old flint," the spirit of '76 was revived in him; he raised a company of "Silver Greys," led them to Sodus Point, in a dark night, and exchanged shots with an acquaintance of his youth—a British foe. As a minister of the

* The author, in these annals, has little to do with political history; otherwise, he could well associate Judge Green's name with a long series of legislative events. If he is not writing political history, he may be allowed to correct an error of its historian, Judge Hammond. At the session of the Legislature in 1824, Judge Green voted for, not against the Electoral Law—was one of the FOURTEEN, not one of the SEVENTEEN. At the special session of the Legislature, same year, he did not offer resolutions of censure against Gov. Yates for convening the Legislature. On the first day of the session, he offered resolutions, in substance, that the call of the extra session was unconstitutional; that it was inexpedient to legislate; and that with the concurrence of the Assembly, the legislature would adjourn. These resolutions were passed and sent to the Senate for concurrence. Mr. Flagg offered similar resolutions in the Assembly, which were laid on the table, and the resolutions of the Senate taken up and passed.  See Senate and Assembly Journals.

gospel, he was of that class of early ones, in all western New York, who were faithful, persevering, and enduring, when there were trials to encounter from which it is to be feared many of their successors of the present day would shrink.

Sylvanus R. Goodenough, and Mark Johnson, were the first two ministers of the Methodist denomination. They came to Sodus, in 1810. The former, after residing there a few years, emigrated to the west. The latter was an early and efficient helper, not only in his profession, but in promoting the cause of education, and all that tended to the prosperity of the neighborhood. He died in the midst of his usefulness.

Of prominent, early settlers of Sodus, who have not been mentioned, there were:—Enoch Morse, who was for eleven years Supervisor of the town, a Judge of the courts of Wayne county, and its representative in the Assembly; emigrated to Ohio in 1829. William Danforth was an early Supervisor, as was Robert A. Paddock. John Holcomb and Jenks Pullen were early magistrates. Other prominent early settlers:—Stephen Bushnell, Elisha and Noble Granger, Lyman Dunning, Daniel Armes, Elisha King.

Enoch Turner was the first settler upon the site of what was called in early years, "Turner's Corners"—now Sodus village.—in 1815. He opened the first tavern there, and was the first to engage in the mercantile business. He still survives, at the age of 76 years; and is still a tavern keeper.

The following is a list of "taxable inhabitants," in what is now Sodus and Lyons, when the "District of Sodus" was first organized in 1799. It is not to be presumed that they were all actual residents:—

Evert Van Wickle
John Van Wickle
Samuel Nelson
John Perrine
Chas. Cameron
Joseph Wood
John Riggs
Henry Beard
Joseph Taylor
George Case
Ralph Gregory
Robert Miller
Elijah Brown
Ephraim Cleveland
Henry Lovewell
Amos Richards
Daniel Towle

Azariah Willis
Moses Sill
Jabez Sill
Stephen Bushnell
Norman Merry
Leonard Stewart
Leonard Aldrich
Andrew Hillett
Timothy Smith
Wm. Coggeshall
Reuben Adams
Moses Blakesly
David Sherman
Lydia Cady
Robert Springer
Wm. Cook
Wanton Morey

David Sweezy
Samuel H. Caldwell
Daniel Russel
Robert Martin
Abraham Pratt
Nathan Stewart
Chas. Williamson
Richard Williams
Sanford Williams
Benjamin Wisner
Wm. White
David Trowbridge
John Taylor
Francis Dana
Wm. Dunn.

The reader familiar with early names in that region will observe that settlement was at that early period, almost wholly confined to Lyons and Sodus villages, and the roads leading from Palmyra and Lyons to Sodus. *

* The town of Lyons now embraces some territory on the south, which was not included in the District of Sodus.

The town of Lyons was erected in 1807. The first officers were : Gilbert Howell, Sup.; Gabriel Rogers, Town Clerk ; Joseph Bennett, Jacob Leach, Jesse Brown, Assessors ; John Tibbits, Collector ; Samuel Lovewell, Wm. Bolton, Jesse Brown, Com. Highways ; Joseph Bennett, Gabriel Rogers, Overseers Poor ; John Tibbits, Thomas Sutton, Constables. In 1812, '13, John Brown was Supervisor ; in 1814, Henry Hyde ; in 1815, Ezra Jewell.

The county of Wayne was erected in 1823. The primitive county officers were : John S. Talmadge, Wm. Sisson, David Arne, (or Armes,) Jonathan Boynton, Enoch Morse. Jacob W. Hallett, succeeded John S. Talmadge as First Judge. Hugh Jameson, Sheriff ; Wm. H. Adams, District Attorney ; Israel J. Richardson, County Clerk ; George W. Scott, Deputy ; Andrew J. Lowe, Geo. Sisson, Coroners.

The resident attorneys of the county, admitted to practice upon the organization of the courts, were : Wm. H. Adams, Graham H. Chapin, Frederick Smith, Orville L. Holley, Hiram K. Jerome, Wm. J. Hough, Joseph S. Colt, John Flemming, Jr., Hugh Jameson, Wm. Wells, Thomas P. Baldwin, Alexander R. Tiffany, Charles F. Smith, Edward M. Coe.

Names of the first Grand Jurors empannelled in the county :— John Adams, Abner F. Lakey, Wm. D. Wiley, John Barber, Jr., Lemuel Spear, David Warner, Ephraim Green, Wm. Voorhies, James Mason, Abel Wyman, David Russell, Cephas Moody, Stephen Sherman, Wm. Wilson, Wm. Plank, Alexander Beard, Jacob Butterfield, Daniel Chapman, Jeremiah B. Pierce, Freeman Rogers, Newell Taft, Pliny Foster, Joseph Lane.

W. H. Adams, who is incidentally mentioned in page 188, is of the earliest pioneer stock of the Genesee Country. He is the son of John Adams, and grandson of deacon J. Adams. ¶ See E. Bloomfield. With no advantages for acquiring an education farther than those afforded in Bloomfield and Canandaigua, at an early period, he entered the office of S. Coleman, of Bloomfield, as a student. As early as 1815 he had been admitted to practice, and became the law partner of E. B. Strong, and afterwards the partner of Mark H. Sibley. He was on the frontier in the war of 1812, as an Adjutant of Col. Blakeslee's Regiment ; participated in the attack upon the British invading force below Black Rock, on the morning of the 30th December, 1813. He removed from Canandaigua to Lyons, in 1822 ; was the first District Attorney of Wayne County ; in 1825, its representative in the Assembly ; has subsequently held the commission of a Brig. General of Militia. With the exception of George Hosmer, of Avon, he was the first lawyer who acquired an education, and the profession, in Western New York. When in the prime of life, he had

attained to professional eminence — as an advocate, had few if any superiors in the Western counties of the State. Relaxing somewhat in the practice of his profession, in late years he has been taking the lead in an enterprise of considerable magnitude — the construction of a branch canal from the Erie Canal to Sodus Bay.

Henry Towar, as mentioned in page 276, was one of the enterprising and intelligent Scotchmen that came to this country with Mr. Williamson in 1791. He was from Alloway. He was in the immediate employment of Mr. Williamson in the earliest years, as an agent, superintending the opening of roads, the building of mills, (especially those at Hopeton, on Seneca Lake, and at "Alloway," near Lyons.) Previous to 1796 he had engaged in the mercantile business at Newtown. In that year Louis Phillippe, late King of France, and his brothers, were introduced to him in a letter which they bore from Charles Cameron or Thomas Morris, of Canandaigua. Entertaining the party over night, he furnished them with provisions, a boat with hands to manage it, and saw them on their way down the River. Changing his residence, first to Hopeton, as early as 1805, he purchased the Alloway Mills, and soon became one of the largest merchant millers, in that early day, in all W. N. York, connected with which, were mercantile and farming operations of considerable magnitude. Opening a trade with Kingston and Montreal, he made a market for the wheat of a wide region, when such an enterprise was much needed. A deputy commissary in the war of 1812, the army upon the Niagara Frontier were at times much indebted to his spirit of enterprise and perseverance. He died at Knowlesville, Orleans county, in 1844, or '5, aged 73 years. His surviving sons are, James of Lyons, Jonas S. of New York; Geo. W., of Canada West. A daughter of his is the wife of Dr. L. C. Grover, of Knowlesville.

The first newspaper published in Lyons, (Lyons Republican,) was started in 1821, when the Erie Canal had given a spur to enterprise, and the village had commenced a rapid march of improvement. Its publisher was George Lewis. It was discontinued in 1822, and its place soon after supplied by the Lyons Argus, published by Hiram T. Day, a brother of David M. Day, whose name is so intimately blended with the history of the press in Buffalo.

The press was first introduced into Newark in 1829, by Jeremiah O. Balch, who commenced the publication of the Newark Republican.

CONTINUATION OF PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW ONTARIO.

The principal focus of early events in the whole Genesee Country -- what is left of old Ontario — the "ancient dominion," and mother

of a swarm of counties — has been mingled in all preceding pages. It had an identity with the whole region of Western New York, in early years, and has been blended in these — its local annals. There is little to add of it ; a brief recurrence to some of its prominent Pioneer localities, must suffice.

Canandaigua — the “ town ” of early times—the center of all that was transpiring in a wide region of backwoods settlements ; that in early years, to all Western New York, was what Rochester, Buffalo, Lockport, Batavia, Albion, Geneseo, Palmyra, Lyons, Geneva, Penn Yan, Bath, Dansville, Mount Morris, Angelica, Hornellsville, Cuba, Dunkirk, Attica, and Warsaw, is now, to sections and divisions of it ; the locality, to which the sites of now cities and villages, were once tributary ; was left, on page 187 of the body of the work, after a recognition of early events there, and its most prominent early citizens. To the list of names of early citizens, the following are added :—

Christian Westman	Nehemiah Newings	Richard Wells
Wm. Shepherd	George Baker	Enos Hawley
Titus Hayes	Asher More	Levi Tenney
Seth Thompson	Eben. F. Norton	Isaac Rider
Stephen Taylor	Joel Andrus	Wm. Chapman
Joshua Gidding	Wm. Straight	Wm. Thorn
Noah Heacox	Seth Lyon	Wm. Johnson
Asa Stanley	Ishmael Brickle	Seymour Woodruff
Chester Bunnell	Elijah Warren	Eliphalet B. Coleman,
Nathaniel Pierpoint	Ira Blake	Charles G. Fairman
James Cochrane	Virtue Bronson	Robert Flemming
George Baker	Frederick Rifford	Joshua M'Kinzie
John Sutherland	Abijah Merrill	Lewis Buckley,
Lemuel Castle	Elijah Rose	Wm. A. Wood
Jairus Rose	Daniel Budd	Robert Hopkins
Zachariah Seymour	Caleb Reed	Joseph Porter
Robert Little	James Brown	Isaac White
Reuben Hawley	Samuel Brocklebank	Robert Royce
Daniel Prindle	S. Boardman	S. Boardman.
Jonathan M. Beach	Nathan Spencer	

NEWSPAPER REMINISCENCES.

Old newspaper files are a rich source of historical and personal reminiscences ; crude and disconnected they may be — but nevertheless, enable us to catch glimpses of the past, and familiarize us with its events. A cotemporary line or paragraph sometimes conveys more than pages of after recollections, or after records. Emphatically, newspapers

“ Catch the manners living as they rise ;”

and their old files convey to us impressions of the past, as vivid and life-like, as the every day occurrences we are witnessing. So much, as an introduction to a medley, or chapter of “ odds and ends,” taken from the early files of the Ontario Repository and Ontario Messenger :—

1803. — "Conspiracy to monopolize the Onondaga Salt Springs." [This had reference to a project for leasing the Springs to Augustus Porter and his associates, for a term of 30 years.]

Election, "*Village of Troy*." "War between England and France; the mighty views of the Gallic Emperor are now no longer to be mistaken," is an editorial remark, appended. "Musical Association," [Canandaigua.] Wm. Shepherd, Clerk." "All persons having claims against Chas. Williamson, late of Bath," &c.;—[signed by John Greig and Thomas Morris.] "To Lease, Grist and Saw mill at Lyons;" — [signed John Johnson.] "William Johnson of Seneca," is found dead, upon the "banks of Seneca Lake, in Pittstown." "The Association of Ontario County" convened at the house of Abner Adams in Bloomfield, and recommended a day of "fasting and prayer," to avert the calamity of "God's judgment upon the land — the withholding of the rain from Heaven." Asa Danforth, Sup., "Onondaga Salt Springs," advertises for the return of "Salt Certificates." Thomas Hammer charges Benjamin Wynn with stealing \$14 from him. Court of conciliation organized, the members of which were, John Ewart, Hugh M'Nair, Phineas Bates, John W. Jones, Wm. Lemen, James Wadsworth, John Hampton, Jonathan P. Sill, James Sherer; who decreed that Hammer should withdraw the charge and acknowledge that it was unfounded; that the parties "should shake hands and part friends;" — [complied with] "Louisiana ceded to the United States." "Our Indian neighbors are peaceably disposed." — [Extract of a letter from Lexington, Ky.] It is asserted that a newly appointed Justice, in Oneida, not being able to read the marriage ceremony, was in the habit of letting his negro slave read it for him. "Humphrey Howland continues the surveying business in all its various branches." "John Lloyd, Leather and Fur Dresser, Glover and Leather Breaches Maker, Bloomfield." "Matthew Lyon of *spitting memory*, is said to be elected to Congress from Kentucky." "For sale, at the most reduced prices, upwards of three millions of acres of Holland Land Company Lands;" "Joseph Ellicott." "Died, at Boston, Hon. Samuel Adams, formerly Governor of Massachusetts." "De Witt Clinton is appointed Mayor of the City of New York." "Application will be made to the Legislature for the erection of a Bridge over the Genesee River, between the towns of Hartford and Southampton." Augustus Porter and Stephen Bates, advertise that they have cut a large quantity of hay, (wild grass,) "on the Genesee River, 14 miles above Allen's Hill," and are prepared to "winter the cattle of new settlers." "The Spanish Intendant of Louisiana openly declares his intention not to give up the country." "Committed to gaol;" [John, a Delaware Indian, killed Ezekiel Crane, on the out-let of Seneca Lake.]

1804. — "Lands for Sale," "87,000 Acres, on Triangle," "Richard M. Stoddard." "Married, in Bloomfield, Mr. John Merwyn, aged 78, to Mrs. Rachel Taylor, aged 70." "Died, at Easton, (Gorham,) Mr. Frederick Follet, a worthy and respectable citizen." The slave of Valentine Brothers, fled to Canada; was pursued by the master, captured, rescued by a "mob of armed negroes near Fort Erie;" afterwards delivered up by the Canadian authorities. "There are twenty runaway negroes at Fort Erie." "Died, at Charleston, Capt. Reuben Thayer." "Married, in Albany, Mr. James Sibley, of Canandaigua, to Miss Eliza Easterly, of the former place;" — [the

two are now, after the lapse of nearly half a century, residing at the Blossom House, in the city of Rochester.] "The public are respectfully informed that the subscribers will run a Mail Stage, twice a week, between Canandaigua and Albany," "through in four days;" "Levi Stevens." "With emotions that we have not a hand to inscribe, we announce the death of Alexander Hamilton." [Public meeting followed of citizens of Canandaigua, Myron Holley delivered an address.] "Mount Moriah Lodge, Palmyra, will be consecrated on the 10th inst." "Died, at Hartford, (Avon,) Joseph Elsworth, merchant, aged 24 years, son of Mr. Solomon Elsworth, of Connecticut." "Married, in Bloomfield, Rev. James H. Hotchkiss, to Miss Rebecca Hall." "On Tuesday, Sept. 9th, the Rev. Eliphalet Nott entered upon his duties as President of Schenectady College." "Died, in Albany, Gen. Philip Schuyler." "Married, Myron Holley, Esq., to Miss Sally House." Simeon De Witt, Surveyor General, advertises that the lands along the Niagara River, from Buffalo to Fort Niagara, have been surveyed, and are for sale; and that a "town has been laid out opposite Queenston."

1805.—Jan. 15; Charles Robins, of Canandaigua, and John Kennedy, of Sparta, were found frozen to death. "Capt. Metcalf and his son," of Middleton, (Naples,) had a severe combat with a wolf. "Married, at Middleton, Mr. Joseph Clark, to Miss Polly Sutton." "The Sac and Fox nations of Indians have ceded to our government a valuable tract of land, having a front of 600 miles on the Mississippi." "\$200 Reward!"—[For Stephen Arnold, a school teacher in Otsego, who had whipped a child to death for misspelling a word.] "Died, at Geneva, Gavin Lawson, Esq., aged 96 years." "Married, in Geneva, Mr. John Heslop, to Miss Nancy M'Kenzie; in Phelps, Mr. Samuel Oaks to Miss Fanny Beal." "Canandaigua Academy will be open on the 15th of August inst.; Dudley Saltonstall, Preceptor." Virtue Bronson, as agent, offers to lease the Mount Morris Flats.

1807.—[1806 omitted.] "Our government has established a store on the Sandusky River, for the accommodation of the Indians." "Died, in this town, at Bates' Hotel, Giles Blodgett, Esq., of Northfield," (Pittsford, or Penfield.) "Portage, Niagara Falls; Porter, Barton & Co., having leased the carrying place," &c. "Prices Current, Buffalo—Furs:"—"Otter, \$4 to \$5; Bear, \$4 to \$9; Beaver, \$2 to \$2.50;"—[Furs, the only article quoted, and in fact, about the only trade then going on in Buffalo.] "Died, in this town, Mrs. Alice Coleman, consort of the Rev. Eliphalet Coleman." "Forty Thousand Acres of Land for sale, in the town of Caladonia, formerly Southampton;" "Joseph Ellicott." William Markham, Matthew Warner, Peter Shaeffer, advertise that they will receive proposals for building a bridge across the Genesee River. At the election, this year, Ontario gave, votes for Governor, 2,700; Genesee, (all west of the Genesee River,) 811; Allegany, 65; Steuben, 277. "Ten Dollars Reward!—Runaway from the subscriber, a negro wench, named Dinah, taking with her a child named Jim." Canandaigua, July 4th, 1807; celebration 4th of July; a "regular" toast:—"George Clinton, the inflexible friend of Liberty,

"May he live,
Longer than we have time to tell his years!
Ever beloved and loving may his rule be!
And when old time shall lead him to his end,
Goodness and he, fill up one monument!"—[Three cheers.]

"Gov. Tompkins has appointed John C. Spencer, his private secretary."
 "Richmond, Va. — Bills have been found against Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, John Smith, of Ohio, Israel Smith, of New York, Comfort Tyier, Davis Floyd, and — — Ralston, in addition to those found against Col. Burr and Blennerhassett." [About this period the "affair of the Chesapeake" occurred — war with England seemed inevitable — the President's requisition for volunteers was promptly responded to in Western New York ; — 801 volunteered their services from the respective commands of Col. Peter B. Porter, Philetus Swift, Wm. Burnett, Parley Phillips, and Major Jabez French.] "Died in this town, (Canandaigua,) Dea. Enos Hawley — also on the same day, Marv, his wife." Drowned, in Canandaigua Lake, Mr. Robert Wiley, of Middleton" (Naples.) "Married in Bloomfield, Eleazer Ewer, aged 18, to Miss Alice Mott, aged 36." At Windsor, Conn., Heman Norton, of Bloomfield, to Miss Julia Strong." "Died, in this town, (Canandaigua,) Maj. Wm. Chapman, aged 53." "Total population of city and county of New York, 82,530."

1808. — In this year, Jesse Hawley was publishing in the Ontario Messenger, under the signature of "Hercules," his numbers, projecting the overland Erie Canal. "Patent Shearing Machine ;" — Notice is given that, "this ingenious invention will be put into operation at Taylor's Hotel, Canandaigua," to satisfy the public of its utility. The notice is signed by Eleazer Hovey, James Henderson, Silas Reed, and Ishabol A. Holden; dated at Pittstown; [Mr. Hovey was the inventor.] "Died, at Bristol, Capt. Nathaniel Richmond, aged 69 years." "Little Oliver, was the carrier of the Repository and Messenger, through all the settled region west of Canandaigua. His calls upon his subscribers for pay were generally in dogged rhyme; one of them closes after this fashion : —

"To bring you news next week I'll call
 With pleasure hope to see you all —
 Pray pay me well and let me go —
 Your humble servant, Little O."

"Died, in this town, John K. Gould, the senior editor of the Repository." "Stage coach to Niagara ;" "Will leave Canandaigua every Monday at 6 o'clock A. M., and arrive at Niagara, via. Buffalo, every Thursday, at 2 A. M.;" "Fare 6 cts. per mile." "Died, on Long Island, Mr. Nathan Spencer, of this town," (Canandaigua.) Stephen Bates wanted 75 lbs. whiskey transported from Canandaigua to Manlius; offered a barrel of salt for the transportation of each barrel of whiskey. "Free trade ! — The subscriber will launch, in a few days, a schooner of 25 tons burthen on Crooked Lake, intended as a regular trader, (the embargo to the contrary notwithstanding.) George McClure." Messenger publishes a letter from Thomas Jefferson, in reply to a congratulatory address, of a "Republican Committee" of Ontario county, of which Judge Lemuel Chipman was chairman.

1809. — "Died, in Lima, Mr. Simon Hovey, aged 51 years." "Married, at Aven, Mr. Wm. Stedman to Miss Mary Cook; Mr. Edward Whalley to Miss Isabell Scott; Mr. Benjamin Morgan to Miss Polly Webster; Mr. Orlando Brown to Miss Betsey Gould; Mr. Peter Strunk, to Miss Lovina Cartwright, Mr. Harren Hawley, to Miss Atty Merry; Mr. John Pierson to Miss Deby Ackley; In Sparta, Mr. Chas. Morgan to Miss Jane Nibleck; In Lima, Mr. Willard Humphrey to Miss Harriet Tinker." "Died, at his

residence near N. York, Mr. Thomas Paine, author of many valuable political works ;"— "In Lima, Matthew Peck, aged 51 years ;"— "In Canandaigua, Capt. Jacob White aged 45 years ;" "Mr. Daniel Warner, aged 57 years." "Married, in Canandaigua, Dr. Wm. Williams, to Miss Lucinda Barlow." "Died, in Farmington, Joshua Stafford, aged 61 years." "John C. Spencer, Atty. at Law, informs the public that he has opened an office in this village, (Canandaigua,) at the house occupied by the Clerk of the county." "Died, at Leicester, Genesee county, on his way home, to Sheldon, Roswell Turner, aged 43 years." "News for goslings !— a report is in circulation that Bonaparte is crazy and that his physicians have in consequence ordered his head to be shaved." "Married in Canandaigua, Mr. Asa Stanley, to Miss Tirza Maria Hayden ;" "In Genesee, Major Tom Lemen to Miss Catharine Faulkner ;" "In Snell, (Benton,) Isaac Lewis, Esq., of Lima, to Miss Arsena Eggleston, of Snell."

1810. — "Died, in Canandaigua, Nathaniel J. Potter, aged 34 years ;" "Near Philadelphia, Arnold Potter, Esq. of Middlesex." "New store! Mouth of Genesee River;" "Erastus Spalding." "Married, in Canandaigua, Mr. Isaac Davis, to Miss Betsey House;" "In Bristol, Mr. Peter Lyon, to Miss Nancy Kimball;" "In Honeoye, Mr. Daniel Short, to Miss Elizabeth Phillips;" "Died, in Caledonia, Asher Bates, Sheriff of the county of Genesee." "Affair of the Vixen!" "New Paper Mill at Dansville; N. Rochester & Sons." "Died in Bloomfield, Mrs. Hannah Gardner, wife of Peregrine Gardner." "Sarah Skellenger of Palmyra, publicly retracts allegations she had made against Mary Ann Parrott, of Boyle, and "believes her to be a virtuous and amiable young lady." "Married, in Canandaigua, Mr. Smith H. Salisbury to Miss Nancy Hyde." The last number of the Messenger published in 1810, contains census statistics. The entire population of what is now Monroe, east of the River, Wayne, except the eastern towns, Ontario, Yates, and Livingston, was: — Males, 21,835; Females, 19,681; Slaves, 211; Total, 42,026. The number of yards of cloth manufactured in the year 1810, in the county, was 524,532; or nearly 13 yards to every soul in the county. At that period nearly all the clothing worn, was of home manufacture.]

FROM BOOK OF MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS IN ONTARIO CLERKS' OFFICE.

In June 1796, a meeting of the "inhabitants of the District of Bloomfield" was convened at the house of Elisha Hopkins, to form a society "for the purpose of supporting a preached gospel." A constitution was adopted, and Asher Saxton, E. Hopkins, and Nathaniel Norton, were appointed Trustees.

In Sept. 1796, a "Presbyterian Congregation" was organized in "No. 8, 4th Range." Gamaliel Wilder, Aaron Rice, Theophilus Allen, were elected Trustees.

In 1798, a public Library was instituted at Geneva, by a meeting convened at Powell's Hotel. Trustees: — Pollydore B. Wizner, Ezra Patterson, Samuel Colt, David Cook.

"Bloomfield Religious Society," organized 1799, at a meeting of the inhabitants "of the westerly part of Bloomfield." Ebenezer Curtis and Samuel Handy, presided. Trustees:—Dan Canfield, Samuel Handy, Amos Hall, David Persons, Clark Peck, Robert Taft.

"Society Compact, of the first Congregational Society of Middletown," organized 1802: Edward Kibbe and Nathan Watkins presided. Trustees:—Benj. Clark, Joel Watkins, Simon Lyon, Jr. William Clark, John Mower, Stephen Watkins.

"Caledonia Presbyterian Religious Society," organized 1802; meeting convened "at the house of Peter Campbell;" Alexander McDonald and John McNaughton presided. Trustees:—Thomas Irvin, Duncan McPherson, Peter Campbell, John Christie, Peter Anderson.

"First Congregational Society of the town of Pittstown," organized 1803; meeting "at the house of Elias Gilbert: Gideon Pitts, Nathaniel Harmon and Elias Gilbert, were elected Trustees."

"Sparta Presbyterian Congregation," organized 1805; met at the house of John Smith. Trustees:—James Rosebrough, John Smith, Thomas Ward, Robert Burns, Hector McKay, John Vance.

"Congregation usually attending divine service in the town of Gorham," in 1807, met and organized a "Religious Society;" Jabez French, Zedekiah Morse, presided. Trustees:—Timothy Mower, John Blair, Jonathan Pratt.

"St. Paul's Church, Honeoye," organized 1808; "eight members present;" Rev. Davenport Phelps presided. Officers elected:—Lemuel Chipman and Thomas Wilson, Church Wardens; David Crawford, Mark Smith, David Aiken, Peter Allen, Sylvester Curtiss, James Henderson, Nathaniel Allen, Eli Hill, Vestrymen.

"Congregational Society of Charleston," (Lima,) organized in 1804. Trustees:—David Morgan, Wm. Williams, Asahel Warner, Jas. K. Guernsey, Simon Lathrop, Asa Taft. Library organized same year. Trustees:—James K. Guernsey, Asahel Warner, Jacob Stevens, Archibald S. Clark, Enos Frost, David Morgan, Richard Leech.

"Universalian Society of Vernon," (Benton,) organized 1808; met at the house of Elisha Coles. Trustees:—Levi Benton, of Vernon; Joshua Van Fleet, Farmington; Seldon Williams, Augusta; Jonas [name obliterated], of Northfield; George Hosmer, Hartford; Martin Dudley, Canandaigua; Samuel Babcock, Gorham; Lemuel Gould, Canandaigua. [This is presumed to have been the first organization of the kind. It embraced all of what was Ontario in 1808.]

"First Congregational Society of Northfield," organized in 1807; "met at log-school house;" Jabez Sanborn and Josiah J. Kellogg presided. Trustees:—Thomas Ramsdell, Abraham Brownson, Glover Perrin, Simon Stone, Orange Stone, Wm. Spear.

"First Presbyterian Society of the town of Gorham," organized 1808; John Russell and Wm. Rodman presided. Trustees:—John Hart, Samuel Reed, Mason Hatfield, Wm. Wickoff, Elijah Murray, John McPherson.

"Union Church," Lyons; organized in 1809; Lawrence Riley and Richard Jones presided. Trustees:—Lawrence Riley, Daniel Dorsey, Richard Jones, Nicholas Stansell, Wm. Wiles.

"Congregational Church," Geneseo; organized in 1811; David Skinner

and Cephas Beach presided. Trustees:—James Wadsworth, David Kneeland, Simeon Sage, Aaron Skinner, Timothy J. Kneeland, Wm. H. Speneer. "Congregational Society," Lima; organized in 1812; Stephen Whittaker and John Hall presided. Trustees:—Elijah Kelsey, W. Dickinson, David Hall.

The town of Seneca, which embraces the village of Geneva, has been mingled with events narrated in many of the preceding pages. It only remains to add (all the author's memorandums allow him to add,) additional names of Pioneers in that locality, and a few brief reminiscences:—

Augustus Dickinson, Thomas Sergeants, Joseph Annin, Thomas Howard, Wm. Hall, Jas. Reed, Samuel Rice, Epenetus Hart, John Lewis, Wm. Hall, Immer Crittenden, Charles Jackson, Phineas Stevens, Isaac Amsden, James Latta, Abraham Davis, Elisha Avery, Seth Mapes, Jephtha Earls, Samuel Taylor, Benjamin Dickinson, Jonathan Galloway, Simeon Amsden, Caleb Culver, Phineas Pierce, David Woodhull, Joseph Kilbourn, John Whitcomb, Samuel Wheedon, Wm. Tappan, Jacob Hallett, Jerome Loomis, Sanford Williams, Robert Morris, John Plumb, Jacob Hall, Frederick Boogher, Gideon Ball, Gamaliel Brockway, Burban Brockway, — M'Pherson, — Armstrong, Valentine Brothers, — Barnes, Nathan Reed, Thos. and William Utley, Seth Stanley, — Mullender, — Ringers, Caleb Rice, Edward Hall, — Clark, — Haines.

Township No. 10, in range 1, now embraced in the towns of Geneva and Phelps, was purchased by an association, principally of Conway, Massachusetts, similar to the one organized for purchase of other townships that have been named. Israel Chapin, the elder, Elias Dickinson, Jonathan Whitney, Jonathan Oaks, were among the purchasers, or share holders. In the spring of 1789, David Field was employed to go on and survey the township. Israel Chapin and his sons, Dickinson and Oaks, and Jonathan Whitney and his son Joel, and others, amounting in all to about twenty, arrived before the survey was completed. In drawing for lots, Israel Chapin drew lot 21, on which stood the "picket fort," about two-thirds of the Indian orchard, which Sullivan's army had girdled and cut down. The cleared field was covered with white clover and June grass; a growth of underbrush had sprung up, and the sprouts from the old apple tree roots had begun to bear fruit. Altogether, it was a marked and desirable spot in the then wilderness region. Gen. Chapin, determining to locate at Canandaigua, sold it to Messrs. Oaks and Whitney for fifty cents per acre. Mr. Oaks, not relishing "life in the woods," sold his share to Mr. Whitney, and returned home; but afterwards, as early as 1791, with renewed

courage, returned to the neighborhood. See page 224. Mr. Whitney, preparing a small spot, sowed it to wheat, and returned to Massachusetts. His sons Ami and Nathan Whitney, still reside in Seneca; another son, is Gen. Parkhurst Whitney, of Niagara Falls, the founder and proprietor of the well known "Cataract House." The old gentleman died in early years. The author gives the account of the advent of this early Pioneer family, as furnished him by Mr. Ami Whitney:—

"In March, 1790, my father, (having the fall previous carried his heavy goods to Schenectady,) started for his new home, with a span of horses and sleigh, accompanied by my mother, his sons Joel and Jonas, Wells Whitmore, as a hired man; leaving his two youngest sons in the care of his daughters, Mrs. Gates and Mrs. Crittenden, as they were not capable of taking care of themselves if the Indians should drive them off. Leaving most of the loading at Fort Stanwix, the party came on to Col. Danforth's at Onondaga Hollow. From there to Cayuga, there was no white settler. The men had occasionally to help the horses draw the sleigh; all even my mother, going on foot, wading in the snow and mud. Before arriving at Cayuga, they camped out two nights in the woods. Between Cayuga and Kanadesaga, (Geneva,) they were in the woods another night, destitute of provisions, except a crust of bread, and with no means of lighting a fire. They arrived at the foot of Seneca Lake at eight o'clock the next morning, and stopped at Col. Seth Reed's. The Colonel said it was pretty short times with them, they had but one loaf of bread, and no flour or meal; but he managed to give them some breakfast. Before noon, fortunately, some flour and meal came down the Lake, that had been brought up the Susquehanna, and my father purchased an immediate supply. Wild game and fish supplied all else of food. Early in the spring, my brother Joel and Wells Whitmore hired a man to go with them, with his boat, for our goods. In May Solomon Gates came on with oxen and one cow; the cow died, and consequently the family had to do without milk. In June, Solomon Warner came, with Deacon Oliver Whitmore, Thomas Densmore, and Wm. Gates. Of the nine who composed my father's household the first season, eight had the ague and fever."

Joshua Fairbanks, the son-in-law of Col. Seth Reed, joined him, with his wife, in 1791. He still survives, a resident of Lewiston, where he was also a Pioneer before 1800. He was for a long period one of the stage proprietors on the Ridge Road, between Rochester and Lewiston. An only daughter of his was the wife of Samuel Barton; the wife of Capt. Van Cleve, of Lake Ontario, is a grand-daughter. Among his earliest neighbors at Geneva, Mr. Fairbanks recollects Peter Bortle, Asa Ransom, Elisha Talmadge, Ezra Patterson, Thomas Sisson, Dr. Adams, Van Duzen, and Dr. Coventry, "over the Lake." Solomon Warner who lived at the

Old Castle, is mentioned in connection with the town of Phelps. Those whose names have been given, were nearly all in the country before 1795; all of them, it may be presumed, before 1800. Nathan and Taft Reed still survive, aged over eighty years; Seba Squires, over ninety years.

The father of Dr. Erastus B. Woodworth, emigrated from Saratoga county, and settled in Benton, in 1798; he died in 1800. Dr. Woodworth commenced the study of medicine with his brother-in-law, Dr. Fargo, who was an early physician in Yates, and continued it with Dr. Goodwin, in Geneva. Admitted to practice, he settled at Flint Creek, in 1807, where he was an early post-master, landlord and merchant. He was a deputy sheriff under Stephen Bates; an acting magistrate for sixteen years; survives, at the age of seventy-two years. He is now a widower, and childless; two sons and a daughter having died, after arriving at adult age.

In the village of Geneva, and town of Seneca, the earliest roads in the Genesee country were surveyed. Some of the earliest ones were: — "From Timothy Allen's house, on bank of Seneca Lake, to west line of town." "From Elisha Talmadge's, to west line of James Latta's lot." "From Tuttle's, running on old pre-emption line to south bounds of town." "From James Rice's house, eastward, to Seneca Lake, five miles." "From James Rice's house, to the Canandaigua Indian road." "From David Woodhull's, to the pre-emption line, as the road is marked." "From Capt. Patterson's dwelling house, to James Latta's farm." "From Immer Crittenden's, to Timothy Kilbourn's saw-mill, on Flint Creek." "From Mr. Barney's farm, to bounds of county and district." "From the Old Castle, to John Reed's." "From square in Geneva, to north bounds of Jerusalem, via. a frame erected by Deodat Allen." "From James Rice's, to Canandaigua road, before James Latta's door." "From Cashong Landing, to Dr. Caleb Benton's saw-mill." When these roads were established, they probably constituted more than one-half of the surveyed roads in all the region west of Seneca Lake.

When Col. James Bogart relinquished the editorial chair of the Geneva Gazette, in 1833, a post he had well filled since 1806, he gave some account of Geneva "as he found it," in 1805, from which the author gathers the facts, that then the village contained but sixty-eight dwellings, stores and store-houses; thirty-five on Main street; seven on Seneca street; eighteen on Water street; five on Castle street; two on Genesee street, and one on Pultney street. In 1806, there was added but five or seven tenements. The north side of Seneca street was used, for years after, as a mowing field. "Agriculture then held dominion where Commerce now presides in the fulness of her pride and prosperity." The population was 325. There was no church, and scarcely a congregation. The retiring editor contrasted the past, with the then

present, (1833.) and the contrast was one flattering to the pride of the citizens of that beautiful "gate-way," or entrance, to the empire region of the Empire State. The contrast of its condition in 1833, with its present condition, in 1851, would afford evidence of still more rapid progress.

Naples, at the head of Canandaigua Lake, was originally called "Watkinstown;" taking its name from Wm. Watkins, of Berkshire, Mass., who was one of the original purchasers of the township, from Phelps & Gorham. He commenced a settlement there as early as 1789, or '90. Jabez Metcalf, Wm. Clark, Benjamin Clark, Nathan Watkins, Joel Watkins, Stephen Watkins, Simeon Lyon, Jr., John Mower, were among the early settlers: and the author would have added more of the early Pioneer locality, if he had been furnished with the means to do so, as was promised. The Duke Liancourt, visited the new settlement in 1795, on his way from Bath to Canandaigua, at which time it would appear, there was a considerable settlement. He speaks of "Capt. Metcalf," with whom he staid over night, his "lands, inn, and saw-mill;" and mentions the fact that the new settlers had started a school.

What has been said of Victor, in preceding pages, embraced little more than the advent of the first Boughton family. Farther reminiscences are added:—

Asa Hecox, of Waterbury, Conn., came to the Genesee country soon after the advent of Oliver Phelps; engaging in the Indian trade, he wintered in 1788, '9, on the Genesee River. As early as 1790, he had brought on his family, and was living in a small log shantee, half a mile from Fort Hill, in Victor. He was an early magistrate, and one of the Judges of Ontario; an early P. M. and tavern keeper:—possessed of fine talents, without being a lawyer by profession, he was a useful counsellor, often, in early years, supplied the place of a lawyer, in drafting deeds, and other business papers. He died in Richmond, in 1829. His son, Vine W. Hecox, was killed at the battle of Queenston. Mrs. Oswald Williams, formerly of Batavia, the mother of Mrs. A. K. Amsden, of Rochester, is a daughter of the early Pioneer, and well remembers the occurrences of early years: the Indian camps upon Victor flats; Fort Hill; the numerous relics of ancient, and Indian occupancy, and the French relics of De Nonville's invasion, and battle with the Senecas.

In 1790, Ezekiel Scudder, who had been residing at the settlement commenced by the Boughtons, pushed a little farther on, and made an opening upon a small plat of intervale, on the farm now owned by Charles Fisher, Esq., in Mendon. He belled his oxen and let them run in the woods at night, securing himself from the

attack of wolves, by sleeping in a tree top. He was living, a short time since, in Cattaraugus or Chautauque. He was the brother of Joel Scudder, who was the earliest to break into the woods, south of Mount Hope, in what is now Henrietta.

Joshua, Joel, Elisha, Norman, Reuben, and John Brace, were of the earliest class of settlers of Victor. Joel, the first practicing physician, died in early years.

Abraham Boughton, a cousin of Enos and Jared, came in 1790. He was the father of De Forrest and Henry Boughton, and Mrs. Asa Root, of Victor. Nicholas Smith, a brother-in-law of Enos and Jared, died in early years.

The names that follow, are of those who were in Victor in early years: — Joseph Rowley, the early tavern keeper, died in Victor some fifteen years since; was the father of Jirah Rowley, an early Canal contractor; daughters, Mrs. Abner Adams, of Adams' Basin, Mrs. Bushnell, of Victor, Mrs. Frederick A. and Mrs. Ira Hart, of Victor, and Mrs. Pullen, of Bloomfield. Ezra Wilmarth yet survives, at the advanced age of eighty-one years; is the father of Otis Wilmarth, of Victor, and Lyman Wilmarth, a prominent and enterprising citizen of Pittsburg; daughters, Mrs. Ball, of Victor. Mrs. Bartholomew, of Wisconsin, and Mrs. Samuel Gillis; another daughter was the first wife of John M. Hughes, of Cleveland. Peter Turner, died in 1817 or '18; had a family of sixteen children, most of whom became adults. Alvin Turner, of Milan, Ohio, and Lyman Turner, of Iowa, are his sons; Mrs. Delano, of Macedon Locks, is a daughter. The three brothers, Enos, Samuel, and James Gillis, were settlers in Victor soon after 1800. They established an early tannery. James was an officer in the war of 1812, taken prisoner and carried to Quebec. He married a daughter of John Ridgeway, of Philadelphia, and now resides at Ridgeway, in that State, of which village he is a principal founder. Enos resides in Calhoun county, Michigan, and Samuel in Lucas county, Ohio. Ebenezer Stone, was the early wheelwright, furnishing a wide region with "big" and "little" wheels, essential articles in every household, in those primitive days of out and indoor industry; the pianos, upon which the early Pioneer mothers, and their daughters, used to play,

"From morn 'till night;
From dew, to dusky eve."

Eleazer Boughton, an early tavern keeper; the predecessor of the elder Mr. Dyer, died in 1846; Asahel, Caleb, Eleazer and Myron H. Boughton, of Victor, are his sons; Mrs. John Powell, of Victor, a daughter. Thomas and Abner Hawley. Aaron Ingersoll, (died in Brighton many years since,) his sons, Thomas and Erastus, built the Irondequoit embankment; now reside in Michigan. Isaac Marsh, still survives, at an advanced age; his eldest son, Dr. Eras-

tus Marsh, formerly of Rochester, was killed by the explosion of a steam boiler, at New-Orleans, just as he was stepping ashore on his return from California; other sons, Daniel Marsh, a lawyer in Michigan, and Isaac Marsh, of Lockport. — Ketchum, father of Wm. Ketchum, of Buffalo. Solomon Griswold, early constable and collector, emigrated to Ohio. Abijah Williams, died a few years since, at an advanced age; father of Mrs. Asahel Moore, of Victor. Josiah and Jabez Morehouse. Asahel Moore, still survives, has many descendants; is the father of Robert B., of Victor, and Wm. Moore, of Dansville. Simeon Parks, is still living, at an advanced age; is the father of Hiram, Alvin H., and Philo Parks, of Victor. Joseph Perkins, one of the earliest, died in 1850, aged eighty-six years; was the first in Victor to get milling done at the Allan mill, at "Genesee Falls;" started with two yoke of oxen, cut his own road a part of the way; was five days going and returning; Joseph and Ansel Perkins, of Victor, are his sons.


Isaac Root, Israel M. Blood, and James Upton, were among the earliest: came in batteaux, navigating the Ganargwa as high up as their location in Victor. Surviving sons:—Stephen H. of Victor, Nathaniel H. of Perrinton, and Roswell M. Blood, of Henrietta; Lorin and Noah Root, of Victor; Josiah, James, and Edward Upton, of Victor, Wm. W. Upton, of Lansing, Michigan.

At a pretty early period, Barnhart, Sales, Connover, Kline, Lane, Germans, from the Mohawk, settled on Victor Flats. The descendants, in Victor, are quite numerous. James Barnhart and Peter Sales, still survive.

Nathaniel O. Dickinson, was an early tavern keeper, on Boughton Hill; an army contractor in the war of 1812; a prominent, enterprising citizen: removed to Perrinton, where he died in 1849; Charles H. and Thomas Dickinson, of Perrinton, are his sons. [Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson was a school teacher, on Boughton Hill, in early years.]

Dr. Thomas Beach was an early physician; died in 1840; had for many years an extensive practice; was in service in the war of 1812. Dr. Ball, of Victor, was a student of Dr. Beach; married his daughter, and succeeded him in practice; another daughter became the wife of Allen Hutchins, of Lenawee, Michigan.

William Bushnell was the first permanent merchant, and was only preceded by Enos Boughton. He was a brother of the late Frederick Bushnell, of Rochester. He died in 1827, leaving an only daughter, who became the wife of David H. Osborne, of Victor. Nathan Jenks, his early clerk and partner, is a resident of La Grange, Indiana.

David Stout, was an early hatter in Victor, and subsequently, in Perrinton; the father of Z. Barton Stout, of Allen's Hill.  A grand-daughter of his—the daughter of Z. Barton Stout, Esq.,—is connected in marriage with the early Pioneer family, the Gar-

linghouses of Richmond. This is intended as the correction of an error on page 205.

A Congregational society was organized at an early day. Their first clergyman was the Rev. Abiel Parmalee, who was succeeded in 1812, by the Rev. Reuben Parmalee, who was the settled minister for twenty-five years. A church was built in an early day, called "the Subscriber's Church." Their present church was built in 1830. A Methodist society was organized in early years; they built a church in 1820. A society of Universalists now occupy the primitive church building.

Jirah Rowley built a mill, in an early day, on a small spring brook, on the farm of Peter S. Bonesteel. The first permanent mill was built by Ezekiel Scudder, on the Ganargwa Creek, in what is now called East Victor. Another early mill was built by Ambrose Ford, on the Irondequoit, on the site now occupied by his son, Ezekiel Ford. As early as 1812, Rufus Dryer, Nathaniel O. Dickinson, and James Parmalee, built a mill on "Big Brook."

As early as 1804, or '5, Victor, and its neighborhood, was infested with a gang of horse thieves. It was a formidable combination: the ring-leader a Canadian, by the name of M'Bane. They would steal horses and secrete them in the dense swamps, removing them when excitement and pursuit had subsided. A meeting was called, an armed force organized, to break them up. Some of the gang were discovered endeavoring to catch a fine mare, belonging to Peter Turner; the alarm went through the neighborhood; the citizens assembled, and stationed guards at all the points where the thieves would be likely to pass. While his confederates were skulking, and endeavoring to catch the mare, M'Bane, the leader, reconnoitered, to see if the citizens were all quiet. In passing Solomon Turner, a sentinel, he was hailed, asked for the watch-word, and turning to run, Turner fired, the ball passing through his hip. He walked forty rods and fell. He was carried to the goal at Canandaigua, and placed under the care of Dr. Dungan, but lived but a few days. He was a regular brigand, of uncommon size, and well armed with pistols and knives. It effectually broke up a gang of horse thieves, that had been a great annoyance.

The anecdote of a primitive blacksmith shop, which was either in what is now Victor, or East Bloomfield, (and it makes no difference, so far as a capital joke is concerned,) should not be omitted. The inveterate joker, Asa Hecox, going on an old Indian trail, to mill, met a man on foot, carrying a plough-share, who inquired how far it was to a blacksmith shop? "You are in the shop now," said Hecox, "but it is about four miles to the anvil." The blacksmith had built up a forge, erected a bellows, and was blowing and striking, with all out-of-doors for his shop.

The town of Victor was first organized in 1813; the first town officers, Jacob Lobdell, Supervisor: Nathaniel Boughton, Ezra

Wilmarth, Selleck Boughton, Assessors; Ezekiel Scudder, Elisha Williams, Joseph Brace, Commissioners Highways; Rufus Dryer, James Upton, Overseers Poor; Solomon Griswold, Constable and Collector.

Records of early road surveys transferred to town book of Victor: — 1796 — "From Hezekiah Boughton's, to Genesee road, near Elisha Haskins." "From a stake near Asa Hecox's house, to Miller's Corners." 1798 — "From Seymour Boughton's, to Mud Creek Landing." 1801 — "From Rowley's to Northfield."

The Indian trail that came from the foot of Canandaigua Lake, crossed the Ganargwa Creek a little north of Steele's Mills, passed a fine spring about a mile east of Boughton's Hill, on the Ebenezer Stone farm, where there were many relics of Indian occupancy; kept along on the east end of Wm. Dickinson's and Belden Seymour's farm; striking the flats, crossed the farm of Isaac Root, then up near Pittsford road, over the farm of the Messrs. Dryers, keeping the ridge of highland to — Bonesteel's; passed over the low ground a little east of Pittsford village: crossed Allen's creek a little below Pittsford road: branching off, one trail went down to the Bay, another to the Genesee River, at the old fording place, above the Aqueduct. Another trail went from Boughton Hill, through Mendon to the River, opposite Scottsville, where it struck a trail from Canawaugus, to Irondequoit Bay.

There are few localities in all Western New-York, so abounding in matters of historical interest, as Boughton Hill, Victor Flats, and their immediate vicinity. There were, in an early day, the mounds, the rude implements of war and the chase, that marked the occupancy of a race, whose history or identity are lost — of whose existence, even, we have but the evidence afforded by these mysterious relics. When the Pioneers of our own race first sought out the spot, there were here and there, in hill and valley, in the ravines, and around the pure, refreshing springs that gurgled at the base of the bluffs, evidences that here was once a favorite abiding place of the Seneca branch of the once powerful and warlike Iroquois: here were the charred remains of their wigwams, their burial places, teeming with the smouldering remains of by-gone generations: here they worshipped the "Manitou" of their simple creed: here they held their war and peace councils; here erected their war post, and danced around it, recounting their brave achievements, over their own race, in regions far off to the south, where the terror of their war whoop gave them victory before the battle had begun: or far off to the north, upon the St. Lawrence, the rivers of Maine, or at the west, upon the borders of the Lakes. Here, in proud defiance of both Yonondio* and Corlear,† when their swift-footed messengers, ranging the shores of Lake Ontario, had warned them that the

* The French Governor.

† The English Governor.

French Governor, De Nonville, was upon its waters — his "canoes" darkening their surface — his army, a host — weak in numbers, but Spartans in desperate courage, they resolved to stand, and baffle, if they could not resist, the march of the powerful invaders of their soil.

The reader, with antiquarian, historical inclinations, may stand in the streets of the quiet, rural village, and a landscape is spread out before him, attractive enough, in its present condition of cultivated valley and upland — bluffs and ravines; its interest increased by historical associations. Down yonder slope, where flocks and herds are grazing — where grain fields are waving with the breeze, and orchard fruits are ripening, came the armed men of "gay and gallant" France, in her day of conquest and pride, of chivalry and national pre-eminence; in its ranks, those in whose veins ran the blood of her noblest families; at its head, one, decorated with the insignias of his proud monarch's favor and confidence. Yonder highest bluff, at the base of which, is the Rail Road station, was the "Babylon of the Tsonnontouans," the Abbe de Belmont, and the Baron La Honton, so well describe. There is "the high hill, surrounded by three little hills, or terraces, at the foot of a valley, and opposite some other hills." Further off, to the right, is "Guh-a-you-dok," or now "Fort Hill," which, says De Nonville, "was on a very advantageous height, distant half a league from Gan-na-ga-ro," (Ga-o-sa-eh-ga-aah, or Boughton Hill;) and here, in the valley, upon a small stream, near where it issues from the cedar swamps, is the "twenty arpens of land," described by Belmont; now smiling under the hand of cultivation; then, the "Dya-a-go-di-yu," or main battle field, of the French and the Senecas.

Upon yonder hills, and in this valley, thickly strewn in the soil, when Pioneer settlement and cultivation commenced, were unmistakeable evidences of that conflict; and even now, the plough often discloses them.* And lingering in this beautiful valley, as if loth to surrender it to the new comers — in their rude huts — were a remnant of the same proud and warlike Senecas, that so humbled the pride of the invader — baffled him by their prowess and strategy, if they could not wholly arrest him in his raid with the sword and torch. The shouts of a foreign invader, the war whoop, were once echoed and re-echoed in this valley, and through those ravines. Years have rolled on; time has wrought its wonderful changes; the best branch of the Iroquois have faded away; the then small English colonies about the Bays of New England, and upon the Hudson, have spread over their hunting grounds and battle fields; on, on, beyond them, around the Western Lakes, throughout the broad vallies of the Mississippi; and on, on, over wide deserts, and mountain barriers, to the shores of the Pacific!

Lead balls, French "bill axes," gun barrels, locks, pieces of broken swords, French coins, &c.

[An early lawyer of Bloomfield, should have been mentioned in connection with that locality. Isaac Marsh, Esq., whose wife was a sister of the wife of Nathaniel Norton, was a resident of Onondaga, the neighbor of Messrs. Danforth and Tyler, as early as 1794; in 1795 became the partner of Gen. Walter Wood, in what is now Aurora, Cayuga county; in 1810, removed to East Bloomfield, where he died, in 1820. His widow survives, a resident with her son-in-law, Nathaniel Clark, Esq., of Rochester. Henry B. Marsh, of Detroit, and Oliver Marsh, of Hillsdale, are his sons.]

CONTINUATION OF PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW YATES.

Little has been said in the body of the work of that earliest Pioneer locality — that portion of the old county of Ontario which is now Yates — other than what related to "The Friend," and her followers. In fact, they constituted its prominent feature, during all the period that is generally intended to be embraced in these annals. In this connection, some farther reminiscences of them will be added, and less of the early settlements of that region, other than what related to them, than the author had hopes of acquiring.

The law for the erection of Ontario county, was passed January 27th, 1789. It was declared to be expedient, as the county of Montgomery "is so extensive, as to be inconvenient to those who now are, or may hereafter settle in that country." By the act, the "Justices of the Court of Sessions" were authorized to divide the county into districts, as they should deem expedient. The primitive division constituted the five Districts: — "District of Canandaigua," "District of Tolland," "District of Sodus," "District of Seneca," "District of Jerusalem," and other districts were soon added, as settlement progressed. For one or two years, this division was but little more than nominal, no actual organization having been had, but in the District of Canandaigua, which included the entire county. In 1792, the Districts of Seneca and Jerusalem had separate organizations.* In that year, the first tax rolls in the Genesee country were made out, and the first tax collected. The roll for the District of Jerusalem has been preserved. The names upon it are inserted: —

*Peleg Briggs
*Peleg Briggs Jr
*John Briggs †
*Isaac Nicholst
*John Suppleet

*Castle Dean
Amos Garnsey
*Reuben Luther
*George Sisson†
*Eleazer Ingraham

*Abel Botsford†
Benajah Mallory
*Benjamin Brown
John Blake
*Anna Wagener

* On page 232, it is assumed that the first organization of the District of Seneca, was in 1793: and that Ezra Patterson, was first supervisor. From farther investigations the author is disposed to conclude that an organization was had the year previous.

Wm. Davis	*Sheffield Luther	*Elijah Botsford†
Wm. Robinson	*Ezekiel Sherman	Barnabus Brown
*Micajah Brown	Noah Richards	Levi Benton
*Elijah Brown†	Hezekiah Townsend	Samuel Taylor
*Beloved Luther	Joseph Sanders	Daniel Brown
Thomas Sherman	*Enoch and Elijah Malin	James Spencert
James Hathaway	Stephen Card†	Martin Spencer
Lewis Birdsall	Benedict Robinson†	Richard Hathaway
*Daniel Brown Jr	Sarah Nichols	Philemon Baldwin
*John Lawrence†	*Elnathan Botsford	James Scofield
*Abraham Dayton†	*Mary Aldrich	George Wheelert
*Richard Smith†	*Susannah and	John Pond
*Adam Hunt†	Temperance Brown†	Pearley Dean
*Silas Hunt†	Jonathan Dean	Robert Chissom†
*Silas Spink	*Asabel Stonet	Truman Spencer
Thomas Prentice	*Jonathan Botsford	Abraham Voke
*James Parkert	Jacob Wagener	Edward Walworth
*David Wagener†	Jedediah Holmest	
Jesse Dean	*Thomas Hathaway†	

The roll is signed by Israel Chapin, James Spencer, Thomas Lee, "Supervisors of Ontario county." The warrant is directed to "Thomas Hathaway, Jr., Collector of the District of Jerusalem." Mr. Hathaway still survives. He remarks that "it was with much difficulty he found all the tax payers, as they were scattered in the woods, and most of them away from roads." The total amount of tax was £44, 18s. 6d., New-England currency. The collector was ordered to pay £20 "to the overseers of the poor of the District of Jerusalem," and £24, 18s. 6d., to James D. Fish, the county Treasurer. The five largest holders of real estate, were :— David Wagener, Richard Smith, Levi Benton, Samuel Taylor, and Benedict Robinson. The five largest holders of personal property, were :— Abraham Dayton, Sarah Richards, (who represented "The Friend,") Samuel Taylor, Benjamin Brown, Benedict Robinson.

The Pioneer mills of all the Genesee country, to which, as the reader has observed, the new settlers plodded their way through long wood's roads, built by Abraham Dayton, was sold by him to David Wagener, on the "27th day of 'ye 12th mo. 1791." The consideration for grist mill and saw mill, was £150; for "improved lands adjoining," £50. The deed is witnessed by Daniel Garnsey, (who would seem to have been a surveyor,) and Barnabas Brown.

In a memorandum, made by the wife of Abraham Dayton, forty-five years ago, the author finds an allusion to an encounter she had with a snake, soon after her husband erected his mills, the particulars of which, he has learned from a daughter of hers, who has often heard her mother relate the story :— Passing along the bank of a stream, (the outlet of the Crooked Lake, it is presumed,) she saw a black snake, of large size, entwined around the limbs of a tree,

* Followers, or disciples, of the "Universal Friend." † Have descendants living in Yates county. ‡ The Pioneer upon the Lake shore, near Sodus. ¶ See page 394.
 † Grandfather of Wm. Mallory, and Mrs. Wm. H. Bush, of Batavia.

hanging over the stream. Arming herself with a stick, she stepped upon a pile of boards, struck the snake; it loosened its hold and fell; the boards upon which she stood giving away at the same time, she was precipitated down the bank a distance of forty feet, accompanied in her fall by the snake and the pile of boards. Her husband, coming to her aid, found her standing in the water, the bones from a broken leg protruding through the skin and stocking, while with a stick in her hand, she was beating off the snake, that in its turn, had become the assailant. The broken leg had to be set and dressed, in the absence of a surgeon.

It is said, on page 225, that Mrs. Dean made the first cheese in the Genesee country. Mrs. Dayton, probably, preceded her in that line. Her curd was laid in a hoop, on a stump, and stones were put on, to press it. In her life-time, the old lady would relate many interesting reminiscences of those early years, in Jerusalem; years of disease, and privations. In the season of extreme scarcity of food — 1789, — it was often her province to relieve the destitute, by sharing with them the stock of provisions her husband had brought into the country. In that season, she used to say, many families subsisted for days and weeks upon milk and boiled nettles. Emigrating to Burford, Canada West, in the early year, 1794, she there had a renewal of the scenes of Pioneer life. Col. Dayton, dying in 1797, the boards for his coffin were carried twenty-five miles, through the woods, on horseback. In 1799, having become the wife of Col. Stone, she removed to Gananoque, of which he was the founder. Her trials were not ended. In the war of 1812, she was shot through the hip, by a marauding party of soldiers, who went over from the American side, and attacked her dwelling, for the purpose of plunder. She died in 1843, aged ninety-three years.

Early settlers, not named in other connections, in what is now Milo, Benton, and Torrey: — M. F. Shepherd, — Norris,* John Plympton, Robert Buckley, Samuel Hartwell, George Nichols, Alexander Nichols, Jesse Brown, Truman Spencer, Abner and Elisha Woodworth, Squire Kelsey, David Fisk, Ezra Cole. Mr. Townsend, whose name will be found on the tax roll, kept a public house, about a mile east of Penn Yan, on the Dresden road. Robert Chissom, built the first framed house in Penn Yan. Wm. Cole was a Metho-

NOTE. — The snake was of a species sometimes called "black racers," a few of which were seen in this region after settlement commenced. They were usually from five to six feet long; climbed trees, suspending themselves from limbs, by the tail. Like the anaconda, they wound around, and strangled their prey.

* Undoubtedly the first regularly established merchant, although Maj. Mallory, who has been mentioned, may have been a trader in a small way. The Duke Liancourt, visiting the region in 1795, says, "The point where we arrived at the banks of Seneca Lake, contains a settlement of about three or four houses, among which, that of Mr. Norris, is most conspicuous; it is a small, neat log house, handsome in its appearance, and connected with another, in which he keeps a store." "A pot and pearl ash works forms no inconsiderable portion of this small settlement."

dist preacher, and opened a public house at Benton Centre. John Plant, and Esther Briggs, who lived together in a state of "single blessedness," near Norris' Landing. John, dying in early years, left "Aunt Esther," for many years, the sole occupant of a beautiful spot, shaded by trees, on the shore of the Lake. She had a decided liking for cats, of which she kept many, petting them even to the indulgence of table companionship. She died in extreme old age, leaving her property to distant relatives.

Thomas Lee, died many years since, at an advanced age. Thomas, a son, who held the commission of Colonel, upon the frontiers, in the war of 1812, now resides in Dexter, Michigan. Another son, Dr. Joshua Lee, an early practicing physician in Yates; a member of the State Legislature, and a representative in Congress, died in Yates, a few years since. James Lee, another son, resides in Milo.

The first settler of the town of Starkey, was ——— Eddy, an Irishman; thence the name, Eddytown. He returned to Ireland, about twenty years since. Mrs. Berry and Mrs. Brown, residing near Dresden, are his daughters. Other early settlers: — Ezra Torrence, ——— Cahoon, ——— Royce, two brothers Hurds, ——— Bennett, near Dundee, which was first called "Bennett's Settlement." Samuel Harpending, who yet survives, a resident at Dundee, opened a public house there, and the locality was long known as "Harpending's Corners." Dr. Walter Wolcott, was an early practicing physician in Starkey; still survives, a resident of Dundee.

In addition to names upon the tax roll, of those who were early settlers of what is now Jerusalem, there were Ezekiel Sherman, and John Beddod. Mr. Beddod, was an Englishman, to whom James Wadsworth, when in England, sold seven thousand acres of land, adjoining Friends' lands, in Jerusalem, at two dollars per acre. He settled on the one thousand acres now owned by John Rose. The farm of Henry Rose, is also on the Beddod tract. He died in 1830. Lynham J. Beddod, is a son of the early adventurer. A daughter became the wife of ——— Stafford, a merchant in Geneva.

The early settlers of what is now Barrington, were Messrs. Shoemaker, Mapes, and Knapp.

Among the earliest sales of Phelps and Gorham, was that of forty-six thousand acres, in what is now Potter and Middlesex, to Wm. Potter, a wealthy citizen of Newport, Rhode Island. His sons, Arnold, Simeon, Edward and William, were all early settlers of Yates; Arnold being the principal manager of the property, locating on what is called the "Potter farm," in the town of Potter. He was an early Judge of Ontario, and in all early years a prominent citizen of Ontario county.* He left two sons and a daughter; the

* "He lives," says the Duke Liancourt, "in a more elegant and gentlemanlike manner, than any other landholder in this neighborhood." "He possesses a good corn

sons died young and heirless. The daughter, Mrs. Henry, now lives in Michigan City. Some descendants of the brothers that have been named, still reside in Yates and Ontario; among them, are Samuel Potter, of Milo, and Dr. Hazard Potter, of the village of Bethel, who has acquired much of professional eminence, especially in the science of surgery. Other early settlers of Potter: — Rouse Perry, Abiel Thomas, and George Green.

Mrs. Hazard, a daughter of Wm. Potter sen., of Newport, became a disciple of "The Friend," visited her while she remained in Philadelphia, frequently, having a daughter there at school boarding with an aunt, who was also a Friend. In 1790, leaving her family at Newport, she went to Philadelphia, arriving a few days after "The Friend," a portion of her followers, with Mrs. Hazard's daughter, had left for the Genesee Country. The mother followed on horse back, unattended in the long wilderness journey, following the tract of the party of which she was in pursuit, and arriving at Friend's settlement almost simultaneously with them.* Mrs. Hazard made this journey on horse back, three times; the last time bringing her son, eight years old, behind her. She was the mother of Dr. Brinton Hazard, and Mrs. Asa Russell.

The author is unable to name the Pioneers of Italy, the *terra haute*, or highland of the county, the dividing ridge from which waters take their rise, that flow into the gulf of Mexico and gulf of St Lawrence.

Elder John Goff, was one of the earliest ministers of the Baptist church in the Genesee Country; and with few exceptions, one of the earliest of any persuasion that became permanent residents. He settled in Benton, but itinerated and aided in the organizations of many of the primitive Baptist churches west of Seneca Lake. Organizing a church in Benton, he was its minister until 1837 or '8, when he emigrated to Washtenaw county, Michigan, where he was residing in 1849, at an advanced age. Before leaving Benton, the old gentleman said he had done all he could there; "old congregations prefer younger men; I will go into the woods again; collect the scattered flock, and preach to them in log school houses."

Robert Buckley of Milo, came to this region from new Jersey in 1794, and with a companion, extended a tour of exploration to Long

mill and a saw mill. About one hundred and fifty acres of his estate, are already reduced under tillage." "Mr. Potter and his family were formerly among the zealous adherents of Jemima, but his attachment is now converted into contempt and detestation. He has not only renounced all communion with her, but at the same time, all the peculiar habits and tenets of the Quakers."

* Mrs. Hazard used to relate that in the woods of Pennsylvania she travelled one day with a woman, who was on horseback, with a bed, one child in her arms, another behind her, and a pig following her like a dog, fording the streams and perseveringly endeavoring to keep up, rather than be left a prey to wild animals. Coming to an unbridged stream, it would hesitate, squeal, but finally plunge in and follow on.

Point, C. W. Intending to settle there, they returned to New Jersey ; but coming back the next season, while on their way down the Seneca Lake in a canoe, intending to reach Cashong, (or Ben Barton's) Landing, they were driven in, by a strong wind, to Norris' or Friend's Settlement Landing. Finding quarters in the house of Abel Botsford, he was pleased with the country, and with the daughter of his hospitable entertainer ; abandoned his project of settling in the then dominions of Gov. Simcoe, married, and thus became a Pioneer of Yates. He was a Major of Micah Brook's Reg. in the war of 1812 ; father of Prof. S. B. Buckley of Dresden, who is a graduate of Wesleyan University of Middletown, Conn. ; a gentleman of high scientific attainments, especially in the departments of botany, mineralogy and geology. His pursuits in Natural History have made him a traveler in twenty-four states of the Union. He possesses a fine cabinet of minerals and shells, and a herbarium containing 10,000 species of American and European plants.

The oldest cemetery in W. N. York, is at "City Hill," in the east part of the town of Milo. Mrs. Holmes, wife of Jedediah Holmes, was buried there as early as 1788, or '9. Hezekiah Townsend, must have been the first blacksmith, in all the region west of Seneca Lake, unless one preceded him at Geneva. He commenced the business in 1790, using a rock for an anvil. He was the father of Manchester Townsend, of Milo Centre. Norris, the pioneer merchant, removed to Maryland in early years. Two of his sons reside in Milo. Mr. Wagener, who was the first P. M. at Penn Yan, thinks the office was established there "about 1800." The first wedding in Yates county — and with two or three exceptions, the first in all the Genesee Country, is noticed on page 159.

David Wagener, who purchased the mills of Abraham Dayton, and is named as the early tavern keeper at Friend's Mills, was the founder of what is now the pleasant and flourishing village of Penn Yan. He located there in 1797, in '8, built a grist mill. Dying in 1799, he left two sons, David and Abraham, who are still living, at an advanced age. The descendants of the elder David are numerous in Yates county. The first street was laid out in 1800, the surveyor, Joseph Jones. It was surveyed through the woods, on land belonging to Abraham Wagener. Dr. Dorman was the first physician, two acres of land having been given him by Mr. Wagener to induce him to locate there. The first store was established by Samuel Seely and William Baldwin, who brought in their goods via. Newtown Point.

As the author is informed, Benjamin Brown, now residing on a part of the Friend's estate, in Jerusalem, is the only one who survives of the adults who began the settlement in 1788. Among the survivors who came in with their parents, in their childhood, or minority, are, the Wageners already named ; Jessee Brown of Benton ; David Briggs, of Milo Centre ; Thomas Hathaway, and wife,

who accompanied "The Friend" from Philadelphia in 1790, still survive. The descendants of John Lawrence are numerous; M. H. Lawrence, late member of Assembly from Yates, is a grandson. Benajah Botsford, a son of Elnathan Botsford died recently aged upwards of 80 years. There are many descendents of Elnathan Botsford, as there are also, of Richard Smith, Silas and Adam Hunt.

The first road surveyed in Yates county, — in 1789 — was from Norris' Landing, (about a mile south of Dresden,) west, by the former residence of Major Buckley, to Friend's Mills.

Levi Benton from whom the town was named, settled there in 1791. He was from near Catskill.

The author has already often quoted from the "Travels," of the Duke Liancourt. Resorting to the records of a foreign traveler, for purposes of local history, will be excused by those who can appreciate the difficulty of getting "glimpses" even, of those early times, in other forms. The Duke made himself familiar with all that was going on in that pioneer locality — in the first permanent settlement in all the Genesee Country — Friend's Settlement, or Jerusalem. As the work will in all probability, never be republished in this country, farther extracts are made.

The Duke thus speaks of his first interview with "The Friend :—" We saw Jemima, and attended her meeting which was held in her own house. We found there about thirty persons, men, women and children. Jemima stood at the door of her bed-chamber, on a carpet, with an armed chair behind her. She had on a white morning gown and waistcoat, such as men wear, and a petticoat of the same color. Her black hair was cut short, carefully combed, and divided behind, in three beautiful ringlets. She wore a stock, and white silk cravat, which was tied about her neck with affected negligence. In point of delivery she preached with more ease than any other Quaker * I have yet heard; but the subject matter of her discourse was an eternal repetition of the same topics, death, sin and repentance."

"She inculcates as a leading tenet, poverty and a resignation of all earthly possessions. If you talk to her of her house, she always says: — 'The house which I inhabit.' This house, though built of trunks of trees is extremely pretty and commodious. Her room is excessively neat and resembles more the *boudoir* of a fine lady than the cell of a nun. It contains a looking glass, a clock, an arm chair, a warming pan, and a silver saucer. Her garden is kept in

NOTE. — Abraham Wagener, like most of the sons and daughters of The Friend's early disciples, was not of her flock; but a good deal given to frolic and sport. Says an informant of the author: — "He used to hitch his oxen to a sled, put on bells, get some girls, and go to Friend's meeting. The Friend would look cross and sour."

* She had no claim to such a designation. She was wholly disowned by the Quakers or "Friends," proper, in her earliest advent, and never herself claimed any connection with them.

good order ; her spring house is full of milk, butter, cheese, butchers meat and game."

" Among other votaries of Jemima was one Squire Parker, who settled in her neighborhood, and still resides near Friend's Mills. Though a jolly fellow, ever gay and jocund, he espoused very zealously the cause and interests of the prophetess. This Parker, who was constantly in Jemima's retinue, gave himself out to be the Prophet Elijah, and very rightly conceived, that, by assuming a peculiar dress, he would give a more imposing character to his impostures. He wore, accordingly, a white gown, with large sleeves, and a girdle ; in short, whatever he fancied might belong to the costumes of the ancient prophets. This was the being who was honored with the high privilege of living with the " All Friend," on terms of the greatest intimacy." * * * * *

[The Duke, in the absence of his usual gallantry, if not scrupulous regard for truth, adds some, then current gossip, which is not sufficiently authenticated to be incorporated in history.]

" The first settlers, who thoughtlessly followed their divinity to this place, not being able to purchase the lands, which composed the three districts, the remainder has been restored to the company, who have again disposed of it, and are still selling it, to all who are desirous of becoming settlers. Accordingly, numbers of Methodists, Anabaptists and members of the Church of England, are now to be seen here ; yet the colony retains its original name of ' The Friends' Settlement.' "

After speaking at large of all that was going on under the auspices of " Capt. Williamson"—his roads, mills, farms, village plats, the immense tracts of wild lands upon which he was founding settlements, and adding, that he was " universally respected, honored and beloved," the Duke exclaims :—" How glorious, in my esteem, is his career ! How fortunate and enviable his distinction ! How much more important than that of a dissipated courtier, or stock jobber ! " And his mind recurring to his own condition, a wanderer in this, then wilderness region of the new world, his usual vivacity and cheerful philosophy, forsake him. " I too, not in a new country, but in France, where there is such an ample field for useful exertion, formed similar establishments on my estates, by which I diffused activity and industry all around me ; I studied to enrich the country and render it industrious and flourishing. I hoped and expected to increase the felicity of my own situation, by adding to the comforts of my poor neighbors. Undertakings which had no objects but the welfare of my country were beginning to be crowned with all the desired success, when I was suddenly obliged to relinquish that much loved country to which I was rendering so much service. I am now, alas ! an *exile* ; all my hopes have vanished like a shadow. Solitary I wander without a country I can call my own ;—life therefore, to me, is completely at an end."

One more reminiscence from the pages of the amiable, unfortunate Duke, must suffice : — Suffering, destitution, disease, never failed to excite his sympathies. Traveling with his companions from Bath to Canandaigua, they “stopped at Mrs. Bevers,” whom they found afflicted with ague and fever, and without medicine or medical attendance. He says : — “Having some quantity of bark in our traveling case, we gave a little of it to Mrs. Bever, with directions how to use it ; we at the same time wrote a letter to Capt. Williamson, informing him of the distress of the family, and of their want of more bark.”

The advent of Jemima Wilkinson — her career of religious enthusiasm, or imposture, — and a mixture of both, it has been regarded in subsequent pages — was a strange thing in its day : as strange as things that are transpiring in our own day. If we wonder that she could have had any followers, it is still a greater wonder, that a majority of them — especially of those who come to this region, were of a highly respectable class of citizens of New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. They were the earliest founders of settlement of all Western New York ; among them some of the best of that excellent class of men who were the Pioneers of the Genesee country, and who have left descendants that may well be ranked with the best class of citizens in the western counties of our State.

NOTE.—Mrs. Bevens was the name. She was the wife of Mr. Joseph Bevens, who became an early tavern keeper, west of Blood's Corners, in Conhocton. He was one of the early emigrants from Maryland, that followed Mr. Williamson. Mrs. David Parker, of Bristol, is a daughter of his. The author possesses the very letter that the Duke wrote to Capt. Williamson. It is so much of a literary curiosity that he inserts it. It is an attempt of a highly educated Frenchman to make himself understood in a language he had but just begun to learn :—

“BEVERS, Friday Evening.

To Capt. Williamson, Bath :—

Dear Sir—It is to be serviceable to you, I am sure, in giving opportunity to exercise your human benevolence. We find now, at Bevers, his wife much sick with the ague, since a fortnight. We have given to her a part of our bark.* If you have some occasion for sending to her a little more, in the course of a week, you'll perform her cure. We have assured her with that comfort of your part. You see how we have part with you — convicted with your sentiments. We take the present opportunity to thank you again for your kind reception, and are very sincerely your most sincere, &c.
LIANCOURT & PETIT THOUARS.”†

* Peruvian bark.

† This companion of the Duke, was the officer of the French Navy, who went in search of M de la Prouse, the French navigator, who started on a voyage of discovery around the world.

NOTE.—The advent of the followers of the “The Friend,” was a year later than the date given on page 155. The exploring party came in 1787 ; the party of twenty-five — some of them with their families — in 1788 ; “The Friend” in 1790 ; her “witness,” Sarah Richards, in June, 1791. “The Friend” was not “on her way” to this region, when gazetted at Philadelphia, in 1797, but was residing there. See page 154. These corrections are made with better information than the author possessed when preceding portions of the work were published.

CONTINUATION OF PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

On page 267, in connection with the enterprises (and benefactions, it may be added,) of Mr. Williamson, the advent of the Scotch colony in Caledonia — the advance corps — is briefly narrated. In the published volume, "Monroe," there are brief notices of some of the early Scotch emigrants located in Wheatland. This separation of what was so intimately blended, has been consequent upon the manner of publishing, having reference to a county line which divides what was the primitive Scotch settlement of Southampton, and in later years, Caledonia and York. The subject is resumed, principally with reference, (so far as names are concerned,) to the now town of Caledonia, though a strict identity of location, it is presumed has not been attained.

The "Big Springs," a locality well known to the earliest of our race that saw the region of Western New York; — to the French trader and missionary in the long years of French dominion; the camping ground of the Johnsons, the Butlers, Brant, the followers of their own race, and their Indian allies, when they sallied out from their strong hold at Fort Niagara, and warred upon the feeble settlements in the vallies of the Mohawk and Susquehannah, or were returning with their trophies, — their prisoners, their scalps, the plunders they had taken in their raids and stealthy warfare; — and of our own people, when in after years, in spying out this goodly land, — our now rich inheritance — they followed the paths of the Senecas that led to it as a common centre; — was the focus, or central locality, when the Scotch settlers had dropped in and around it, had erected their rude log cabins, and were here and there making openings in the forest.

"I visited the place," says an informant of the author, "at a primitive period. The Scotch settlers, in their log cabins, (and cabins they really were, for the builders were less expert in log house architecture than their New England neighbors,) were scattered along on the banks of Allen's creek, and in the immediate vicinity of the Spring. They had made small openings in the forest — some of them hardly enough to let the sun in; had small patches of corn and potatoes growing among the logs or upon plats of openings. Their cabin furniture was scanty; their food graduated upon the closest principles of economy and necessity. And yet they were cheerful and happy as if they had been upon their native Highlands and Lowlands. The men were plying the axe or the mattock around their humble dwellings, or going out to the fields of the older settlers upon the River, to work for provisions and farming utensils; the women, in and out doors, with their ruddy Scotch faces, such as Burns describes — (mostly young then) — were willing

helpers in all there was to do. At evening, the voice of prayer, of scripture reading, or snatches of "Auld Scotia's sweet and simple lays," went out through the unchinked crevices of their cabins, and mingled in the forest with the sounds of water falls, the howl of the wolf and the barking of the fox. It was a wild, primitive scene; the rude and rugged beginning, the consummation of which has been broad fields, overflowing granaries — all of earthly blessings that industry and thrift can ensure. I, who have been familiar with change and progress, re-visiting that scene in long after years, could hardly realize the change that had been wrought there."

Though in some respects foreign from the general scope and design of these Pioneer annals, the author inserts a graphic topographical description of this locality, blended with reference to relics of ancient and Indian occupancy, from the pen of one who "was to the manor born."*

"The villages of Mumford and Caledonia, are in the midst of scenery not wild or merely picturesque, but agreeably varied with woodland and clearing, the surface beautifully undulating, with cleared fields and woodlands, abounding in clear springs and streams. A chrystal lakelet, covering a space of about twenty acres, commonly known as the "Big Springs," is in the immediate rear of Caledonia. From it issues a stream that runs northerly one and a half miles, to Mumford, and discharges itself into Allen's Creek. Between the spring and the mouth of its outlet, there is a fall of about fifty feet; and as the supply of water is constant and nearly uniform, the hydraulic privileges are valuable. The speckled trout, a favorite at all times to the epicure, were abundant in the stream in early years of settlement, and though they have been yearly caught in considerable quantites, the skillful angler is still rewarded for his pains.

"The banks retain much of their primitive wildness; the tangled thicket of under-wood, and the spire like evergreens, present a pleasing contrast with the cultivated and teeming surface of the adjoining fields. Throughout the vicinity are the finest wheat lands in the State. They are generally well improved, and in a high state of cultivation. The farmers are distinguished for their thrift, probity, public spirit and intelligence.

"Before it became the home of the white man it was the chosen haunt of the Indian. In their rude dialect the spring was called 'Gan e-o-di-ya,' (small clear lake,) and the outlet, 'Na-gan-oose,' (clear running water.) Near the Spring, on the premises of the late Mr. John McKay, is the spot where they burned their victims at the stake, and celebrated their war dances. Not far off was a council house of the Turtle tribe of the Senecas, and the grounds

* Angus Cameron.

where they had their races and games, and performed their feats of skill and strength.

"When the first white settlers made their appearance, relics were occasionally found, concerning which the Indians had neither history nor tradition. They consisted of bricks that had evidently been made in some remote age for substantial edifices, and vessels of pottery ware, embellished with tasteful devices and allegorical figures. They apparently indicated a degree of civilization as far advanced as that shown by the weapons, utensils and tumuli discovered in our western States, or by sculpture and hieroglyphics of the ancient Mexicans. The husbandman, while ploughing the soil, has sometimes turned up relics more recent in their origin. Besides arrow heads, knives and axes, rudely formed hatchets and copper kettles have been found, precisely in form like some that may be seen in use at this day in the old Spanish colonies upon this continent."

Such was the spot that Mr. Williamson selected for his countrymen; there, upon the then verge of civilization, struggling with poverty at first, but endowed with a manly courage and spirit of perseverance, in some respects national characteristics, they converted the forest to fruitful fields, surrounded themselves with all the substantial comforts of life, and created a rich inheritance for their descendants.

Among the early Pioneers, the author's memorandums enable him to recognize, of what is now Caledonia and Wheatland, were those whose names occur in the following brief sketch:—

Robert M'Kay, was a native of Sutherlandshire, Scotland; emigrated to America in 1772, settling in Northumberland, Pa., where he was residing when Mr. Williamson made that his temporary halting place, when preparing to commence his enterprises in the Genesee country. In 1792, his eldest son, Hector, in company with William Lemen, Alexander Ewing jr., William Ewing, Samuel Ewing, John Ewart and Samuel Ewart, followed Mr. Williamson to his primitive location upon the Genesee River — Williamsburg — where most of them purchased land. Hector M'Kay was the early clerk of Alexander M'Donald, in Williamsburg, and his partner in the erection of a distillery. With others, (most of those who settled in that neighborhood in the earliest years,) he rented and worked Indian lands on the west side of the River. As early as 1801, or 2, he settled upon the inlet of Conesus Lake, where he died

NOTE.—With the peculiarities of the Spring, most readers will be familiar. Though the water rises up from an apparently great depth of the earth, the quantity of water is slightly diminished by a long continued drouth. As if it came from one great reservoir, or common fountain, of considerable extent. It may be observed, that the small white worm called "trout bait," common in the Spring, is found in most of the wells of the village of Caledonia.

in 1846. His surviving sons are Robert, James and John, of Conesus, Daniel, in Chili, Mordecai, in Henrietta.

John M'Kay, a brother of Hector, came to Williamsburg in 1793, then but sixteen years of age, where he worked for several years as a carpenter and house joiner. In 1803 he purchased the two hundred acres at Caledonia, which embraced the Spring, the outlet, and the site of Mumford. The purchase included the small mill with one run of stones, that Mr. Williamson had built for the use of the Scotch settlers,* the purchase money, \$2000. This was the first mill built west of the Allen mill, at Genesee Falls; he had for its customers the new settlers of a wide region, from as far west as New Amsterdam, (Buffalo.) He made a commencement at Mumford by the erection of a saw mill, and in after years, in company with his brother Robert, who at one period, was interested with him in the Caledonia mills, was engaged in farther enterprises at Mumford. In later years he was again the sole owner of the Caledonia mills, and in fact, had mostly the management of the property for nearly half a century. He was also an early joint proprietor of a part of the site of the city of Rochester, and village of Lockport. He died in 1850, aged 73 years. His widow still survives: the surviving sons are, George, of Washington, D. C.: Edward, in California; Andrew, in Texas; John, in Caledonia; Robert, of Louisiana. Mrs. Joslyn Hutchinson of Havanna, is a daughter.

Robert M'Kay, following his brothers, in 1797, was an early school teacher at the Hermitage, on the Genesee River, at the settlement of the M'Cartneys, Fullertons, Gregory, and others, on the Canascraga, two miles below Dansville, and at Sonyea. In 1803, he went into the employment of Miner and Hall, the early merchants at Geneseo. After the death of both of the firm he closed up their affairs, and in 1808 removed to Caledonia. After a connection of a few years with his brother in the management of the mill property, he engaged in the mercantile business, becoming the next merchant at Caledonia, after Mr. Cameron. He was at one period a member of the Legislature from the county of Genesee, has held other civil offices, and was a commissioned officer in early military organizations. He was the Capt. of a "Scotch company" raised in his neighborhood, on the breaking out of the war of 1812; with his company, was early in service upon the frontier; serving with his company at Black Rock under Col. Blakesley, on the

* Mr. Williamson had made the road from River to "Gansons," in 1798. He called it the "Niagara Road." See page 271. "L. Peterson" was the solitary occupant at the Springs. John Smith, of Sparta, surveyed the road. Mr. Williamson commenced the erection of the mill in the spring of 1799. Jonathan Baker, looked out the mill site and superintended the work. The mill stones, were bought of Dudley Walsh, of Albany; transportation to Geneva, \$25; from Geneva to Caledonia, \$10. The successor of Peterson, in the log tavern at the Springs, was Job Pierce, who after selling to Mr. Cameron, removed to Avon, and for many early years was a merchant there; his store occupying the site of the Comstock House.

morning of the 30th December 1813, he with several of his command, were taken prisoners and carried to Montreal. He still survives, the occupant of a fine farm a short distance west of Caledonia village. He has fourteen sons and daughters, residents of Caledonia. Married daughters are the wives of Rev. John F. M'Laren, of Pittsburgh; Wm. Milford, Cleveland; Morris Williams, Detroit.

Daniel M'Kay, another brother, emigrated from Pennsylvania in 1803; was engaged in the Indian trade; in company with Robert Whaley, erected a saw mill at Castile, in 1808; emigrated to Ohio, many years since. Mordecai, a fifth brother, emigrated in 1812, resided at Caledonia; died in 1849. James, and Robert of Caledonia, and George, of Geneva, are his sons.

On page 269 the name of Alexander M'Donald occurs in connection with the store and other affairs of Mr. Williamson at Williamsburg. He was one of the early followers of Mr. Williamson from Scotland. While the Scotch settlers at Caledonia were being supplied with provisions, oxen and cows, by their liberal patron, Mr. M'Donald attended to their purchase and disposition, and was soon settled among them invested with a local agency. He erected a public house which was for many years kept by his son, Donald M'Donald. He died in 1826; his only son, Donald, in 1843, leaving a large family, most of whom reside in Caledonia.

The Cameron family joined the settlement soon after 1800; Duncan A. Cameron having preceeded his own family, and that of his father, Angus Cameron. He is still living, the longest resident Scotch settler in what is now Caledonia. The father died in 1820 or '21. His sons, other than Duncan A. were Daniel and John; the former resides in Wheatland. The wife of the Rev. Donald Mann, the mother of the editor of the Rochester American, was his daughter. The surviving sons of Duncan A. Cameron, are:—Dr. Daniel Cameron of Cleveland, Ohio; Hugh Cameron, a lawyer, in Buffalo; Angus, a student with his brother in Cleveland, and Dugald a student with his brother in Buffalo.

The Rev. Alexander Denoon, was from near Inverness, in the north of Scotland; educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh. He emigrated, locating first among his old neighbors, in the "Inverness" settlement in York, but soon removing to what is now Caledonia. "He was not licensed to preach before he came to this place," says a cotemporary, "yet he frequently delivered lectures at the earnest request of some pious people who used to travel ten and more miles to hear him." A church was formed by the Scotch emigrants in what is now Caledonia, Wheatland and York, and he became its minister. The first elders of that church were:—Duncan M'Pherson, Donald M'Kenzie, John Christie, and Donald Anderson. Mr. Denoon put his church under the care of the Presbytery of Geneva, and was ordained in 1807. Previous to this the society had built a church—a log, or block-house, about 50 rods south of the

"Big Spring." It had a gallery and pulpit, and was a very respectable beginning in the way of churches; it being the first house of public worship, (other than Brant's church at Lewiston,) west of Genesee River. Mr. Denoon was the first ordained, settled minister. Settling upon a small farm, contented with a small salary, he ministered to the church until June, 1850, a period of forty four years. The tear that will "start unbidden" and mingle with the "rheum of age," on the furrowed cheeks of survivors of his early flock, is his best eulogy. James, Simon, and Alexander Denoon, of Caledonia, are his sons.

A division of this Pioneer church occurred in early years, and a new church was organized called the "Associate Reformed Church;" of this, the Rev. John Campbell became Pastor; he died in 1819, and was succeeded by Rev. Mr. McLaren. The new church retained the building, and in a few years erected a framed one. Mr. Denoon preached in private houses, until his society erected a church about four miles from Caledonia, in 1827.

John Cameron was the first merchant in Caledonia. Affianced with the daughter of a wealthy lease holder, in Scotland, the union was opposed by her father — America became their "Gretna Green," and the "Genesee Country" their final destination; his cousins, Dugald and Charles Cameron having preceeded him several years, as will have been observed. He engaged at first, in the mercantile business with Walter Grieves at Geneva, but as early as 1805 removed to Caledonia. He added to the mercantile business a tavern and a farm. During the years embracing the war, he had relinquished the management of the tavern, but his hospitable private house was often the stopping place of Gens. Gaines, Scott, Ripley, Brown, and other leaders in the war, when public houses had not the capacity to accomodate all who were on their way to and from the Frontier. He died in 1820, leaving the devoted wife who had followed him from his native land, the mother of eight children, and his business affairs much embarrassed. She assumed the management of tavern, store and farm, retrieved the estate, maintained and educated her large family, and accumulated for all of them a considerable inheritance of property, and a far richer one, the noble examples of a Pioneer Mother. She died in 1849. The surviving sons, are, Angus, now of Rochester; John Greig, and Charles, of Caledonia; Alexander, of Riga. Daughters, Mrs. Robert Brown of Mumford, Mrs. Peter Forbes of Burlington, Wisconsin; the wife of — Simmons, a prominent lawyer in Illinois, and Margaret, an unmarried daughter, residing with her brother in Rochester.

The early Scotch settlers in Caledonia and Wheatland, not named in other connections were: — Donald McKenzie, Donald Anderson, the McKertchers, Alexander McPherson, John Christie, John McVean, Peter Anderson, John McDermitt, John McPherson, Thomas Irvin, William Taylor, John McLaren, and his sons, Duncan, John,

James and Peter, Donald McVean, Duncan McCall, John McKenzie, Neal Haggart, Lachlan and Neal McLean, Peter McArthur, Peter and James M'Naughton, (brothers of John,) Peter Campbell, John McVean, Malcolm McLaren, Alexander Thompson, John A. McVean, Finley McPherson, John J. Anderson, Peter Anderson, John Anderson, Peter W. McPherson, Donald Taylor, Duncan W. McPherson, Wm. McPherson, John McIntyre, (died this year, at the age of nearly one hundred years;) another John McIntyre, Peter Farquarson, (the early school teacher, was killed in early years, by the fall of a tree;) Collin Gillis, James Sinclair, Duncan McMartin, Donald McIntosh, and others, whose names are not recollected. [The McArthur family were kinsmen of Gen. McArthur, of Ohio.]

Sylvester Brown, was an early merchant of Caledonia; had been a clerk of Luther Cole, in Canandaigua. Heman Norton was his early partner, at Caledonia. He was the nephew of Comfort Tyler. ¶ See page 124. He was an early clerk of Livingston county; emigrated in 1822, to Michigan, where he died a few years since; John Brown, of Livonia, is his son. [His mother, the sister of Comfort Tyler, resides in Caledonia, with her son-in-law, Gad Blaksley, who is the son of the late Col. Blakesley, of Avon, and was an early merchant in Caledonia; still continuing business there. The mother of Comfort Tyler, resided in Caledonia for several years; died in Ohio, among her descendants, aged nearly one hundred years.]

Drs. Wm. H. Terry, and Peter McPherson, were the earliest physicians in Caledonia. In later years, Dr. Wm. A. Townsend, now a successful farmer, near Lockport, resided and practiced there.

Willard H. Smith, was a native of Chesterfield, New-Hampshire, a graduate of Williams' College; studied law with Bleeker and Sedgwick, in Albany. In 1813, he located at Caledonia. He was the first lawyer there, and is now the only one. He has filled the office of First Judge of Livingston, and maintained, through a long series of years, the character of a sound lawyer, and good citizen. It was at rather an unpropitious period, that the then young lawyer, chose a village west of the Genesee River, as his residence, and the theatre of his professional career. It was in the darkest period of the war of 1812; the period of dismay, alarm and flight. The Land Office at Batavia, had been moved east of the River; families from all parts of the Holland Purchase, were either on their way east, or were domicilled under hospitable roofs, a little removed from the theatre of immediate danger. Caledonia village had then but a cluster of twelve or fourteen families; a village plat had been but recently surveyed; but having a store, and an excellent tavern; situated in the main thoroughfare of all of peace and war that was transpiring in this region; soldiers marching through it, or temporarily encamping there; refugees from the frontier temporarily

abiding there : it had a brisk and lively aspect. Judge Smith arrived at his new home in the evening of the day that Buffalo was burned. He names the fact, that in 1814, the only public conveyance on that then main thoroughfare, was a tri-weekly stage, as far west as Batavia; and from there to Buffalo, "an open wagon, that went whenever there were passengers."

There were not as many difficulties encountered by the Pioneers at Caledonia, as were struggled with in most other localities west of the river. Their land was mostly dry, much of it lightly timbered, well adapted to early wheat growing. They had soon very passable roads; and when, in other neighborhoods, the ague and fever prostrated the new settlers, and paralyzed all their energies, there they would be comparatively free from it. Overcoming their early difficulties, getting a foothold, encountering a few years of extreme scarcity of provisions, and lack of team work, they soon conquered all hindrances: their lands produced them a surplus, that soon enabled them to pay for them upon the favorable terms Mr. Williamson gave them. Then the new settlements west of them, the war upon the frontier, gave them good markets; and soon the products of their large wheat fields began to float off on the Erie Canal. The "canny Scot," frugal and self-denying to a proverb, thus favored, increased his fields, his flocks and herds; no where, in all this region of unexampled prosperity, have as many considerable estates been accumulated by the tillers of the soil.

The town of Caledonia, at first, embracing all of what is now Caledonia, Wheatland, Le Roy, and a part of York, was organized in 1802. The first town officers were:—Christopher Labourne, supervisor; Job Pierce, town clerk. Other town officers:—Asher Bates, Thomas Irwin, Andrew Wortman, Peter Shaeffer, Ebenezer Green, Peter Anderson, James Ganson, Hinds Chamberlin, Cyrus Douglass, Daniel Buell, John McLaren, John Ganson, Jr., Christopher Dugan. Meeting "was held at the house of Jonathan Curtis." In all the town there were seven road districts, the locations of which will be indicated by the names of the overseers:—John Ganson, Jr., Isaac Smith, John Christie, Peter Shaeffer, James Wood, Andrew Wortman, Henry Mulkin. Six hundred dollars were raised to defray expenses of town, and "for wolf scalps." Store and tavern licences were given in 1808, to John Cameron, John and James Ganson, Richard M. Stoddard, George R. Tiffany, Isaac Smith, Asher Bates, Isaac Scott, James Tamplin, Stephen Stilwell.

In the farther disposition of his "Reserve," Mr. Morris sold to William and Jan Willink, who were a part of the Dutch proprietors of the Holland Purchase, forty thousand acres, south of and adjoining that portion of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, west of the Genesee River. In 1803, the survey and sale of the tract was merged in the agency of Mr. Ellicott. In 1804, he brought it into market, and its settlement commenced. It is designated as the

"Forty Thousand Acre Tract," and is embraced in the towns of York and Caledonia.

In February, 1804, Donald McKenzie, John McKenzie, Simon Frazer, Donald Frazer, John Clunas, and John Frazer, who had emigrated from near the city of Inverness, Scotland, arrived where their countrymen had located at the "Big Spring," and in a few weeks had concluded to settle upon the Forty Thousand Acre Tract, had cleared a small spot in the forest, and erected log cabins; thus becoming the Pioneers of York. This was in anticipation of the sale of the tract, which commenced soon after. Early in February, 1806, they were joined by their countrymen, Alexander Frazer, Donald Frazer, Jr., Francis McBean, and, the afterwards, Rev. Alexander Denoon, the last of whom resided there two years before settling in Caledonia.

Donald D. McKenzie, of York, to whom the author is indebted for information in reference to the early history of the town, was with his father's family, a youth, in this early advent. He observes: "The hardy Pioneers did not wait to erect houses, before they moved in. They built temporary wigwams, after the manner of the Indians; afterwards substituting log houses. Each of the families brought in a yoke of oxen and two cows, with their calves. My father bought his oxen in Johnstown, where the emigrants had spent most of the winter. I have heard him say that after he had bought his two cows, he had not two shillings left; he had, however, before this, bought wheat and corn enough to last his family until harvest. Partially clearing small patches of ground, the emigrants raised the first season, a stinted supply of corn and potatoes; and when harvest came, worked in the older settlements, getting each a bushel of wheat per day, as they were good reapers; some of the females of the different families participating in the labor. In this way we managed to get along until the next harvest. For the roofs of our houses, we had the bark of trees, flayed off as we take the hides from cattle. We could not get any boards for floors until Mr. McKay got his saw-mill done, at the 'Big Spring.'"

A small party of the emigrants preceded the families, and upon a spot which is now in the garden enclosure of Donald D. McKenzie, cleared away the underbrush, and felled a few of the large trees; thus striking the first blow in the way of improvement in the town of York. Kindling a large fire, "to keep them warm, and scare away wild beasts," when night came, they were seated around it, singing the psalms they had often heard on the hill sides of Scotland, their voices echoing in the dark recesses of the forest; the light of their camp fire glimmering among the tall trees. "It was a scene," says one of the survivors of the party, "and an occasion, I shall never forget."

Recurring to that primitive period, the hardships and endurances of the wilderness, Mr. McKenzie pays a merited tribute to the

Scotch Pioneer mothers:—"Forsaking comfortable homes, some of them, paternal roofs and youthful associations, they fulfilled their marriage vows—followed the men of their choice over a wide ocean track, and with them entered the forests, willing helpers in all that had to be done and endured. Blessings upon the heads of the surviving few of those best of Pioneer wives and mothers! and reverence for the memories of those that are resting from the labors of their useful and exemplary lives."

Other Scotch emigrants than those named, dropped into the neighborhood, from year to year, until they formed a large "settlement," as most localities were called in those days. In noticing a list of names of the survivors of them, the reader will not fail to observe an unusual average longevity. There are few neighborhoods of all Western New-York, in which so large a proportion of the Pioneers survive; a fact, perhaps, to be attributed to a healthy location, and habits conducive to health and long life, which are, in a great measure, national characteristics. The survivors of the Scotch emigrants are:—John Clunas, (now of Caledonia,) aged eighty years; Donald Frazer, aged seventy; Donald D. McKenzie, (though a junior Pioneer, is by a few days, the oldest resident of York;) Archibald Gillis, aged eighty years; Donald Frazer, Jr.; Duncan Grant; Angus McBean; Robert Vallence; Margaret McKenzie, widow of John McKenzie; Mary Frazer, widow of John Frazer; Flora Clunas. Among the survivors of other than Scotch Pioneers, are:—Ralph Brown, John Russ, H. Webber, and Alfred Collins.

As late as 1804, even in the valley of the Mohawk, emigration to the Genesee country, was deemed a rash adventure. The Rev. Mr. Hoosack, of Johnstown, said to Mr. Donald McKenzie, about the time the party of Scotch emigrants to which he belonged, were talking of coming west:—"You seem to be a good sort of a man, and my advice to you is, that you buy yourself a buck saw, and saw wood in the village during the winter. It will be better for you, than to throw yourself away among ferocious Indians, deprived of every temporal and spiritual comfort."

Ezekiel Morley and Joseph Morley built the first saw-mill in York; Wells Fowler and Wm. Taylor, the first grist mill; in succession, Pliny Weller built a saw-mill, Ralph Brown a grist mill, and — Bailey a grist mill.

Wells Fowler was the founder of the flourishing rural village, that bears his name. He located there in 1816, soon after which a

NOTE.—The Scotch emigrants, at first, were not expert axemen. The labor of clearing heavy forests was new to them. The author can very well remember when the backwoodsmen of Wyoming, (many of whom would chop down, cut up for "logging," and pile the brush, on an acre, in four days,) would occasionally visit the "Scotch settlement," return, and make sport of what they called "haggling" the forest. But they soon learned.

post office was established, and he was appointed post master. To the locality was soon added :— Eliakim Weller, Ira Torrey, ——— Whitcomb, Wm. Janes, Wm. Taylor ; and in the immediate vicinity, Henry Janes. The early, and still practicing physician of Fowlerville, is Dr. Frederick R. Stickney.

The village of Spencerport, on the Genesee Valley Canal, was started by John Spencer, Alexander Hubbs, and Alonzo and Amos Fowler.

Ralph Brown, an Englishman, was the Pioneer at York Centre, as early as 1804 ; and soon after, or in early years, he had as neighbors, John and Nathan Russ, Timothy Rice and Archibald Kennedy. "I went through the woods looking for cattle, in the summer of 1805 ;" says Mr. Donald D. McKenzie, "Mr. Brown lived in a small log cabin, and was 'monarch of all he surveyed,' or rather, with his family, were the solitary occupants." David McDonald, an old resident of the county, and for thirty years a resident of York, is a merchant at York Centre.

Wm. Pennock, was added to the settlement in 1804, or '5, locating between the present sites of York Centre and Fowlerville. He removed to Ohio, in 1827.

The town of York was erected, from Caledonia, in 1819. A Pioneer sketch of it, as with all other localities, is all that comes within the design of this work. Its entire history would present a career of rapid progress in agricultural prosperity and wealth ; confirming the choice of the Pioneers, who broke into its forests when there was nearly all the territory west of the river to choose from. There is, probably, not an equal amount of territory in the world, where as much surplus wheat is produced, as in Caledonia, Wheatland and York.

In reminiscences of Donald D. McKenzie, of York, from which the author has already extracted — and which, it is to be hoped, will be given to the public entire — there is a brief allusion to early men and early times, in that early Pioneer locality, "Hartford," now Avon : — "There were there, Judge Hosmer, and his six or seven sons, all honorable men and good citizens ; the four enterprising brothers, Benjamin, John, Joseph and Ira Pierson ; Colonel Markham, Jehiel Kelsey, Aaron Williams, Dr. Narramore, Col. Lawrence, Mrs. Berry and her excellent daughters, Messrs. Rogers and Gilbert, the early tanners, Messrs. Wiard, Knowles, Gad Wadsworth, and Job Pierce ; the last of whom, in company with John Pierson, had a store, with a wide range of customers. Benjamin Pierson was keeping a tavern in East Avon, where the weary traveler always found a good resting place, and a friendly host. The Hon. George Hosmer, then just commencing practice, was giving an earnest of a brilliant professional career, which was realized. There was a good deal of social intercourse between the older settlers of Avon, and those of the new settlements in Caledo-

nia, York, and others in its neighborhood; a friendly, neighborly feeling; sympathies with each other's misfortunes; strong attachments were formed in those early days, which were severed only by death."

Solomon Woodruff was the Pioneer of Livonia, locating there as early as 1791, and living for a considerable period with no neighbors nearer than Pitt's Flatts, and "Big Tree." A son of his survives, a resident of the town. Those whose names follow were settlers or land purchasers in that portion of the town embraced in the agency of James Wadsworth, in 1804, and soon after:—Jacob Turner, Daniel Lindsey, Solomon Root, Richard Carely, or (Connelly,) Thomas White, Silas Morey, Stephen Dolph, Samuel Hibbard, Samuel Riggs, Phineas Allen. The author adds from memory the names of Judge Van Fossen, the early miller and distiller, and who was recently, (if he is not now) a survivor, residing in Michigan; Samuel Pitts, a son of the founder of settlement in Pittstown, an early tavern keeper and merchant; Dr. and Rev. John Rolph, who removed to Sheldon, Wyoming county in an early day; the Whitmores, Hoveys, Holdens; and this gleanings of early names omits many, who with better information would have been recognized. Deacon Gibbs, the father of the late Dr. O. E. Gibbs of Rochester, and of Lemah Gibbs Esq., was a settler in Livonia as early as 1802.

The early Pioneer localities — the germs of settlement — in the territory, of Livingston, are generally indicated in preceding pages. First of our race in all the valley of the Genesee, was the captive Mary Jemison; and next to her the self expatriated foe of his own race and country, Ebenezer Allen, his sister, and her husband, Christopher Dugan. After the advent of Gen. Sullivan, many who had been in the Border Wars of the Revolution, halted upon the inviting lands in the immediate valley of the Genesee and Canaseraga — the main body of them going to Canada. When settlement commenced these refugees had merged themselves in all the villages of the Senecas, and a solitary, isolated one was living at the mouth of Genesee River. In addition to these, there were here and there an Indian trader.

Six years after the close of the Revolution, Capt. Ganson and the Deshas, located upon lands they claimed as Indian grants, near Avon, and the next year Horatio and John H. Jones, and Joseph Smith, made preparations for commencing on the Jones and Smith Indian grant, in the now town of Leicester; and soon after, squatters began to locate on the Indian Flats of the Genesee and Canaseraga. Settlement had now commenced under the auspices of Phelps and Gorham. In 1789, there were two or three families in what is now Lima, (or two or three had made a beginning there.) The advent of the Wadsworths was in 1790. In '91, settlement commenced under the auspices of Mr. Williamson, at Williams-

burgh. In 1792, he had extended his Northumberland road to the Genesee river, and emigrants, (mostly from Pennsylvania,) were dropping into what is now Groveland and Sparta; and at the same time the Wadsworths were attracting hardy adventurers from New England, who settled in what is now Geneseo, or along on the road to Conesus. In 1791, Judge Hosmer commenced a settlement at Avon; a solitary settler was located in Livonia; and in 1792, '3, the Wadsworths had erected a mill at Conesus, and a few settlers were locating there. ¶ For early names of all of Livingston, and the west towns of Ontario, and east towns of Monroe, see page 346.

Settlement was slow in ascending the hills that rise from the immediate valley of the Genesee and the Canascraga, in Livingston. The open flats were more inviting, and what has proved a false estimate of the value of the uplands, prevailed in all early years. As late as 1812, settlement was principally confined to the vallies, the towns on the main Buffalo road, and the Canandaigua and Geneseo road.

FARTHER REMINISCENCES FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES WADSWORTH.

In gleaning for the early history of the Genesee country, there is little of embodied, or collated materials, to serve our purpose. It is in scattered fragments, and its disjointed use is essential to a just appreciation of the real condition of things at a primitive period. The reader has already been enabled to get glances of the commencement of things — cotemporary events — by means of brief extracts from Mr. Wadsworth's business and social correspondence, inserted as occasion has required. A farther opportunity will be afforded in what follows:—

To Col. James Wadsworth, Durham:—

“New York, April, 1791. New York abounds in papers, but they contain little or nothing worth reading; a few squibs at Congress &c. The citizens are extremely chagrined at Congress leaving New York. The Gov. says that they have danced attendance upon Congress about one year, and incurred a debt of £20,000.”

The same to the same, dated Niagara, U. C., Oct. 1792:—“The Seneca Indians arrived here last night, with the pleasing intelligence that the hostile Indians had agreed upon a cessation of hostilities till a treaty can be held with the United States. They have also determined that the Ohio River shall be the boundary line between them and the white people. They have called in their scouting parties and forbid any invasions or attacks until the treaty is held.”

The same to the same, dated London, 1797:—“Bank of England stopped payment — every thing distressed — ruin of thousands anticipated — great alarm and distress — the Bank, the Exchange and every street within

a mile, were crowded with persons — anxiety and distress is depicted on every countenance. It puts a stop to all further operations in lands."

To Nathaniel Terry, 1805: — "You will be surprised to learn that this land of plenty is threatened with a famine. A severe drought last summer cut off almost half the crop of corn. The unusual winter exhausted most of the hay in the country early in March. Winter has continued to within a few days, (May 8th.) The farmers to keep their stock alive, have been compelled to feed out their grain and soon found themselves destitute of bread to support their families. It is calculated that there is not bread enough in the western counties of this State to support the inhabitants four weeks. We have had to turn our fat oxen out of the stalls to save the grain they were using. Twenty families in one town last week applied to the overseers of the poor for assistance; whole settlements in remote places, where there is no one to assist them must abandon their homes in pursuit of bread."

J. W. to some friends in New England offering to exchange lands in West Pultney, (Riga,) for their farms in New England: — "If they do not accept our offer we shall have little compassion for them if they have to spend the rest of their lives in picking rye out of the rocks."

J. W. to Joel Foot, Esq., 1805: — "settlers are flocking to us from all quarters, and our lands are much more saleable than the farms we are receiving for them in New England."

J. W. to John Heslop, Esq., Geneva, 1805: — "There seems to be a perfect rage for salt springs in Braddock's Bay township; no less than five or six are said to have been discovered. I have deemed it prudent to reserve all salt springs."

[In 1804, Mr. W. was selling lands in "Pittstown," "Richmond," as an agent for Walter Bowne, of New York. In writing to his principal in that year, he says: — "My sales have been large, at \$4,50 per acre. The purchasers are industrious, prudent, New England farmers, who will pay for their lands."

J. W. to Robert Troup, 1806: — "The influx of settlers to these western counties during the last season, has been so large, that I am apprehensive of a great scarcity of provisions. Many people who have come on to work this spring have returned, because money will not procure provisions."

In a letter written a few weeks after, he says: — "What is to be done with hundreds of families that have fed out their grain to keep their cattle alive, God only knows. I am lending small sums daily to enable men to go eastward and buy grain. There is not bread enough in the counties of Genesee and Ontario to support the inhabitants until harvest. I am afraid, not six weeks."

[In 1806, Mr. Wadsworth was actively endeavoring to promote the success of a petition for the erection of a new county, which was to embrace most of the present county of Monroe and Livingston, and a part of Wyoming; the county site at Avon, where he said, "\$2000 has been subscribed toward the erection of a Court House."]

[In the same year, Mr. Wadsworth wrote to Mr. Granger, who was then P. M. General, asking for a post office at Genesee and a weekly mail to Canandaigua or Hartford, (Avon,) the receipts of the office to be the mail carriers' pay for his services. The request was granted, and William H. Spencer was appointed P. M. Previous to that, letters were sent to Canandaigua and Avon by private express.]

J. W. to Robert Troup, 1807: — "Land sales are dull. What is to be done? It is a fact, that the immense territorial property of Lady Bath, Gov. Hornby, and the Holland Company, are at present vast unproductive wastes, subject to some depredations, no inconsiderable taxes, and are not rising a cent in value." [In this letter Mr. Wadsworth deprecates the long credits given by Mr. Ellicott; anticipates trouble to foreign proprietors; foreshadows what has happened in latter years, nullification and anti-rentism.]

Some of the early enterprises of Mr. Wadsworth are noticed in immediate connection with him and his brother William in the body of the work. When he had obtained possession of a broad domain, on the rich, alluvial lands of the immediate valley of the Genesee, and upon the adjoining up lands; deeply interested in the prosperity of the new settlements that were going on around him; all his energies were brought to bear upon what was most likely to benefit himself and the region with which his interests had become so closely blended. The growing of grain for a distant market, with the fluctuations and commercial restrictions it had to encounter if seeking a market upon the St. Lawrence; its expensive and tardy transportation if seeking the Baltimore market, via. the waters of the Susquehannah; had a discouraging aspect. Various expedients were resorted to. The production of tobacco was one of them; hemp, another. In 1806 he wrote to Mr. Troup, that he and his brother William had been engaged in hemp raising several years; that they had began by sowing six acres, and had increased the business to the amount of one hundred acres. The product had been as high as 10,000 pounds per acre; the average about 8,000 pounds. He estimated that there were 30,000 acres of Genesee Flats adapted to hemp culture. The breeding of mules to a considerable extent was an early enterprise of his; the grazing of cattle for the Philadelphia and Baltimore markets, and dairying to a considerable extent, succeeded.

In 1807, his kinsman, Wedworth Wadsworth, went on his account to Maryland and Virginia with a drove of horses and mules. He wrote to him: "Find out all about future prospects of sale of horses and mules in Maryland and Virginia. Especially, visit Mt. Vernon, and take care to see the Spanish and Maltese Jacks, and Spanish and Bakewell sheep on Judge Washington's plantation. Enquire about peach orchards and peach brandy, the profits, &c."

The territory embraced in the present town of Nunda, and a part of Mount Morris, usually called the Tuscarora Tract, became in early years the property of Luke Tiernan, of Baltimore. It was late in coming into market for settlement. Soon after 1800, however, the open flats along the Kishaqua, that the Indians had cultivated, attracted squatters; practical "vote yourself a farm," adventurers. They were hunters, trappers, and fishers; an acre of cleared ground and a cabin, was for them, "heritage enough." The proprietor sent an agent to reside upon his property and protect it, a Mr. M'Sweeny, who was little used to the kind of men he had to deal

with, to what Mr. Bancroft calls the "freedom of the backwoods." Among them was a Joseph Dixon, who generally defended all the suits for trespass the agent instituted, and gave him much trouble and vexation. He was the "Big Thunder," alias Dr. Boughton, of his day. When the tract was open for sale, and civilization began to crowd upon the dwellers in the valley of the Kishaqua, they moved off, mostly down the Allegany, to find some spot in the west, where land was less incumbered with paper titles.

In 1820 or 21, the Hon. Charles Carrol, as an agent, commenced sales. Some of the earliest permanent settlers were: — William P. Wilson, was first P. M., a merchant and farmer, is now a prominent citizen of Pennsylvania; ——— Sherwood, Messrs. Rawson and Swain, Elijah Bennett, ——— Richardson, (an early magistrate,) William and Jacob Devou.

Judge Carrol became the proprietor of the present village plat of Nunda, and laid out a village in 1824 or '5. The brothers, Swains, were early merchants; James Heath opened a public house; Hiram Grover was an early merchant; Drs. Wright and Gilmore, early physicians. Wm. Hammond was an early citizen.

In 1816 or '17, as sub-agent under Mr. Greig, Col. George Williams, a son of Dr. Williams of Canandaigua, (see page 179,) became a resident in what is now the town of Portage, and sales and settlement commenced. The first settlers were: — Prosper and Abijah Adams, Enoch Halliday, Walter Bennett, Nathaniel B. Nicholas, Russell Messenger, (who gave the name to Messenger Hollow, his location,) Elias Hill, Asael Fitch, (who has been a magistrate of the town and member of the State Legislature,) Ephraim Kingsly, Solomon Williams, ——— Gayhart, George Wilmer, Stephen Spencer, Willis Robinson, Allen Miller, Elias Moses, (father of Dr. Elisha D. and Schuyler Moses of Rochester, and Marcus Moses of Lockport,) Horace Miller, Thomas Alcott, Joseph Bennett, Thomas T. Bennett, Benjamin Fordyce, Horton Fordyce, Reuben Weed, Cyrus Allen, Wm. Dake, Nathaniel Coe, Charles Coe; the last of whom, was a representative in Assembly from Allegany, and subsequently from Livingston; a merchant in Messenger's Hollow and Nunda; and is now U. S. mail agent for Oregon.

In 1817 or '18, Sanford Hunt Esq., who had been a merchant in one of the counties upon the Hudson, emigrated to Portage, locating in what has since been known as Hunt's Hollow. He had come to the then new region, with a large family, after business reverses, which had left him little but a manly fortitude and spirit of perseverance, to rely upon. He engaged in farming, merchandizing in a small way, (his goods principally obtained in Geneseo) erected mills, an ashery; was a valuable acquisition to the new country; retrieved his broken fortunes; and what was a moral triumph, of far more consequence, reared and educated a family of sons and daughters who have proved worthy of such a father, (and such a mother it

might well be added.) He died but a few years since.* His surviving sons, are Samuel and Horace Hunt, of Hunt's Hollow; Washington Hunt, the present Governor of this State; John Hunt, recently if not now, of New York; and a younger brother, who has been educated at West Point.

Washington Hunt, after obtaining the rudiments of education which the primitive school of the neighborhood afforded, was an early student of the Academy at Geneseo, paying for his board by his morning and evening services. Entering the store of Bissell & Olmsted, of Geneseo, as a clerk, he accompanied the senior partner to Lockport, where he was his book keeper, and at the same time, had the principal charge of the village Post Office. In 1829 he entered the office of Lott Clark Esq., as a law student, and as his clerk; Mr. Clark being then the agent of the Albany company, who were the proprietors of large tracts of wild land in Niagara, Orleans and Erie counties. In company with his father-in-law, Henry Walbridge, he purchased the unsold lands of the Albany company, and under their auspices large tracts were sold and settled. Commencing with the office of First Judge of Niagara, he has been the Representative in Congress of Niagara and Orleans, the Comptroller of the State, and is now its Governor. He is yet but a little over forty years of age.

[From some early names in Groveland, in preceding portions of the work, the Begole family should not have been omitted. Wm. R. Begole had been the neighbor of Messrs. Rochester, Carrols and and Fitzhughs, at Hagerstown, Md. In 1806, he emigrated and settled at the Hermitage in Groveland. He died in 1820. His son, Thomas Begole, had preceded him, and was the local agent of the gentlemen above named, having the care of their lands, including the "Hundred Acre Tract," at the Falls of the Genesee. He was an early magistrate in Groveland, and in company with Dr. Tannahill, engaged in a large distillery. He still survives, a resident near Dansville. Two other sons, Benjamin and William Begole, reside in Mount Morris. They were of the volunteers in Col. Swift's Regiment, in the war of 1812. A fourth son, Samuel Begole, was an early tavern keeper at the Hermitage; now resides in Michigan. A daughter became the wife of Robert Shadders, the father of Dr. Robert Shadders, of Rochester; another, the wife of Jacob Oman, of Clarendon, Orleans county.]

* Pages of biography could not better illustrate the amiable character of the back-wood's merchant, than does a brief anecdote, which one of his early neighbors related to the author. Sitting in his store enjoying his pipe, and a social conversation with some friends, a poor woman entered with a half bushel of ashes. He took the ashes, carried them some distance to the ashery, returned, and gave the woman their value, (a sixpence,) in tea. After the woman had retired the smallness of the transaction became a subject of remark. "It would hardly pay the trouble," said he, "but the poor woman brought all she had, and it would have been cruel to have deprived her of her cup of tea"

CONTINUATION OF PIONEER EVENTS IN WHAT IS NOW ALLEGANY.

The Pioneers in all the territory now embraced in the county of Allegany, were:—Rev. Andrew Gray, Joseph A. Rathbun, Matthew McHenry, and Joseph Coleman, in Middle Valley, in the town of Almond, in 1796. In 1797, Capt. Henry McHenry, Major Moses Van Campen, Samuel Van Campen, Obadiah Ayers, Wm. Gray and Mr. ——— Vandermark, located in South, or McHenry Valley, in the same town. Speaking of the early advent of Elder Gray, and those who accompanied him, a correspondent of the author's, observes:—"The families went into the wilderness before there was a tenement erected; sleeping upon the ground, until log houses were raised and covered with 'shakes.' During the nights, they were serenaded by the howl of wolves, with an occasional scream of the panther, as an interlude. The timid deer would approach, and gaze upon the new comers, as if determining whether they were friends or enemies; it was not uncommon to see a half dozen of them quietly feeding with the cattle." The emigrants were from Wyoming, and Fishing Creek, Pa. Their secluded back woods settlements, were about three miles apart; to accommodate both, a school house was erected midway between them—the first erected in Allegany; the primitive school master, one of their number, Joseph A. Rathbun, the father of L. S. Rathbun, Esq., of Almond. Mr. Gray soon founded a church, preaching alternately in the two settlements, though his labors soon extended to most of the new settlements in all that region.* The settlers had their own road to make from Hornellsville, guided mostly by Indian trails. Destitute of sawed lumber, their floors and doors were made of split bass-wood, or ash; roofs, with long shingles, fastened with poles. Very little grain was raised in all the early years; consequently the settlers were dependent upon older and distant settlements for their bread. In 1797, two bushels of wheat cost Mr. Rathbun a journey of forty miles, four dollars, three days time of himself and team, and a rainy night in the woods, among the wolves, in the bargain. The Pennsylvanians were good hunters, and they made levies upon the forest in the way of both food and clothing.

About the year 1800, Stephen Major, Walter Karr, Joseph Karr, Silas Ferry, (or Fewry,) Samuel Karr, emigrated from Luzerne

* Mr. Gray had been a soldier in the British army. He studied the languages with Professor Wilson, of Columbia College; though mostly self-educated, he was well educated, and endowed by nature with strong intellectual powers. In 1808, he removed to Sparta, ministering alternately to a congregation there, and one in Groveland. In 1809, he became the resident missionary at Tuscarora Indian village, near Lewiston, where he remained with his family until the British invasion of the neighborhood, in the war of 1812. He returned to Sparta, where he died, and where his descendants now reside. James Gray, of Dansville, is his son.

county, Pa., locating in Middle, or Karr's Valley; and they were soon joined by George Lockhart and Benjamin Van Campen. In 1806-7, and '8, a settlement was commenced in the North Valley of said township, by Solomon Doud, Benajah Hays, Elihu Knight, John Brown, Lewis Moffatt, Miles Oakley, and ——— Jones, emigrants from Sheshequin and Towanda, Pa.

Early settlers in Alfred:—Clark Crandall, David Stillman, Abel Burdick, Nathan Green, Samuel Thatcher, Samuel Russell, Dr. John B. Collins. In Andover:—Thaddeus Baker, (surveyor,) Luther Strong, Elijah Hunt, Alpheus Baker, Philemon Lee, David J. Hale and John Russell. In Independence:—John Teater, Peter Teater, Joseph Cory, Samuel White, and J. N. Haskins.

In all the eastern portion of Allegany, settlements were tardy after the few first ones had been commenced under the auspices of Mr. Williamson; as was the case in the adjoining portion of Steuben. Between the last towns named in Allegany, and the Church Tract, there were tracts of Morris Reserve which were kept out of market for many years—the principal one not having been opened for sale until 1816, and others of them not until later periods.

In a preceding portion of the work—in connection with the advent of Judge Church—the reader will have noticed some account of the commencement of settlement at Angelica, and brief allusions to other localities on the Morris Reserve.

Those whose names follow, were residents of the town of Angelica, in the year 1808.

John Ayres	John Gibson	Wm. Pease
Ezra Bacon	Luke Goodspeed	Jonathan Rawson
Abraham Baker	Nathaniel Goodspeed	Isaac Rawson
Robert Barr	Arnold Hill	Arad Rice
John Bennett	Timothy Hyde	George Renwick
John Bunnell	John S. Hyde	James Renwick
Christian Burns	Ebenezer Hyde	Wm. Poole
Abisha Cole	Wm. Heydon	Edward Rice
John Cole	David Heydon	Philip Riggs
Thomas Cole	Philo Ingraham	Benj. Riggs
Harry Davis	Ami Holt	Stephen Rogers
Alexander Dautremont	Johnson Shubold	Solomon Tracy
Augustus Dautremont	Joseph Knight	Moses Van Campen
Victor Dupont	Joseph Knight Jr.	Samuel Van Campen
Edward Dodd	Jacob Manning	Sylvanus Russell
David Downing	Hiram Munson	Evert Van Winkle
Isaac Dike	John Mullender	Stephen Waterman
Philip Fox	Samuel Neilson	Horatio Waterhouse
Asahel Franklin	Wm. Neilson	Wm. Higgins
John Freeman	Stephen B. Nichols	Silas Knight

The early merchant in Angelica, Victor Dupont, was the son of Dupont de Nemours, a name intimately blended in the history of

NOTE.—The author's informant says nothing of a Pioneer by the name of Dyke, in Andover. John King, of Cerestown, Pa., says that in 1799, and 1800, their nearest neighbors were at "Dyke's settlement, in Andover." Judge Church speaks of "Mr. Dyke, a solitary settler, who occupied the advanced post of civilization," in 1801.

the Revolution. The son had been a merchant in New-York. Leaving Angelica in early years, he joined his brother in the manufacture of powder at Wilmington, in Delaware. One of his sons is now an officer in our Navy. The Dautremonts, early tavern keepers and merchants in Angelica, still survive, and reside there. They had been connected with the powder manufactory at Wilmington.

A correspondent of the author's, who became a resident of Alleghany, in 1820, thus describes its then condition:—"The county was then just recovering from the effects of the war; the cold seasons, the financial revulsion of 1818-'19; had just began to emerge from long untoward years. For a considerable period in each spring and fall, in anticipation of high water, and navigation upon the Alleghany river, the main roads of the county would be thronged with emigrants, making tavern keeping lucrative, and affording a market for any surplus provisions the county had to spare. But it was a pretty hard backwoods region; its hunters, trappers, and anglers, outnumbered its agriculturists; the deer were yet plenty in its forests; venison, peltry, furs, maple sugar, were almost lawful tender in all matters of traffic; a framed house was aristocratic, about most of the log ones there were but stinted improvements, often enclosed with log or brush fences. The whole region had a most forbidding aspect; it was as primitive, rough, and inhospitable, to appearance, as any that I ever beheld; and yet a majority of its inhabitants were of the "right sort;" a good specimen of the backwoodsmen of our whole country.

"Angelica, though then called an *old* village, was but a small cluster of buildings. It had a court-house, two taverns, two stores, and a few mechanic shops. In that year, the pioneer printer in so many different localities—Franklin Cowdery—had moved a rude press, and a few fonts of battered type, from Olean, where he had published the Hamilton Recorder, and had started the first paper in Alleghany county, the Angelica Republican.* The Dautremonts were conducting a store and tavern; Nicholas Ayrault had removed from Moscow, and had united with a land agency, a mercantile establishment, in company with John Palmer. Andrews A. Norton, was carrying on a second mercantile establishment. The father and son, Gen. Samuel S. Haight and Fletcher M. Haight, were re-

*"It was a pretty hard place for newspaper publishing," says the veteran pioneer printer, who still survives. "I had to take my pay in all manner of traps—just what I could get. I feasted upon fat venison; it hung around my domicile in the shape of saddles, quarters, and hams; and I had maple sugar in profusion; the great trouble was to get something the paper and ink maker would take in payment." "To print for a livelihood there, was up-hill work—rather less lucrative than hunting and trapping. And so little intercourse was there with the business world, that the highways were often so bad getting over, that paper had to be carried on horseback; and ink manufactories so distant, that typo made his own printing ink, composed mostly of linseed oil, lamp black, and rosin; during the three years he *luminated* the woods of Cattaraugus and Alleghany." After about two years, Mr. Cowdery was succeeded by Samuel P. Hull, now of the "Jerseyman," in Morristown.

siding there, and were post-masters in succession. The other Attornies, were, Alvin Burr, Z. Caswell, George Miles; the sheriff of the county, Joseph Wilson. A Presbyterian society had been formed, and was under the care of the Rev. Robert Hubbard. Angelica was then the residence of the veteran of the border wars. Moses Van Campen. The wives of Alvin Burr, Esq., of Dr. Samuel Southworth, and the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, were his daughters. Add to the business and professional men I have named, Dr. Isaac Southworth, the second tavern of — Sherman, the tailor shop of George Renwick, and George Renwick, Jr., and a few mechanic shops, and you have about all there was of Angelica, in 1820.

"The other principal settlements of the county, were in the towns along down the River, below the residence of Judge Church; in Friendship, Cuba, and Rushford; and in the eastern towns of the county. Large tracts of wild land were either withheld from market, or had but recently been offered for sale. I think the territory now embraced in several towns, was then an unbroken wilderness."

[What will be said of the twelve western towns of Allegany will generally be in addition to what is included in the author's published work, the "Holland Purchase;" in some respects, perhaps a repetition, though that is intended to be avoided.]

The twelve towns in Allegany, the two western tiers of towns, are upon the Holland Purchase. Some account of their Pioneer settlement will have reference to present town lines, though at the periods of settlement many of the towns were merged.

The settlement of Belfast, it is presumed commenced in 1804, as first contracts were taken in that year, though in this, as well as other instances, settlers may have located before taking contracts. Those who took contracts may in all cases not have become actual settlers. In 1804, they were:— Benjamin Chamberlain, Calvin T. Chamberlain. Jedediah Nobles, Elisha Chamberlain, Wm. Pinkerton, Mason Harding, Isaac Sanford, Abraham D. Henderson. In 1806, Johnathan Dodge, Samuel Crawford, Alpheus Dodge, Daniel Dodge, Ebenezer Horton. Other early settlers:— Abraham Sanford, Thaddeus Bennett, James Haskins, Henry Mapes, Rockwell Hopper. Abraham Sanford built the first saw mill and grist mill.

Contracts were taken in Caneadea in 1803, by Joseph (or Job) Philips, Nehemiah Sayer, David Sanford, Ezra Sanford, Stephen Vandemark, Ziba Huff, Samuel Lamb. Other early settlers:— Samuel Lane, Joseph Lane, Adam Rifinback, Alanson Burr, James Rickey, Phineas Haskins, G. P. Ketchum, Arad Hitchcock, John Hays, Caleb Frisbee, James Smith, Jacob Radley, Wm. Atherton, Simeon Wilson.

The Pioneers of Belfast and Caneadea, commencing about the same period that the primitive settlement was going on upon the Church tract, saw the harshest features of Pioneer life. They had

their own roads to make ; to procure provisions at "Big Tree," other than what they got by fishing and hunting ; mostly used deer skins and furs for clothing. The Canaëda Indians, then a considerable tribe, or "village," were their near neighbors. Shongo and James Hudson were their chiefs. ¶ See page 329. In 1806 or '7, there was a slight interruption of peaceful relations : — a white squatter upon the Indian lands made the whites believe that the Indians were about to attack them, and the Indians that the whites would attack them. He was a backwoods Iago. There were a few days of mutual alarm ; both parties mostly fled or secreted themselves in the woods. Maj. Reynolds was peace ambassador to the Indians, and in turn, Hudson visited the whites and assured them of none but peaceable intentions. The mischief maker was driven off the Indian lands.

Contracts were taken in Hume in 1806, by Roger Mills, Frederick Mills, Elisha Mills, Joshua Skiff, Col. Lawrence, C. J. Ingraham, Charles Mather, Sylvanus Harman, Ira Highby, J. C. Balcom. Roger Mills built mills on the Wiscoy, at present site of Cold Creek village. C. J. Ingraham was the Post master and tavern keeper at that point.

Contracts were taken in Friendship in 1806, by Simon Gates, Wm. Burnett, James Green, Seth Marvin, William Higgins, Levi Couch. Other early settlers : — John Hanson, Ebenezer Steenrod, Henry Utter, Samuel Wardwell, Squire Darby, Samuel Darby, Timothy Hyde, Elisha Strong, Daniel Axtell, Aaron Axtell, Sylvanus Merriman, Talcott Gould, Chauncey Colton, Ira Colton, Samuel Thomas, John Utter, Josiah Utter, Henry Niver, Dr. Pierce and Othello Church ; the last of whom built the first saw mill ; was murdered in after years by — Howe. Sylvanus Merriman and Aaron Axtell built the first grist mill. In 1816 and '17, many of the settlers went down the Allegany River, and very few supplied their places until after 1820. Hon. Josiah Utter settled there in 1809. In 1806 or '7, John Harrison and others had cut out the road from the River up Van Campen's Creek,* about three miles ; in 1807 Zeb-dee Gates and Simon Gates, for the Holland company, opened a road through the town. The first framed house in town was built by Judge Merriman in 1811 ; the house in which he now resides.

Dr. Lorenzo Dana, then a young man, settled in Friendship in 1820 ; and soon after that Dr. G. B. Champlain settled in Cuba. Dr. Champlin had been an assistant surgeon in the war of 1812 ; in later years, he has been the founder of a Hydropathic, or Water Cure establishment, at Cuba. Jonas Wellman, M. D., was the first practicing physician in Bolivar

* The early settlers in Friendship saw the beech tree on which Major Van Campen put his name when a prisoner among the Indians during the Border Wars of the Revolution.

Rushford was settled in 1806 or '7. Those who took contracts in 1807, were:— Charles Swift, Enos Garey, Othniel Perry, Wm. Vaughn, Andre Bennett, Joshua Wilson. Other early settlers:— James Gordon, James Gordon Jr., Tarbell Gordon, Wm. Gordon, James M'Call, Levi Benjamin, Deacon Trueman, Charles Swift, Jonathan Going, Elisha Going, James Going, Joseph Going. Sampson Hardy. Judge M'Call, was the first merchant; M. P. Cady and others built the first saw mill; — Warren the first grist mill. ¶ See "Holland Purchase."

The Pioneer settler in Centerville, was Joseph Maxon, in 1808. He was soon followed by Alfred Forbes, Russell Thrall, Thomas Clute, Strong Warner, David Gelatt, Samuel Webster, Jesse Bullock, — Higgins, and Dr. Cass. Higgins built the first mill.

The first contracts were taken in Wirt in 1810, by Azel Buckley John Hopkins, Hyra Axtell, Daniel Willard. Other early settlers; Chauncey Axtell, Benjamin Crabtin, Levi Abbott, Luther Austin, Norman Buckley, Nathan Gilbert, Alvin Richardson; the last of whom built the first mill. A road was built by the Pioneers of Friendship, to the backwoods settlement of Francis King, on the Osway, in Pennsylvania, as if in that southern portion of Allegany, the new settlers looked to the opening of communications at the south, instead of the north. ¶ For some account of Francis King, see "Holland Purchase, page, 506.

Col. Samuel Morgan opened a public house on Oil Creek, four miles from Cuba village, in 1811, about the period that emigrants who were going down the Allegany River, had commenced taking that route. His house was widely known in all the years of considerable travel upon that route. He died in 1845. He had been preceded by several other settlers in the township, few of whom it is presumed were permanent ones. As early as 1806, Benjamin Riggs, Enos Silsby, Andrew Hawley, Stephen Coles, Geo. W. Higgins, had taken contracts in the township. The early proprietor of the site of Cuba village, was James Strong, who settled there in 1817. Gen. Calvin T. Chamberlain settled two miles from the village in 1816, building the first saw mill in town in 1817. Judge John Griffin located on the site of the village in 1820, becoming its proprietor.

As early as 1806, Hoops, Norton and their associates, had opened a road, or wagon track, from Olean, (or Hamilton as it was then called,) to Oil Creek, or the present site of Cuba village, as an extension of the road that was approaching their contemplated city from Leicester on the Genesee River, via Castile, Pike &c. When emigration to the west and south via the Allegany and Ohio Rivers began to be brisk, this became the principal route.

Stephen Cady and Jacob Baldwin, built the first grist mill in 1822, two miles above the village site. The village had its commencement in 1835; in which year Calvin T. Chamberlin erected

a public house, opened a mercantile establishment, and Stephen Smith purchased the property of Judge Griffin. Other early settlers there: — Daniel Raymond, E. H. Johnson, S. C. Moore.

None but the most enterprising would have selected the spot, as early as 1835, for the founding of a village. It was in the extreme rear of settlements — far away from any considerable thoroughfare, or access to market. But in the march of Progress, it has been reached. It is a flourishing village now, a central location, upon the Erie Rail Road, and upon the line of the Genesee Valley Canal.

Thomas Lightfoot, Thomas Smith, John Watson, took contracts in Genesee, in 1806. Hiram Lovewell, Austin Cowles, Christopher Tyler, Asa Cowles, Zephaniah Smith, Levi Appleby, took contracts in Bolivar, in 1821. Contracts were taken in New Hudson, by Robert Brooks, Solomon Rawson, David Markham, William Markham, Orrin Upson, as early as 1806. In 1821, James Reed, Hiram Hill, Abraham Van Ness, Clark Lewis, Elijah Seaver, Daniel Seaver, took contracts in Clarksville. Other early settlers: — Joseph Palmer, Jas. McDugald, Nelson Hoyt, John Slater, Horatio Slater, John Murray, Peter Le Roy.

As late as 1820, in all the south-east portion of the Holland Purchase, or south-west portion of Allegany: — in four towns at least — there were but few settlers. Col. Samuel King, emigrated from Vermont, to Gainsville,* and in 1819, removed to Pike, where he opened a public house. The whole tide of emigration was then setting to the west, via. the Allegany River, passing the wild lands of Allegany, and the Holland Company were making but few sales in that quarter. To give a new impetus to sales and settlement, the Company's agent sold to Col. King, first, two thousand two hundred acres, and from time to time, before the close of 1821, nearly seventy thousand; the last sale embracing all the unsold land, with few exceptions, in Friendship, and Cuba, beside considerable tracts in Bolivar, Clarksville and New Hudson. It was rather the constituting of him a local agent, upon terms which gave him a liberal profit upon all land he purchased and sold: though ultimately it amounted to an absolute sale. Col. King soon changed his residence to Friendship, where he had erected a large public house, the best upon the Purchase then, south of Batavia. He commenced opening new roads, building bridges, and erecting mills; advertised his lands in an eastern paper, and in handbills; introduced a stock of goods to meet the wants of the new settlements; and had soon given a new impetus to settlement and improvement. In all this, he had the efficient help of James Reed, as surveyor and agent,

* "At that time," says Col. King, "every thing eatable was scarce and dear; hay \$15; oats and potatoes, 75 cts.; wheat \$2.00; pork, \$26; beef, \$16.50. Going east, I purchased more flour than my family needed, and had the satisfaction of supplying some families with bread who had lived for weeks on milk, sugar, and what they could glean from the forest."

who worked faithfully six days, and preached on the seventh. He organized the first church, and was the first ordained minister south of Rushford. In addition to the enterprises named, Col. King built a church in Friendship, assisted in building school houses; and often helped the new settlers to teams, farming utensils, and provisions. In early years, he was much helped in his exertions to promote settlement, by Dr. E. Hyde, who kept a public house on the Angelica and Olean road, five miles east of Friendship, and by Peter G. Chapman, who kept a public house in Friendship. They helped to stop emigrants, and induce them to settle in Allegany: in which local public spirit, Mrs. Chapman zealously participated.

In all this region of extraordinary individual enterprise, there are few instances in which one man, by his personal efforts, has contributed as largely to settlement and improvement, as Col. King. He still survives, a resident of Belfast, where his enterprises have been continued in the erection of mills and machinery.

In 1821, Abraham C. (or E.) Crandall, purchased, or took contract for unsold lands, of Holland Company, similar to that of Col. King; embracing south west corner of Friendship, west part Bolivar, and most of Genesee. He was a Seventh Day Baptist. Going to the east part of this State, Connecticut, and R. Island, among those of his order, he prevailed upon many of them to emigrate and settle upon the lands he had contracted. A church of his order was soon organized in Friendship; the largest portion of them however, were located in Genesee. In that locality, bringing with them their habits of industry and economy, they soon built mills and a meeting house, organized schools, "and to this day, have never had a licensed tavern or grocery in town; have never made the county any expense for paupers or assaults and batteries. They are a thriving people."

The town of Ossian was one of the early sales of Phelps and Gorham, to Jeremiah Wadsworth, who sold it to Robert Troup. It was included in the agencies of James Wadsworth, under whose auspices its sale and settlement commenced. A saw mill was built there in 1806. Frederick Covert, Wm. Boyle, Samuel M'Crea, Richard Porter, Joshua Carpenter, Elijah Belknap, James Rooker, Wm. Lemen, James Gregory, and James Boylan, had become purchasers, and it is presumed most of them settlers in 1807. Mr. Wadsworth advertised that he would exchange lands in Troup; for improved farms in New England. He said:—"The township is situated on the Canasraga, about twelve miles above its confluence with the Genesee River; ten miles from Arkport. There is an excellent wagon road from Genesee, through Sparta, to Troup. Dansville, a flourishing little village, where there is a merchant mill, two stores and a number of traders, is one mile from Troup. A road has been made from the village, through Troup, to Angelica." In December of the same year, Mr. Wadsworth writes

to Mr. Troup that he had supplied a new settler in the township, (Mr. Carpenter,) with a pot ash kettle, and adds:—"you cannot imagine what a help two or three pot ash kettles are, in a new township, to the settlers."

The public improvements—the Genesee Valley Canal, and Erie Rail Road—that have reached the county of Allegany are traversing its hills vallies, making its resources available, and giving a sudden impetus to its enterprise and prosperity, are of recent origin, and there will be readers of this work, perhaps, who will not be familiar with their localities. The Erie Rail Road, coming from Hornellsville, in Steuben, enters the county perhaps two miles north of the centre of its east line, in the town of Almond; bearing off to the south west to near the centre of Andover, it then pursues nearly a westerly course, coming into the immediate valley of the Genesee River, in the south east corner of Livingston. Passing down on the east side of the River nearly through the town of Amity, it crosses the River, passes down on the west side to near the south west corner of Angelica, where it bears off southerly and westerly, through Friendship and Cuba; and then down the vallies of Oil and Ishua creeks, to the Allegany River at Olean.

The Genesee Valley Canal, passing up the River from Portage, on the west side, enters the county in the north-west corner of Granger, and keeps the immediate River valley through Hume and Canadea to near the west line of Belfast, where it leaves the River and bears off south westerly through Belfast, a corner of New Hudson, and through Cuba; thence down the vallies of Oil and Ishua creeks to Olean.

The abundance of pine timber in most of all the county of Allegany is proverbial. An impression very generally prevails that it has been nearly exhausted; borne off down the Allegany before other markets were opened to it. Most of the pine of Allegany has been too far from the Allegany River to be subject to that drain, or diminishing cause. Previous to the extension of the Genesee Valley Canal the drain was principally over hilly wagon roads, to Mt. Morris and Dansville, and was not of any considerable magnitude. The Canal and Rail Road have reached the pine forests of Allegany while yet a vast quantity of pine has been preserved, to be a rich source of revenue to the county, and a supply to the "northern plains"—the wheat growing region of Western New York,—which is growing more and more necessary, as the forest there are disappearing, and the want of building and fence lumber is increasing. The local advantages of the Genesee Valley Canal, are yet to accrue to the northern counties by the facilities it will afford for making the pine forests of Allegany available; even their inferior products will soon be in demand. That resource exhausted, well cultivated farms will supply its place; dairies, grazing fields, the production of the coarser grains, upon the hills, and slopes, and in

the vallies of Allegany, will be its chief characteristics, and soon give it a higher rank among the counties which make up the "Garden of the state."

That portion of the Morris Reserve, which is embraced in the towns of Perry and a part of Castile, was deeded by Mr. Morris to Samuel Ogden. In 1807 it was surveyed by Wm. Shepherd of Canandaigua, and soon put in market under the agency of John Greig Esq. Previous to this, in 1803, '4 and '5, settlement had commenced upon the Holland Purchase west of this tract; a woods road having been made from the settlement on the Genesee River, (Leicester) passing through it. Elizur Webster had pioneered the way to the flats on Allen's creek, the site of the village of Warsaw; Roswell Turner had penetrated the forest thirteen miles farther on, to what is now North Sheldon; and thirteen miles still farther on, in and near the village of Aurora, Joel Adams, Phineas Stevens, Jabez Warren and others, had settled. In all these localities and in several others on the Big Tree road, considerable settlements were formed, while the Ogden Tract was yet an unbroken wilderness.

Soon after the survey of the tract a road was opened from Leicester to Warsaw, through the centre of the town; previous to which, as early as 1806, the south or Allegany road was surveyed, if not opened. Upon this last road, Josiah Williams became the pioneer settler of Perry in 1809; his location, about half a mile east of Perry village, where he opened a tavern. In the same year, Samuel Gates settled near the Inlet, on the road from Perry village to South Warsaw. Mr. Gates was a soldier of the Revolution, was at the taking of Burgoyne. Soon after the Revolution, he came to the valley of the Mohawk, resided for several years at Canajoharie: after which he became a boatman, making trips as far west as the foot of Seneca Lake, transporting goods when there were none but Indian traders to supply. He was one of the early settlers at the head of Seneca Lake, and at Caneadea, on the Genesee River. He lived, in all, over thirty years, on the extreme borders of civilization. He died in 1813; his wife the same year. An oak tree, a foot in diameter, which has sprung up on their graves, marks the final resting place of the Pioneers, in the cemetery of Perry village.

Elisha M. Smith, settled on the centre road, near the Inlet, in 1810, and opened a tavern; putting up the first frame in Perry, (a barn,) the same year. Peter Beebe settled at the Centre in 1812. James Otis, who is mentioned in connection with Lima, on page 376, became a neighbor of Mr. Gates, in 1811; still survives, and to him the author is indebted for reminiscences of Perry. Mr. Canfield settled in town the same year, and soon after, Mr. Curtiss, a son of an early Pioneer in West Bloomfield:—jointly they erected a

saw mill on the outlet of Silver Lake, on present village site. John Hammersly settled the same year, and commenced the erection of a saw mill and grist mill. The same year, Mr. James Edgerly came in and erected the first framed house in town. At the close of the year 1811 there were nine families in the town. Settlement was rapid in 1812; emigrants choosing to stop there, rather than to advance farther toward the seat of war.

Rattle snakes were plenty there in early years. The author well remembers seeing an early settler of Cattaraugus, who had been bitten while passing through the Ogden tract; that, and several cases happening with the early settlers of Perry, were treated successfully, by Tall Chief, who was an "Indian Doctor." The early settlers attacked the snakes coming out of their den, and soon thinned them off.

Perry was erected from Leicester in 1814. The first Town meeting was held at the house of Peter Beebe. Jarius Crittenden was chosen Supervisor; and Warren Buckland, Town Clerk; Salmon Preston Constable and Collector.

Canfield and Curtiss dying, with many others, of the prevailing epidemic, in 1813, their mills were purchased by Levi Benton, together with the lands embracing principally the site of Perry village. In 1817 the mills were sold to Wm. Wiles; and in the same year the Hammersly mills were sold to Jonathan Childs and Benjamin Gardner. In 1827 Mr. Gardner built a large merchant mill and commenced the business of making flour for the New York market. In 1817 Calvin P. Bailey and Samuel Hatch, became the first permanent merchants, although James C. Edgerly had before brought on a few goods. In 1824 Bailey & Hatch built an oil mill, and in 1827, a grist mill. In 1812 David Stannard built a public house in the village, and Wm. Gould a shoe shop.

In 1815, Henry Wallace, his son, David D. Wallace, and — Dow, who were methodists, settled in the town. They organized a class. The Rev. Robert Winchell preached the first sermon in town. The first physician, Dr. Jabez Ward, settled in 1813. James C. Edgerly was the first P. M., the mail coming from Leicester on horse back once a week. William Wiles was the first settled minister.

In 1823 William Wiles sold his mills to Rufus H. Smith who was an early settler in Perry, and one of the Judges of the courts of Genesee.

The first birth in Perry was that of a daughter of Samuel Gates;

NOTE. — After the burning of Buffalo, in 1812, pot-ash kettles and grind stones were stolen from the ruins; a saw mill was stolen in early years in the west part of Wyoming county; and a steam boat, in later years, on one of the upper Lakes; but whoever before heard of the stealing of an orchard? In 1813, Charles Leonard, settled in Perry, a mile east of the Centre. The next spring, he set out fifty apple trees and the next morning after setting them, they were missing; had all been pulled up, and carried away in the night. No traces of them were ever discovered.

the first death, that of Nancy Williams, a daughter of Josiah Williams. John Thompson was drowned in the Lake in 1816.

Two school houses were built in 1812; Ann Cutting taught the first school. Samuel Gates set out the first orchard and raised the first crop of wheat. Levi Benton was the first Justice of the peace.

Wild animals, especially bears, were a pest to the new settlers. It was almost impossible to keep a stock of hogs. Of five, that Mr. Otis drove in, the bears killed four, and all their increase; though he had the satisfaction of killing as many bears, as they had old hogs — four in number. He had some rare sport in seeing a couple of Indian hunters kill a bear. The animal had climbed a large chestnut tree and descended its hollow trunk. The Indians made a ladder, climbed up to his hole, dropped brands of fire into it, and then stationed themselves with their rifles to watch the result. The bear soon emerged from the hollow of the tree, climbed out upon a limb, where he was easily shot.

Wild game, and fish from Silver Lake, helped the settlers much in early years, in the way of food; especially in the season of extreme scarcity — in 1816, '17.

In 1808 and 9, Daniel M'Kay, a brother of Robert and John M'Kay, of Caledonia, built a saw mill on Wolf Creek, in what is now Castile. In 1808, Robert Whaley removed from Caledonia and settled on the Allegany Road, a short distance from what is now the centre of the town, there being then no other settler on the road between him and the village of Leicester, a distance of thirteen miles. Mr. Whaley had charge, if he did not become the purchaser of the saw mill. It was located about half a mile above where the creek unites with the Genesee River, on the Cotringer tract, which was not then in market. He purchased pine timber of Mrs. Jemison, (the White Woman,) transported his lumber to the high river bank, where he had a slide, upon which it descended into the river, was rafted, and sent down to Geneseo, Avon, and other *old* settlements, where there was a demand for it.* Mr. Whaley opened a public house, where he had located on the Allegany road and the "Whaley stand" in his hands, and those of his widow, who succeeded him, was widely known in early years; the comfortable halting and resting place of emigrants to the southern portion of the Holland Purchase, and to the western states, via. Olean.

At this Pioneer tavern, while it was yet a rude, primitive log house — in 1816 — a severe calamity occurred. Mr. Whaley had

* It was near this slide, where John Jemison killed his brother Jesse, as related in the history of Mary Jemison. "The White Woman," says Ziba Hurd Esq., a Pioneer of Castile, "lived about four miles from me. I frequently saw her at her house, she was sociable and intelligent; spoke the English language fluently. She and her family all dressed in the Indian style. After her sons were murdered, her family consisted of three daughters, named Polly, Betsey, and Nancy. Their husbands names were, George Shongo, John and Bill Green."

moved to his mill, and rented the house to Samuel (or Lemuel) Eldridge. A company of five or six men came out from Le Roy to view the country, and put up at the house. During the night the house took fire, and two of the men sleeping in the chamber, were burned to death; the one escaping, to survive but a few hours, and the other perishing in the flames.

The house was rebuilt, and Mr. Whaley returned to it in 1817, dying soon after. Mrs. Whaley continued the tavern, (building a large and commodious house,) until within a few years she removed to Caledonia. Mrs. W. is a sister of the Pioneer brothers, the M'Kays.

The survivors and residents of Castile, who were settlers there, previous to January 1st, 1819, are: — Jonathan Gilbert, who erected the first carding and cloth dressing establishment; Aaron Pond, James Thompson, Clark Sanford, Dow J. Clute, Charles Tallman, Freeman Sanford, Wm. Tripp, Ebenezer Seymour, Sylvester Derby. Many of the first settlers are dead, and many have emigrated.

The Cotringer tract, was opened for sale by Mr. Greig, in April, 1816. In July, following, Ziba Hurd, made a purchase upon it, and struck the first blow on the site of the present flourishing village of Castile, in the midst of a then dense forest. In 1821, a Post Office was established, and Mr. Hurd was appointed P. M. He still survives, an intelligent and valuable citizen of the village of which he was the founder. In 1819, Elihu Burr, built the first grist mill. School District No. 1, was organized in 1816 — a log school house built, and a school opened by Miss Higby. In 1821, the town of Castile was set off from Perry. A "Christian Society" was organized in 1819; a Presbyterian society in 1824; in the same year, a Methodist society; a Baptist society in 1835. Temperance movements commenced as early as 1824, or '5, in Castile — the first organization, a society of ladies.

The fine water power upon Wolf Creek, with an abundance of pine timber near it, have furnished the facilities for extensive lumbering operations. After 1818, saw mills began to multiply, and at one period there were fourteen upon the stream.

In the spring of 1817, the memorable land slide occurred upon the Genesee River. About 15 acres of land elevated some 200 feet above the River, broke off, filling the channel, damming the water and causing it to force a new channel through the forest, a distance of half a mile.

The flourishing village of Portageville is in the town of Genesee Falls, within the present limits of the county of Wyoming. A tract of 500 acres which embraces the village plat, was purchased soon after the lands in that quarter were opened for sale, by a company, consisting of Thomas Munford, John M'Kay, Thomas H. Hubbard,

and Silas Smith ; the only resident proprietor was Mr. Smith, who made a commencement there in 1822 by the erection of a saw mill ; and soon after, the proprietors erected a bridge over the River. Lewis Wood, erected a public house in 1825 ; at which period, the Falls and the wild and magnificent scenery around them had began to attract visitors. Lucius Foot Esq., settled there in law practice, and as a local agent of the proprietors. He died in 1826, and was succeeded in the local agency by Dr. Elisha D. Moses, who had located there as a physician, and was an early Post Master. In 1826, Dr. Dutton removed from Pike and erected a public house. Henry O. Brown, Lyman Church, Joshua Abbot, Benonia Shaw, Bezaleel Shaw, Obed Shaw, Robert Hines, and Charles Bristol, were other early men in the village.

In 1826 or 7, Col. George Williams purchased the interest of one of the proprietors, and afterwards purchased all that remained unsold. He is now the principal proprietor there. Surrounded mostly by large tracts of wild lands, the village had but a slow growth until the location of the Genesee Valley Canal gave it an impetus ; now, in addition to the canal, a Rail Road from Hornellsville to Buffalo passes through it ; its valuable hydraulic power is attracting enterprise ; an excellent tributary agricultural region is making its mart there ; the destiny of the small village, so long hid away in the most wild and romantic spot in all our local region, is onward.

CHAPTER II.

CONCLUSION.

BRIEF RETROSPECT — LOCAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR OF 1812 — COMPLETION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

It has been the design of the author to conduct the reader along step by step, from the earliest occupancy of Western New York, by our race, through such a Pioneer period as would embrace the commencement of settlement in all the principal localities. If the task has been faithfully and intelligently performed, and the reader has had the interest and patience to follow up the chain of narrative, little need be said in conclusion, or in the way of recapitulation.

It has been seen how untoward was the commencement of things in this now prosperous region. No where, in all our now widely extended country have more serious difficulties been encountered,

and no where have they been more perseveringly and manfully overcome. As if they had the gift of prophecy, — as if they were endowed with a foresight which enabled them to look forward through a dark and clouded vista, and see the “BETTER TIME” ahead ; stoutly and courageously did the Pioneers wrestle with the hindrances that in so many forms beset them.

Settlement of this region commenced, as has already been noted, at a period in our general history, of depression and embarrassment. The men of New England, from among whom came the great bulk of Pioneers, had just passed through a long and harrassing war, followed by stagnation of trade, and embarrassment in all the pursuits of industry and enterprize. As a nation, or a people, in the aggregate, ours was the poorest that ever entered upon the experiment of separate and independent existence ; and the settlement of this region commenced at the lowest point of depression. Those who had homes in New England, and elsewhere — the means of comfortable subsistence — generally chose to remain where they were — leaving it mostly for those who were impelled to it by necessity to encounter the then hard task of settling and improving the wilderness. NO NEW REGION OF OUR ENTIRE COUNTRY HAS BEEN SETTLED BY A CLASS OF EMIGRANTS, AS POOR, IN THE AGGREGATE, AS WERE THE PIONEERS OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY. The instances of those who had enough to pay the expenses of emigration, get possession of their lands, and make any considerable improvements, were few ; those who had enough to place themselves in their new homes and purchase the necessaries of life, until they could produce them, were not numerous ; while the great bulk of the Pioneers had but little left when they had planted themselves in the forest, and erected their rude log cabins. The instances were not few, of those who parted with necessary raiment, with household furniture that could not easily be spared — with things essential to their comfort — either to pay the expenses of emigration, or to piece out the means of subsistence. But all this may be inferred, from the personal narratives and reminiscences in the body of the work.

Located in a widely extended forest, in sparse settlements, or in solitary or detached homes — the long and tedious journey of emigration consummated — log huts erected, small openings made, and a rude and primitive agriculture commenced — they had but just entered upon a long series of difficulties and hindrances : — Disease and apprehensions of Indian wars, came upon them in their years of extreme weakness ; in busy seasons, when health and strength were most needed, whole households and neighborhoods were stricken down with agues and fevers, and the services of households and neighborhoods that escaped would be required to aid those less fortunate ; then would come Indian alarms, demonstrations of a renewal of Indian hostilities, which would render the tenure by which they held their wilderness homes precarious, — desertion and flight,

not an improbable necessity. These difficulties subsiding, and warded off, when lands that had been cleared, soil that had been subdued, began to yield a surplus, they had no market; their wheat moulded in the stack or in the bark covered log barns; or, when threshed and drawn over long tedious woods roads, at a low price, could not be exchanged for many of the most common necessities of life. A gleam of sunshine came, a better day dawned for a brief season, but soon came the national exigencies of embargo and non-intercourse, which bore especially hard upon all this region.

When all these difficulties had been surmounted; to which should have been added, at least one unfruitful season, and consequent scarcity of food for man, and hay and grain for stock, — causing in many localities actual suffering; — when the whole region of the Genesee Country had but just begun to realize something of prosperity. War, upon its immediate borders, in its weak and exposed condition, came upon it, a local calamity, the magnitude of which can now hardly be realized.

LOCAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR OF 1812.

Never was a war for a long time premeditated, finally declared, by any nation, with as little preparation for offensive operations which its declaration implied, or for defences, than the war of 1812. This remark is applicable to the condition of the whole country, upon land and water, and especially, to Western New York, and its frontiers. The declaration of war found the enemy in the field, prepared for its immediate exigencies, occupying their strong positions at Kingston, Little York, Forts George, Erie and Malden, while on our part, we had but one company of regular soldiers in Fort Niagara, and a Regiment of undisciplined militia upon the Niagara River. Most of the immediate recruits for frontier defences were drawn from the local militia of Western New York; men who left the plough in the furrow, the new fallow unfenced, their recently cultivated fields ripe for the sythe and the sickle, the axe and the maul, the rude mill, manufactory or workshop, to go out and contend with a powerful foe — at first, for conquest, as the most effectual guarantee against invasion — but soon, under the stern necessity, of defending country and home, threshold and fire side, from retaliatory warfare.

Drawn away from the field of toil to the field of strife; from the peaceful walks of Pioneer life, to the camp and the drill, were by far the largest portion of the effective working men of Western New York. In many back wood's neighborhoods, at different periods of the war, there was the stillness of the Sabbath in all things appertaining to rural enterprise and industry; all was para-

lyzed : crops were ungathered, and the prepared grounds, were neither planted, nor sowed.

Never, at any period, in any exigency, did men more cheerfully or promptly take up arms, and from citizens become soldiers — than did most of the able bodied men of all this region, on the breaking out of the war of 1812. At first, elated with the hope and expectation of easy victories, defences and conquests, which would recompense all their sacrifices ; but soon, under far less encouraging auspices. Remissness, improvidence, a neglect promptly to prepare for a vigorous prosecution of the war it had waged, was soon visible, in all things appertaining to the general government. To the citizen soldiery assembled upon the Frontier, there was but slow and inadequate additions of regular forces. Delays, inaction, sickness, followed, disheartening to men who had hoped for short campaigns, a prompt execution of whatever there was to do, and a seasonable return to their neglected fields and fire sides. Months of monotonous camp duty succeeded ; the blow that should have been struck was delayed : for months the American army, with its hands tied, with an inaction, rigidly, and in some instances arbitrarily enforced, were wasting the time in camp, in sight of an enemy that was every hour strengthening itself and rendering more and more formidable the work that was to be accomplished. An armistice, ill-judged and fatal, untimely and disastrous, was agreed to by the commanding General of the American army, almost as if he would extend to the enemy the courtesy of allowing them to draw off their forces to the west, make a conquest there, and return to the Niagara Frontier, to meet our forces there, with the prestige of a victory added to other advantages he had been allowed to acquire.

The first blow upon land was struck ; an event more disastrous than any that occurred during the war, transpired at the west. At a moment when the citizens of all this region had been led to believe that all was safe in that quarter, when they had learned that an army was gathering there commanded by a General who was carrying into this service a reputation for skill and bravery he had acquired in others, there came the astounding rumor that that army had surrendered — willingly discredited at first — but soon confirmed by the arrival of British vessels at Fort Erie, where, from Buffalo and the beach below, they were seen to unload a portion of the captive American army. Then came the official announcement in all its disgraceful details : and to cap the climax of public chagrin and shame, came the triumphant announcement of Gen. Brock, that "2,500 American troops had surrendered prisoners of war without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood!"

If some convulsion of nature had shaken all this region to its centre, the physical shock would not have exceeded the moral effect of this unexpected event. In all places of public resort, on the fron-

tier, in the army, in village gatherings, in the log cabins of the new settlements; execrations were piled upon the head of Gen. Hull, who had been brought down a prisoner to Fort George, where he was far safer than he would have been upon this side of the River. To the fear of invasion in this quarter, to the consternation and alarm already existing, it added the real danger of hostile Indian incursions from the west, banded as were almost every Indian nation there, with the enemy, under a native leader more powerful for mischief than any that preceded him upon this continent. Flushed with recent easy victory, it was apprehended — and not in the absence of probability — that it would be the policy of their British leader to follow up success by sending them down the south shore of Lake Erie, where aside from the few organized troops that had not been made captive with Hull, there was little but feeble scattered new settlements to oppose them. Every breeze from the west came freighted with the horrid details of savage capture, torture and death; with confidence in our military leaders, here, destroyed, and what seemed like treason in the leader of the army of the west; more than the timid were alarmed.

War was declared on the 12th of June, the Niagara Frontier was one of its principal theatres; troops, among which were large levies from the militia of Western New York were early in the field; and yet with the exception of the gallant act of Lieut. Elliot, aided by a handful of marines, and a few citizens of Buffalo and Black Rock, nothing was done until the 11th of October. An éclat followed that achievement that in a measure broke the spell of supineness and inaction that fatally brooded upon the Frontier.

If there was culpable delay, a failure to strike the blow when the enemy was unprepared, and when our own troops were in high confidence and courage; still greater, more disastrous and fatal errors were committed in choosing the theatre of action, and arranging its details. If it was best to attack the enemy in one of its strongest fortified positions, — Queenston Heights — the place of crossing the River was illy chosen. There was all the long distances from Black Rock to the commencement of the Rapids above Niagara Falls, and from Lewiston to Youngstown, where a crossing could have been effected with little of danger or sacrifice. There was no necessity of selecting a rapid and eddying current of the River, embarking an army under the fire of the enemy's cannon, and disembarking it where its musketry, from a high vantage ground, could slaughter it while in an almost defenceless condition. And it was little less than criminal negligence, to have provided but thirteen leaky boats to effect the crossing, when any number of good boats and batteaux, required, were lying at the Four Mile creek, and Niagara Falls, that could easily have been transported over land.

All the long delay of action, all the waste of time and neglect of opportunities that the militia had witnessed; and lastly, the errors

of the commanding General in reference to the crossing place and the inadequate preparations for crossing, did not dampen the ardor or patriotism of the men of Western New York. In fact, we have it upon the authority of Gen. Van Rensselaar himself, that he brought on the conflict because the temper of these men would not brook further delay. The 11th of October came, — a crossing was attempted — the militia were on hand to volunteer. The morning of the 13th came and they were on hand, with unchanged resolutions. They soon realized the fatal omission to supply boats for crossing, and this in itself, was a most untoward beginning of the day's work. The thirteen boats — all told — were brought up to the shore, and the militia pressed forward for passage, so that precaution had to be taken against over loading. But few could embark, but those who remained awaited a further opportunity. As soon as the small advance force that the boats had admitted had approached the opposite shore; while they were in the whirling and changing eddies with their clumsy and unmanageable craft, they were assailed by a brisk fire of artillery and musketry; and landing, their small vantage ground was won amid a "shower of iron hail." As the returning boats approached, amid the sound of battle, the splashing of oars, and the breaking of eddying currents on the shore, was mingled the groans of the wounded in the then short conflict. The wounded and dying were landed, and the horrid foretaste of battle, of war, and death's doings, was displayed by the aid of dim lights upon the shore, to undisciplined men, who were just from the peaceful walks of life! It is amid the clash, the smoke, the excitement of battle, that courage rises and enervates; it sinks even with the brave, when they are surrounded by the dead and the dying, and are in a state of inaction. Still the militia pressed forward and endeavored to cross. When they refused to do so it was under the deliberate conviction, induced by all they had seen of that fatal morning's work, that all was lost; that with the vastly inadequate means of crossing a sufficient force could not be landed at one time, to insure a conquest, and only enough for successive sacrifices. In no case, in all the annals of battles, have undisciplined militia continued to stand firm, and press on when there was so much to discourage; so little to hope for.

In a well ordered action the means of retreat are generally attended to; but in this instance, even that was neglected. Says Judge Samuel De Veaux, in some manuscript reminiscences he has kindly furnished the author: — "The scene of the main action was hid by the brow of the mountain, but detached parties, retreating, passed down, followed by the enemy, and at the battery, upon the slope of the mountain, a desperate contest ensued. Long after the Americans ceased firing the enemy continued to pour their fire into the windows and doors of the building in which they had thrown themselves. Before the eye could recover from that re-

pulsive sight, numbers who had cast themselves into the Niagara River were seen struggling with the current, and crying for 'help,' for 'boats,' 'for God's sake help!' In vain we heard their appeals; there were no boats, no help. It was not known that one was saved who sought safety in the eddying flood."

The medical deparment was as badly arranged as all else. When missing militia men were sought after by kindred and neighbors, days after the battle, they were found with their wounds undressed — realizing in a state of conciousness, the terrible conception of Byron : — feeling

" The icy worm around them crawl,
Without the power to scare away
The cold consumers of their clay !" *

With the exception of the artillery that was fired at the time the vessels were cut out from Fort Erie, the battle of Queenston gave out the first sounds of war, to all the region contiguous to the Frontier — even to the distance of fifty miles in the interior. The heavy sounds of cannon, booming over the forest, broke in upon its openings and aroused the sleeping inmates of every isolated log cabin. Then followed backwoods gatherings, listening to each successive crash of battle, so distinct that imagination could well conceive that the groans of the dying were intermingled. Then succeeded long and impatient hours to hear the result. It was a sad detail of local and national disaster; and blended with its dark hues were the sad tidings of the loss of husbands, sons and brothers. Enough of the men of Western New York fell in that ill-fated field to carry mourning into almost every neighborhood; enough to have long ago historically redeemed the local militia from the odium of official reports, and partial chroniclers of war events.

The war of 1812 has a history of itself. Here it is but incidental. One feature of it has been dwelt upon at some length, to deal out a moiety of justice to those from whom it has too long been withheld. Too long have the surviving men of Western New York, and the memories of the dead been allowed to rest under censures mainly undeserved. By every principle of justice and fair dealing, are war historians bound to make out a tolerable case of a well planned and rightly conducted battle on the part of the General in command, before they throw the whole responsibility of a failure upon his soldiers. While but little explanation has been given for the long delay of the attack upon Queenston; for the singular choice of a crossing place; for the omission to have on hand a sufficient number of boats to land at one time an efficient force; for the failure to have upon the spot and in the action, an efficient regular force which was encamped near Buffalo under Gen. Smyth;

* This was literally true in the case of a citizen of Wyoming county.

infinite pains have been taken to attribute the defeat to the local militia. Those of them who crossed the River and bravely fought, have had but little credit for it. Acts of bravery upon that badly chosen battle field, performed by citizen soldiers, deserving the highest encomiums, have no place in official records. The General in command saw fit to cover his own errors and weaknesses, by attributing the blame to others, and war historians have uniformly sanctioned the injustice. While officers of the regular army who participated in the action have had their achievements carefully noted, and sometimes studiously magnified, little credit has been given to the brave men of Western New York who were enabled to cross the River seasonably, and who gallantly strived for laurels in a conflict so illy arranged and provided for.

Passing over intermediate events of the war, as our allotted space admonishes us we must do, we come to that which had the most direct bearing upon all this local region.

The campaign of 1812, every where, upon land, was an almost unbroken series of disasters; ending upon the Niagara Frontier, with a farce as disgraceful as any that war historians ever had to record. A General, selected by a War Department, at this crisis especially unfortunate in its men and measures, came upon the Frontier, assumed command, and signalized his advent by a vaunting, windy proclamation. It promised that within a few days, he would "plant the American standard in Canada, to conquer or to die!" With but a small regular force, he called up on the "men of New York" to supply the deficiency. The men of Western New York, encouraged with the hope that errors of our Generals, and failures of our arms, were to be retrieved, promptly, at an inclement season, obeyed the call. Two thousand of them were soon enrolled under General Peter B. Porter, and besides these other corps were added to the militia force upon the Frontier. With the sequel, the reader will be familiar; it was the third humiliating failure of the campaign; a climax of cowardice, folly and irresolution. It was met by a general burst of indignation from citizens who had left their homes and fire sides elated with the prospect of a vigorous prosecution of the war. Riot and disorder took the place of discipline and subordination. The General of an army was soon converted into a refugee from meditated violence, the infliction of which came near being executed.

The volunteers returned home through snow and mud, wearied and disheartened. The failure of a campaign was not locally the greatest calamity. Disease in one of its worst forms, scourged the whole region, and added to local vicissitudes. It made its appearance on the Frontier during the autumn, but assumed its most malignant type when the volunteers had assembled under the proclamation of Gen. Smyth; thence its then most common name, the "Smyth fever." Its real character was that of pneumonia typhoi-

des. As the volunteers left the lines, where their numbers had been thinned by the disease, it seemed to follow and continue with them. Many of them died on their way home, and during the winter the disease had prevailed in almost the entire region. When it was at its height — when the rude bier, or hearse, was seen in almost every neighborhood, — there came the “black snow,” as if nature, sympathizing with an afflicted people, had thrown a pall of mourning over all the earth.*

The campaign of 1813 opened in this quarter by the capture of Little York by Gen. Dearborn. The evacuation of Fort George by the enemy, and the possession of it by our own army under General Dearborn soon followed; and in succession, were Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and General Harrison's victory upon the Thames. Toward the close of the year the complexion of things had changed much for the better. American soil at the west had been freed from the invaders; Indian marauding and massacres had been checked; the American army of the west had crossed the Detroit River and triumphantly marched to the Niagara Frontier on British territory; an American force had what seemed to be a permanent foothold on the Canada side of the Niagara River. The year however was not destined to close without severe reverses. The worst features of adverse war were in reserve for our devoted frontier and all the region of Western New York. All that had been gained, and far more with it, was destined to be sacrificed.

The regular force occupying Fort George was drawn off to swell the army under General Wilkinson; to add to those who were destined to “march up a hill, and then march down again;” to make a blustering demonstration in the direction of Montreal, and strangely abandon the expedition. This left Gen. M'Clure to keep possession of the conquered ground with militia and volunteers, most of whose term of service was about to expire. An enemy had been exasperated by the invasion of their territory, by the marching of armies through it, and when it could well have been anticipated that they would make a desperate attempt to drive out the invaders; an efficient regular army was withdrawn, a militia force left whose time was about to expire, and no new draft, or enlistment provided for.

Gen. M'Clure held possession of Fort George until the 12th of December, at which period, with his force reduced to less than sixty effective men, (according to his own statement,) when he was threatened with an attack from a British force of over five hundred

* This prevailed, principally, in the extreme western counties. In a period of sickness and death in backwoods neighborhoods, where no one explained the phenomena at the time, it came to mingle dark and hopeless superstitions, with war, defeat, failure, suffering, privation and disease. It is hardly necessary to tell the intelligent reader of the present day, that it was the soot and cinders of burning prairies at the west.

men, under Col. Murray, he convened a council of war by whom it was determined to evacuate Fort George, remove the garrison to Fort Niagara, and burn the village of Newark, then containing about an hundred and fifty houses.

Six days after this event, the British force under Col. Murray, that had immediately occupied Fort George after the evacuation, landed upon the American shore under cover of night, surprised, and made an easy conquest of Fort Niagara. When the invaders landed at the Five Mile Meadows, a detachment of British soldiers and Indians went up the River, stealthily attacked the village of Lewiston killed several of the fleeing citizens, and applied the torch to every tenement in the village and its immediate neighborhood.

In the night of the 29th of December, Gen. Riall crossed at Black Rock, and made an easy conquest of that village and the village of Buffalo, with a force of less than 1000 men. Humilliating as the fact is, it must be stated, that to oppose this invading force, there was a militia force of over 2500 men! We have the war of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier under consideration here, but as incidental to our main design, not to make its history — to dwell in detail upon its successes and reverses, or account for its misconduct. After the evacuation of Fort George, the burning of Newark, the imminent danger of British invasion and retaliation was not unheeded. Corps of volunteers soon began to reach the Frontier; and immediately after the disgraceful loss of Fort Niagara, and the raid of the enemy at Lewiston, anticipating what actually occurred at Black Rock and Buffalo, volunteering and marching upon the Frontier had a new impetus; so that the considerable force we have named was actually mustered at Buffalo, and in its immediate neighborhood; most of which was from the western counties of this state. Why, under such a state of things was Buffalo and Black Rock not successfully defended? is a question that will at once arise in the minds of that class of readers not familiar with the local events of the war. The mass of citizen soldiers who had thus promptly assembled were not cowards. The timid, those who expect to run when an enemy approaches, as a general thing do not volunteer, leave their homes in an inclement season and endure the hardships and privations of a military campaign.

NOTE. — Both the evacuation of Fort George, and the Vandal act of burning the village of Newark, brought upon Gen. M'Clure the severest censures; a public indignation, at the time, that was manifested by personal insult. It was assumed that the act of burning the village was done upon his own responsibility. Like many other events in the badly managed campaigns of 1812 '13, it has been enveloped in mystery. He died within the last year, in Illinois, and there is reason to believe that he has left behind him, in manuscript, a full account of all his connection with the war of 1812. The author has in his possession a letter written by the General to a friend, a few days after the evacuation of Fort George, in which he says: — "The act of burning Newark was by positive orders, and I believe proper and necessary."

They went upon the Frontier to fight, and they would have fought, under proper discipline and efficient commanders.

Gen. M'Clure had, perhaps prudently, retired from the immediate command of the Frontier soon after the evacuation of Fort George and established his head quarters at Batavia, where he was actively engaged in organizing troops and ordering them to join Gen. Amos Hall at Buffalo, upon whom the local command had devolved. There were few better citizens than General Hall. He was one of the front rank of Pioneers as the reader will have observed; was held in high estimation by his fellow citizens; was identified with the earliest militia organizations, and rose from grade to grade, to the rank of Major General. But unfortunately he was not fitted for the emergency he encountered, the vast responsibility that unexpectedly devolved upon him. There was the fatal omission to have mustered and disciplined, as far as time allowed, the competent force under his command. When farther British invasion might have been foreseen; when the army destined for it was gathering at Fort Erie, in sight of his quarters; his army had but an inefficient organization; was rather a mass of citizens, than an army of soldiers. He had neglected the essential preliminaries of successful warfare. The mistakes of the General do not escape the recognition of the soldier. Even brave men are not always brave when there are defects of leadership that are almost sure precursors of defeat.

Under all existing circumstances, the liability to attack at any hour, there should have been no surprise, and yet there was one; or at least, an attack which found our army in no condition to repel it. Under cover of night a detachment of the British army crossed the Niagara River at the head of Grand Island, fired upon a patrol of mounted men, advanced and took possession of a battery at Lower Black Rock. A rather gallant effort to dislodge them proved a failure, as did a second attempt with an increased force; immediately after which Gen. Hall ordered his main force to march from Buffalo. The order was but partially obeyed; the militiamen roused from slumber, grouping in the darkness, unable to find their corps or comrades; seeing the flashes and hearing the sounds of battle; witnessing the dismay and flight of the citizens of Buffalo; panic stricken by all of confusion and disorder that surrounded them; marched, but many of them the wrong way. Not one half of those who should have gone to the relief of the small forces at Black Rock, obeyed the order of Gen. Hall; the rest, panic stricken, dismayed, fled in every direction but the right one.

At day break in the morning, the main British force, under Gen. Riall, crossed the River and landed at upper Black Rock. Here a tolerably well conducted attack was made for the space of half an hour, when for reasons which will be found in his official report, Gen. Hall ordered a retreat to Buffalo, which with nearly his whole

force, proved a retreat, or in more modern language, a "stampede," in the direction of their homes. Flight, shameful flight, was the order of the morning. All attempts to rally, and stand, for the defence of Buffalo, proved unavailing. The British army approached Buffalo, were met on the out skirts of the village by Col. Cyrenius Chapin, a self constituted mediator, who arranged with Gen. Riall, that all public property should be given up, all private property respected; and that the invading force should not be molested while it remained in possession of the village. This was a fortunate and timely arrangement, inasmuch as many of the citizens who were late in the retreat, were but just leaving the dwellings, and it arrested Indian scouts, who were just leaving the army with the torch, the tomahawk, and scalping knife. The British army entered the village, and soon the work of burning commenced, and continued, until all but three or four tenements were destroyed.

Little did the British commander know of the real condition of the devoted region, he had so far, so easily conquered; of the total rout he had occasioned, and the absence of any formidable obstacles to an extension of his conquests, or any immediate danger of attack, if he remained where he was. Astonished at his success; wondering, that so large a military force had so suddenly disappeared and left him so little to do; he concluded that it was but a retreat for a formidable rally, and a return to give him warmer work than he had encountered. He distrusted assurances to the contrary, and in fact, was hardly in possession of the conquered ground before he was making preparation to leave it. At three o'clock P. M., his main army was on the return march, crossing the River, and on the way to its head quarters, at Burlington Heights. The ludicrous spectacle was presented of two armies, and their leaders, running from each other; or the one running, and the other making a very hasty evacuation and retreat. The next day the site of Buffalo, its smouldering ruins, had but little of occupancy, was principally, a desolate scene. The third day, learning that there was nothing to oppose them, a small party of British and Indians returned and burnt all of the few buildings that had been reserved, save one dwelling house and a blacksmith shop; after which, they passed down the River to Fort Niagara.

Days and weeks of desertion, stillness and desolation succeeded. Including the site of Buffalo it was one continuous scene of ruin and devastation, to the walls of Fort Niagara, and that strong fortress was in possession of the enemy.

NOTE — When the army of Gen Riall was entering the village, a few regular soldiers who had been exempted at Williamsville, under the command of Lieut. Riddle, approached with a field piece which they several times discharged. The rash act was committed in the absence of any competent authority, but it served as an excuse for the non-observance of the stipulations made with Col. Chapin. The burning was no doubt a premeditated act of retaliation.

But to return to Buffalo and the morning of the invasion : — The citizens commenced their flight soon after the first repulse of our troops at Black Rock ; but few lingered until after day light. After putting in requisition all the available means of conveyance — even to the last yoke of oxen and sled, many of the women and children were under the necessity of fleeing on foot, wading in the snow at an inclement season, illy prepared for the vicissitudes they encountered. In all the distance from Buffalo to Batavia, during the day, there was upon the road an almost unbroken procession of citizens, panic stricken soldiers, pressing on in the retreat as if they were hotly pursued ; and the wounded and sick, in sleighs or upon litters. Other avenues of flight, especially the south road, through what is now Aurora, Sheldon, Warsaw, &c., to the Genesee River, presented similar scenes. The taverns were soon exhausted of their means of feeding the hungry throng, private houses yielded to the importunities of the famishing stinted supplies of provisions that had been stored for winter's use. From the start upon the frontier, the first and second day, the throngs were constantly increasing by the addition of families along the roads that would hastily pile a few of their house-hold goods upon sleighs, horse and hand sleds, and join in the flight. After the first day's flight, those who were considerate enough to realize that they were out of danger, would take quiet possession of deserted houses without the formality of a lease. Upon the old Buffalo road, Batavia was the first stopping place, and the small village was soon filled to over-flowing ; private houses, offices, out-houses, were thrown open to shelter the wearied and suffering who had been driven from the frontier. As a measure of precaution, the books and papers of the Holland Company's Land Office, were removed over the River to Lima.

It is impossible now to give the reader such an account of the condition of things in Western New York during that ill-fated winter, as will enable him to realize the alarm, the panic, the aggregate calamities that prevailed. On the immediate frontier all was desolate ; the enemy holding possession of Fort Niagara, detached marauding parties of British and Indians came out from it, traversed the frontier where there was nothing left to destroy, and made incursions, in some instances, in the interior, enlarging the theatre of devastation, and spreading alarm among those who had been bold enough to remain behind in the flight. West of a north and south line that would pass through the village of Le Roy, more than one half of the entire population had been driven from their homes by the enemy, or had left them in fear of extended invasion. Entire backwoods neighborhoods were deserted, hundreds of log cabins were desolate, and the signs and sounds of life were mostly the deserted cattle and sheep, lowing and bleating, famishing for the lack of fodder there were none left to deal out to them. Between the boundary that has been named and the Genesee River, there

had been less of flight; the tide flowing eastward had been partially arrested; many wishing to stop as near their deserted homes as their ideas of safety would allow, found friendly shelter for the winter among those who remained undisturbed. The largest portion of the refugees, however, were hospitably provided for east of the Genesee River. A little more than a week after the burning of Buffalo, a committee of the public spirited citizens of Canandaigua, whose names should not be omitted,* addressed a circular to the citizens of Albany and New York, asking for relief contributions. An extract of a letter from a gentleman in Oneida county, to his friend in Niagara, gives a truthful description of the then condition of things upon the frontier: — "The wretched tenants of the whole frontier, have been driven from their homes in the severity of winter; many, in their haste to snatch their wives and children from the tomahawk and scalping knife, were enabled to preserve but little of their effects from the flames; and many, whose houses were not burned by the enemy, after having abandoned their dwellings, to escape the ravages of the foe, returning after the alarm was over, found that their effects were plundered by the villians who prowl about the deserted country. It would make your hearts ache to see the women and children fleeing from their homes and fire sides, to encounter the winter blast, and the miseries of a deprivation of the comforts of life. Many poor families have lost all — many persons in trade have been ruined — and many whose circumstances were affluent, have been brought to beggary." At the instance of President Madison, Gen. Cass visited the frontier about the middle of January, and reported its condition, animadverting in strong language upon the causes to which the disasters were to be attributed.

The Reservations, the Seneca, near Buffalo, the Tonawanda and Tuscarora, were completely depopulated. All there was of life left in them during the winter, were a few half famished oxen, cows, and dogs. The refugees found little of sustenance to spare among their own race in the villages upon the Genesee River. As with them, war had caused a diversion from their cultivated patches, the hunters camp and the chase. Finding better quarters in the vicinities of the white settlements, they encamped for the winter in Caledonia, Wheatland, Le Roy, York and Perry, some of them passing over the River, and others, the more hardy, resorting to the chase. The smoke of their solitary camps, during the winter, could

* They were: — Messrs. Wm. Shepherd, Thaddeus Chapin, Moses Atwater, Myron Holley, Thomas Beals, Phineas Bates, as a committee appointed by their fellow citizens. The Legislature appropriated \$50,000; the Common Councils of Albany and New York, \$1,000; which with individual donations, amounted to near \$70,000.

NOTE.—During all the years of the war, deer rapidly increased. Their enemy, the wolf, was frightened away by the sound of cannon, and they enjoyed a respite from the pursuit of the hunter, who had "higher game."

be seen rising from the then thickly wooded vallies of Wyoming, Allegany and Cattaraugus.

Thus in all this region closed the disastrous campaign of 1813. Were the events of the campaign of 1814 as intimately blended with our subject, it would be a far more pleasing task to narrate them. The tide of battle was effectually turned. The American army under General Brown, crossed the Niagara River and captured Fort Erie on the 2d of July; the battle of Chippewa, of Lundy's Lane, the sortie of Fort Erie, followed in succession; a series of brilliant victories succeeded; in all of which the men of Western New York largely participated. And in these humble local annals, let it be recorded as an act of justice, withheld by partial historians of the war, that citizen soldiers who had faltered under inefficient leaders, won laurels, vindicated this branch of national defence, when better leaders, and better auspices prevailed.

The war closed, the year 1815 was employed in recovering from its effects. While most of the early settlements upon Phelps and Gorham's Purchase had been neither progressing nor retrograding during the war, the high prices and ready market for produce having helped to compensate for a diversion of its population from their accustomed pursuits; most of all the region included in Morris' Reserve and the Holland Purchase, more recently settled, was in a far more backward condition than when the war commenced. Population had decreased, and rural labor, where not suspended, had added little to permanent improvement. The small openings of the forest which mostly prevailed, yielded no surplus to the owners, the enhanced price of which would have helped to compensate their many sacrifices; while their closer proximity to the Frontier had rendered them more exposed to harrassing alarms and flight.

In the aggregate, all of Western New York presented a sad picture of the effects of the war. In almost the entire landscape there were evidences of neglected fields, unrepaired roads and bridges. While there was the far greater calamity, the loss in battle, and diseases mostly originating in the camps of the army, of many heads of families; and here and there among them were some of the most prominent and useful citizens.

Industry resumed its accustomed avocations; a tolerable harvest was realized; enough to give a far better supply of food for man and beast, than had been had the three previous years. Just as the country was recovering its lost ground, when courage and confidence had been partially restored, there was a calamity, severe in its effects, with the exception of the loss of life, as the events of the war. The year 1816 is memorable for its "cold summer." June frosts almost entirely destroyed the summer crops; in the forepart of the month pools of water were covered with ice. Upon one occasion, especially, in a forenoon, after the sun had dissipated the frosts, the fields and gardens looked like prairies that have been

scorched with fire. Summer crops, other than the hardier grains, were crisped and blackened; the hopes and dependence of the people were destroyed. The wheat harvest was mostly protracted until September, previous to which, in all the more recently settled towns and neighborhoods, there was much suffering for food. Wheat was from \$2 to \$3 per bushel, before harvest, and in the absence of summer crops, the price but slightly declined after harvest. The inhabitants of nearly all the Holland Purchase, and all of Allegany depended upon the older settlements in Ontario for bread. The Indians upon the Genesee River had a small surplus of corn of the crop of 1815, which the white inhabitants bought, paying as high as \$2 per bushel. In the new settlements wheat and rye was shelled out while in the milk, boiled and eaten as a substitute for bread; while in many instances, the occupants of log cabins in the wilderness, subsisted for months and weeks upon wild roots, herbs and milk. The season of 1816 was the climax of cold seasons; that of 1817 — the commencement of a series of fruitful ones; of plenty, and would have been of prosperity if there had been remunerating markets for produce.

As if this was a devoted region, destined to a series of drawbacks and hindrances, as trial periods, or ordeals, to be passed through before the dawning of a better day, and prosperity in its full fruition. First, there were the almost insurmountable difficulties of getting into the wilderness to make commencements; then the privations incident to backwoods life, accompanied by long and harrassing years of apprehension of danger from Indian wars; then fruitful seasons, but accompanied with the serious drawback, a want of market, produce beyond what was wanted for home consumption, a drug not convertible even to the necessities of life — much less to its luxuries; then war upon its immediate borders, with all its desolating and harrassing effects; then an untoward season which created almost a panic; then again, seasons of abundance, but no markets, staple articles of produce hardly paying the cost of transportation over long and dreary woods roads. Well may it be said that the rich inheritance — this now smiling region of cities, villages, broad cultivated fields, and luxurious rural dwellings, has been no easy acquisition. Forms that linger among us, and far more that are mouldering beneath the soil they reclaimed, were bowed down in the moral and physical conflict in which all of this was attained.

But the "BETTER TIME" came! That great measure of relief, of emancipation of all this region; that which enabled it to enter upon a career of unexampled prosperity, that has had but little of interruption — the ERIE CANAL, was projected and consummated.

COMPLETION OF THE ERIE CANAL.

The Erie Canal, though an important feature in the entire history of all this region, belongs to a later period than is generally intended to be embraced in this history of Pioneer Settlement. Its history in several forms has been written, and in a published work of the authors it is the subject of a chapter. Passing over its projection, the long series of preliminary events that followed, some account will be given of its commencement, progress, completion, and the celebration of the magnificent achievement:—

The bill authorizing the commencement of the work became a law on the 15th day of April 1817. On the 4th of July following, ground was first broken near Rome. Before the close of 1819 the middle section was completed. On the 29th day of October, 1822 the western section had been so far completed that a boat laden with flour from the Rochester mills, started from the east side of the Genesee River for Little Falls. The eastern section was completed, and boats entered the Hudson, on the 8th day of October, 1823, and about the same time, the aqueduct at Rochester was completed, and the navigation was extended to Brockport or Holley. In the season of 1824 it was extended to the foot of the combined Locks at Lockport, a tow path had been made upon the Tonawanda Creek, the canal along the Niagara River to Buffalo creek had been completed, and nothing remained unfinished but the deep cutting through the Mountain Ridge. That was vigorously prosecuted, under the immediate superintendence of Gov. Bouck, then the acting commissioner upon the western section. Toward the last of September 1825, he was enabled to announce to the President of the Canal Board, Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer, that on the 26th of October the unfinished part of the Canal would be completed and in a condition to admit the passage of boats.

Active preparations for the celebration of the great and auspicious event immediately succeeded, the city of New York taking the lead, Albany and Troy, and all the principal villages upon the line of the Canal, and near it, actively co-operating. With independent action in the different localities, there was yet such joint and mutual arrangements as to ensure a JUBILEE, extending from Sandy Hook to Lake Erie.

It is impossible now to convey to the reader an adequate impression of the joyous spirit that predominated — of the manifestation of a feeling of pride and triumph that pervaded. It was the theme of the newspaper press, of public orators, of conventional resolutions. It was as if a whole people had a just appreciation of the present benefits of the great achievement, and gifted with the ken of prophecy, looked to coming years, caught a glimpse of the future,

the prosperity the great work would diffuse. And it was but a glimpse! The half even of its influences were unseen even in that day of high hopes and joyous anticipations. There is an Empire that has sprung up around the borders of our Western Lakes, a Commerce that is swarming upon their waters — this region of wealth and prosperity — cities and villages; and the crowning triumph, a metropolis numbering its half million of souls; that were but partly seen even through a vista illuminated as was the medium through which the future was then presented.

As the appointed day drew near, the forces of the contractors on the Mountain Ridge at Lockport were largely increased, and every means put in requisition to be in readiness. On the evening of the 24th of October the last blow was struck; the guard gates were raised, and the filling of the Lake Erie level commenced. On the evening of the 25th the entire canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson was in a navigable condition.

The arrangements agreed upon at a meeting of delegates at Buffalo contemplated the passage of a fleet of Boats from Lake Erie to Sandy Hook, a continuous or protracted celebration, — the finale, an aquatic display upon the waters of New York.

Buffalo, then but a small village, after a tardy growth of over twenty years, was awake to the importance of its position, to the career of rapid progress that was opening before it, and to the immediate honor of taking the lead in the ceremonies. At 9 o'clock A. M. on the appointed day, a public procession was formed in front of the court House. It consisted of Governor Clinton, the Lieutenant Governor, the Canal Commissioners, the New York delegation, committees from many counties, various societies with appropriate banners, citizens of Buffalo, a military company, and the Buffalo band of music. The procession moved through Main street to the head of the canal, where the canal boat "Seneca Chief" awaited the arrival. This was the Pioneer boat, destined to be the first to make the entire passage from Lake Erie to Sandy Hook. The Governor, the Lieut. Governor, and the various committees were received on board; the whole standing upon deck, mutual introductions and congratulations succeeded. Jesse Hawley in behalf of the Rochester committee made a short address which was replied to by Oliver Forward in behalf of the Buffalo committee. All things being in readiness, the signal gun was fired, and continuing along from gun to gun in rapid succession, in one hour and twenty minutes the citizens of New York were apprized that a boat was leaving the waters of Lake Erie to traverse a new avenue to the ocean!

NOTE. — The placing of heavy artillery — generally from ten to fifteen miles apart — the whole distance from Lake Erie to Sandy Hook, was an important and interesting feature of the celebration. The guns were principally those that had belonged to Perry's fleet upon the Lakes, and were thus put on their transit to the naval stations upon the Atlantic.

The signal gun fired, the Seneca Chief led off in fine style, towed by four grey horses fancifully caparisoned. Three other boats, the Perry, Superior, and Buffalo, followed. Their departure was amid the discharges of volleys of musketry and the deafening shouts of a multitude assembled upon the banks of the canal. An oration, ode, address, and a public ball finished out the day and evening in Buffalo.

Lockport, where the last barrier had been removed, where boats were for the first time to pass a stupendous chain of Locks, occupied a conspicuous position in the first days programme. It was arranged that the first formal reception of the pioneer fleet should be at that point. And well did the young village, perched upon the brow of the Mountain Ridge amid huge stone piles, log heaps and standing trees, acquit itself in all that devolved upon it. It was the gathering place of almost the entire mass of the citizens of the county, and of great numbers from other counties. At 9 o'clock A. M. a procession was formed and marched to the foot of the Locks, where the Packet Boat Wm. C. Bouck, was in waiting to receive the Canal Commissioners, Engineers, canal contractors, officers of the day and various committees; the boat Albany of the old Pilot Line, to receive the Ladies; and other boats, for the accommodation of others of the assembled multitude. Immediately after the Grand Salute had passed from Buffalo, east, the gates of both the lower locks were opened and the fleet of boats commenced ascending, the Bouck and the Albany, ahead, side by side, in the combined Locks.

The passage of the Locks was amid the incessant discharge of artillery,* thousands of heavy rock blasts, † the enlivening strains of music, and the deafening shouts of a throng assembled on either side of the canal. As soon as the two forward boats had reached the basin above the Locks, they were drawn up side by side, an appropriate prayer was offered by the Rev Mr. Winchell, and an address, of marked ability made by John Birdsall Esq. ‡ The earthquake sounds had been hushed to silence by an offering of prayer, the invoking of a Divine blessing upon one of the greatest of human achievements, the voice of the multitude was stilled; stepping upon an elevated platform, the young orator exclaimed;—

* One piece of heavy artillery was discharged *fifteen times in each of several minutes*, by means of cartridges, and fuzes projecting from the muzzle. A feat perhaps never excelled in gunnery.

† Holes were drilled in the rock, charged, and hundreds of them fired almost simultaneously by means of trails of powder.

‡ He was of the family of his name in Chenango county; a leading member of the Bar of Niagara; afterwards, a Circuit Judge and Senator. He emigrated to Texas, where he died just as a high career of public honors and usefulness was opening before him in the young state.

"The last barrier is passed! We have now risen to the level of Lake Erie!" Continuing in a strain of eloquence seldom surpassed, to speak generally of the great consummation, he said, pointing to the Locks. — "On that marble slab we have the record of the commencement, the extent, and the millions it has cost. From that inscription cast your eyes upon the vast and magnificent work through which we have just passed; behold its solid and massive walls; survey those mounds of broken rock that encompass us on either hand; then trace this chasm as it sinks deeper and deeper in the solid rock before us as far as the eye can reach. In these, and in works like these, you have the record, the eternal record, of its GREATNESS AND GRANDEUR!"

At the close of the address, the discharge of cannon, of rock, music and cheering, was resumed, the boats starting west to meet the fleet from Buffalo. The meeting took place in Tonawanda creek, the combined fleet returning to Lockport, where a supper had been prepared, and where the day closed with the best demonstrations of joyous festivity that a young village in the woods could make.

It was late in the evening before the fleet of boats left Lockport. At Newport, (now Albion,) the day had been celebrated, the demonstrations prolonged to the "small hours" of the morning, the citizens of the young village, (then but a small cluster of buildings) being determined that night and darkness should not loose them the opportunity of hailing the travellers that were Pioneering the new track from the Lakes to the Ocean. At Holley and Brockport, on the morning of the 27th, the citizens of all the surrounding country had assembled to give the fleet of boats a salute as it passed and celebrate the day.

Rochester, then a village of about 8,000 inhabitants, entered with a spirit of joy and enthusiasm into arrangements for participating in the ceremonies. The city, now, with its forty thousand inhabitants, and all its present means of display, would not be likely, on any similar occasion, to excel the then village. It had a lively sense of the immense advantages it was to reap from the completion of the great work.

The Seneca Chief, with the boats in her train arrived and was moored in Child's Basin, at 2 o'clock P. M. Eight military companies and an immense concourse of citizens from the village and all the surrounding country, greeted the arrival. Upon the wharf an arch had been raised surmounted by an eagle. Under it, were the Rochester and Canandaigua committees prepared for the reception of the committees that had arrived on the Seneca Chief. Short congratulatory addresses were made by Gen. Mathews and John C. Spencer Esq., which were replied to by Governor Clinton. A procession was formed and marched to the Presbyterian Church where a prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Penney and an ad-

dress delivered by Timothy Childs Esq. A dinner was prepared at Christopher's Mansion House, Gen. Mathews presiding, assisted by Jonathan Childs and Jesse Hawley Esqs. The celebration concluded with a grand ball, and a general illumination of the village. At seven o'clock in the evening, the boats departed for the east, the "Young Lion of the West," a boat fitted up for the occasion, with a committee of ten citizens of Rochester* on board, having been added to the flotilla.

At the prominent points, from Rochester to Albany, where the fleet was to pass by day light, celebrations had been arranged; there were processions, congratulatory addresses, firing of cannon, music, and other demonstrations of popular enthusiasm; even when small villages were passed in the night, crowds were assembled, and some form of greeting tendered. "It was," said one of the western committee men, "like a continuous or protracted Fourth of July celebration."

The fleet arrived at Albany on the 2d of November. The celebration there was upon a scale of magnificence never before, or since attempted at the Capitol.

But it was reserved for the Empire city of the Empire state to add the grand finale—to terminate the Jubilee—by putting in requisition her immense facilities upon land and water. It was said by a gentleman present who had witnessed the naval fete given by the Prince Regent of England, upon the Thames, during the visit of the Allied Sovereigns to London, after the dethronement of Napoleon, that the spectacle upon the waters at New York so far transcended that in the metropolis of England as scarcely to admit of comparison." The citizens of the great metropolis had been slow to anticipate the vast contributions which the Erie Canal was to bring to it; but the completion of a portion of it, and the results that had accrued, had awakened them from a state of seeming indifference.

On the morning of the 3d of November a flotilla started from Albany. It consisted of the Chancellor Livingston, having in tow the Seneca Chief; the Constitution, having in tow the Young Lion of the West; the Chief Justice Marshall, having in tow the Niagara, from Black Rock. Five other steamboats followed, some of them having canal boats in tow. With colors streaming, bands of music playing, with shouting and huzzas, the flotilla moved down the Hudson, demonstrations of congratulation extended to it from all the prominent points in the River counties.

Arriving in New York before day light, it had only to await the rising of the sun to be greeted with salutes of artillery from various points and a merry peal of the city bells. The steamboat Washing-

* They were:—Elisha B. Strong, Levi Ward, A. V. T. Leavitt, Wm. B. Rochester, M. Hulburt, A. Reynolds, A. Strong, R. Beach, E. Johnson, and E. S. Beach.

ton soon approached the flotilla, bearing the "great banner of the corporation," and superbly decorated with appropriate emblems; having on board a committee of the common council, who tendered congratulations to those who had arrived in their waters from the waters of Lake Erie. From dawn of day until 9 o'clock A. M. the whole city was in active preparation; all labor was suspended, places of business closed; uniform companies, fire companies, societies of the different trades, associations, were vieing with each other in a spirit of enthusiasm — in the splendor of their banners and regalia. At the hour above named Castle Garden and the Battery, every avenue to the water, swarmed with tens of thousands. In the spacious Harbor there had gathered a combined fleet of steam boats, and sail vessels to escort the pioneer boat, the Seneca Chief to Sandy Hook. At a given signal the fleet moved down the Bay, its departure accompanied with salutes of artillery, music by the city bands and those attached to military and naval stations, and the huzzas and shouts of the vast multitude on shore and on board the vessels.

Arrived at Sandy Hook the ceremony of mingling the waters of Lake Erie with the waters of the Ocean, was performed. The United States schooner Porpoise having been previously sent down and anchored, the committees, and those who were to officiate in the ceremony went on board of her. She fired a salute, and immediately the whole fleet formed in a semi circle around her about three miles in circumference. Gov. Clinton, standing upon deck, poured from a keg that had been brought down on board the Seneca Chief, the water of Lake Erie into the water of the Atlantic: accompanying the ceremony with a short explanatory address: — "This ceremony, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean, in about eight years, to the extent of about four hundred and twenty five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit and energy of the people of the state of New York; — and may the God of the Heavens and the Earth, smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race."

A deafening roar of artillery followed the ceremony, and the fleet returned to the city, where an immense procession was awaiting its arrival. Then followed illuminations, bonfires, balls, music, gay and joyous hilarity, prolonged beyond the 9th — a JUBILEE, such as the great city has never had upon any other occasion.

The Seneca Chief returned to Buffalo on the 23d November, bringing with it a cargo of merchandise, beside its return passengers, and a keg filled with "water of the briny deep." On the 25th a large number of ladies and gentlemen repaired on board the pioneer canal craft, which was towed by several yawl boats out into

the Lake. Judge Wilkinson who had been chairman of the Buffalo committee, in a short address, alluded to the long succession of public celebrations the committee had witnessed upon their tour, "the offerings of simultaneous impulse; one continued round of joy and festivity." Alluding to the ceremonies at Sandy Hook, and accompanying his words with the act of pouring the contents of the keg into the Lake, he said: — There, in pursuance of arrangements marked with splendor and magnificence, the waters of the Lake were mingled with those of the Ocean; and we, in return, now mingle those of the Ocean with the Lake.*

Thus ended the protracted JUBILEE; a long series of demonstrations, of public rejoicings — such, in the aggregate as have never attended a peaceful triumph of the wisdom, energy and foresight of any people in any age. The history of the canals has been already perpetuated; in the absence of any history of the celebration of its completion, in any generally accessible form, the author has deemed it not an unfitting addition to a work like this. For the Genesee Country it was a crowning triumph; a consummation blended with all that scene of enterprise and prosperity it now presents. The reader who did not witness the events, who may be disposed to look back upon them with a feeling of indifference which a long enjoyment of the greatest of public blessings has a tendency to create; who perhaps will smile at the seeming extravagance of the demonstrations; will at least observe how just an estimate was made of the benefits that were to flow from the great achievement.

* A line of Packet Boats, had been previously extended as far west as Lockport. Its boats were a new thing, and a luxury; the first transition from the old lumbering stage coach, plodding over heavy roads, by day and night. Familiar names with the public are associated with those early boats. There were Capts. Israel Smith, Joel Cody, Harry Swan, Simeon Bristol, Hamlin Stilwell, Wm. Rogers, Hiram Greenman, — Fenelon, A. Philips, Samuel Allen. Seymour Scovell built the first Packet west of Montezuma, the Myron Holley, and Oliver Culver the next one, the Wm. C. Bouck. Those of the captains then in service, were on hand, bearing a conspicuous part in the great celebration. Capt. Stilwell, the only survivor, it is presumed is yet connected with the Packet line. Then young and ardent, he filled a jug with ocean water at Sandy Hook, pressed on ahead of the returning committees, and had a "mingling of the waters" upon his own account.

NOTE. — In the author's published work, the "History of the Holland Purchase," there is a more extended notice of the Canal — embracing a brief sketch of its commencement and progress as well as its final completion. The claims of JESSE HAWLEY, a citizen of Western New York, the Projector of the over land Canal — are fully recognized and established; and the claims of other prominent men in this region, as helpers of the great work in its days of weakness and doubt, are also preferred. It should there have been said that Micah Brooks took an active part not only in eliciting and disseminating information as to the practicability of the measure, but in bringing the matter before Congress, in the hopes of a national aid that was at first so much desired. The names of Gideon Granger, Nathaniel W. Howell, John C. Nicholas, John Greig, Peter Allen, Robert Troup, Nathaniel Rochester, other men of Western New York, are also blended with early Canal movements. The acting commissioners on the Western Division while the work was progressing, were, Myron Holley and Wm. C. Bouck; the principal Engineers, Canvass White, James Geddes, David Thomas, David S. Bates, Judge Wright, Nathan S. Roberts. The early subordinate Engineers, now recollected, were: — Alfred Barrett, — Price, Porteous Root, John Hopkins. Davis Hurd, Dr. Whippo, Sebride Dodge, a son of David Thomas, and another of Judge Wright, both of whom died while the work was progressing.

THE WILL OF JEMIMA WILKINSON. — [REFERRED TO IN PRECEDING PAGE.]

"The Last Will and Testament of the person called The Universal Friend, of Jerusalem, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York — who in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, was called Jemima Wilkinson, and ever since that time the Universal Friend, a new name which the mouth of the Lord hath named. Considering the uncertainty of this mortal life, and being of sound mind and memory, blessed be the Lord of Sabaoth, and Father of Mercies, therefore — I do make and publish this my last Will and Testament.

"I. — My will is that my just debts be paid by my Executors hereafter named.

"II. — I give, bequeath and devise, unto Rachel Malin and Margaret Malin, now of said Jerusalem, all my earthly property, both real and personal : — that is to say, all my land lying in Jerusalem and Benton, or elsewhere in the county of Ontario, together with all the buildings thereon, to them, the said Rachel and Margaret, and their heirs and assigns forever, to be equally and amicably shared between them, the said Rachel and Margaret. And I do give and bequeath to the said Rachel and Margaret Malin, all my wearing apparel, all my household furniture, and all my horses, cattle, sheep and swine, of every kind and description ; and also all my carriages, wagons and carts of every kind, together with all my farming tools and utensils, and all my moveable property, of every nature and description whatever.

"III. — My will is that all the present members of my family, and each of them, be employed, if they please, and if employed, supported during natural life, by the said Rachel and Margaret, and when any of them become unable to help themselves, they are according to such inability, kindly to be taken care of by the said Rachel and Margaret. And my will also is, that all poor persons belonging to the Society of Universal Friends, shall receive from the said Rachel and Margaret, such assistance and support during their natural life as they need — and in case any or either of my family, or elsewhere in the society, shall turn away, such shall forfeit the provisions herein made for them.

"IV. — I hereby ordain and appoint the above Rachel Malin and Margaret Malin, Executors of this my last will and testament.

"In witness whereof, I, the person once called Jemima Wilkinson, but in and ever since the year 1777, known as, and called, The Universal Friend, hereunto set my name and seal, the 25th day of second month, in the year of the Lord, eighteen hundred and eighteen.

THE PUBLIC UNIVERSAL FRIEND. (L. S.)

In presence of, &c."

"BE IT REMEMBERED, That in order to remove all doubts of the due execution of the foregoing Will and Testament, being the person who before the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, was known and called by the name of Jemima Wilkinson, but since that time as the Universal Friend, do make public and declare, the within instrument, as my last Will and Testament, as witness my hand and seal, this 17th day of the seventh month, (July,) in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

her
JEMIMA X WILKINSON,
cross or mark.
Or UNIVERSAL FRIEND."



